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## PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

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### I.—THE CONCLUSION OF *PARADISE LOST*

The original objection urged against the conclusion of *Paradise Lost* was its failure to conform strictly to the neo-classic requirement that "an Heroick Poem . . . ought to end happily, and leave the mind of the reader, after having conducted it through many doubts and fears, sorrows and disquietudes, in a state of tranquility and satisfaction."<sup>1</sup> Milton's subject, according to Dryden, "is not that of an heroick poem, properly so called. His design is the losing of our happiness; his event is not prosperous, like that of all other epic works."<sup>2</sup> Addison concurred in this opinion; but he considered that the poet's "exquisite judgment" in raising Adam to a state of great happiness through the vision of future events had virtually overcome "the natural defect in his subject."<sup>3</sup> The author, he says, "leaves the Adversary of Mankind . . . under the lowest state of mortification and disappointment. We see him chewing ashes, grovelling in the dust, and

<sup>1</sup> *Spectator* 369.

<sup>2</sup> *Original and Progress of Satire*.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*

loaden with supernumerary pains and torments. On the contrary, our two first parents are comforted by dreams and visions, cheered with promises of salvation, and, in a manner, raised to a greater happiness than that which they had forfeited. In short, *Satan* is represented miserable in the height of his triumphs, and *Adam* triumphant in the height of misery." With one detail of the conclusion, however, Addison found fault. It would have been better, he declared, to omit entirely the last two lines of the poem (misquoted):

They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,  
Through Eden took their solitary way.

"These two verses," he says, ". . . renew in the mind of the reader that anguish which was pretty well laid by that consideration—

The World was all before them, where to chuse  
Their place of rest, and Providence their Guide."

It was this criticism that emboldened Bentley, in his edition of Milton (1732), to propose what Verity calls the "crown to his emendatory toils." For the melancholy lines at the close of *Paradise Lost*, he substituted "a distich, as close as may be to the author's words, and entirely agreeable to his scheme"—

Then hand in hand with *social* steps their way  
Through Eden took, with *heavn'ly comfort* cheer'd.

Thus Bentleyized, the dismissal of Adam and Eve was cheerful enough to comply with the canon of the epic. A similar, but less violent, device was employed eight years later by Peck. He suggested, in his *Memoirs of Milton*,<sup>4</sup> that the order of the five concluding verses should be changed to read as follows:

<sup>4</sup> Francis Peck, *New Memoirs of . . . Mr. John Milton*, 1740, p. 201.

Some natural tears they dropt, but wip'd them soon;  
Then, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,  
Through Eden took their solitary way.  
The world was all before them where to choose  
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

If no other benefit arose from this formal criticism, which was so preoccupied with petty details of technique that it was impervious to many of the fine moral and spiritual issues of *Paradise Lost*, it at least served to concentrate critical opinion on the actual merits of Milton's conclusion. It should be said also to the credit of eighteenth-century appreciation that the reaction was immediate. Champions arose at once to remark upon the fine sensibility displayed by the poet in combining with flawless skill man's sorrow for the loss of innocence and his hope in future redemption. Defenses of the kind brought together in Todd's edition of *Paradise Lost* illustrate the completeness with which the neo-classic protest against Milton's conclusion had been repudiated in the course of one century.<sup>5</sup> In the century and more that has intervened since Todd's edition, critical judgment of Milton has fluctuated greatly with the varying points of view occasioned by changes in literary, social, and political interests; but, on the whole, there has been a remarkable stability of opinion in regard to the conclusion of the poem. We have come to accept approval of this as one of the finalities of criticism.

Recently, however, Milton's apologists have been confronted by a new objection. The judicial critics deplored the tinge of melancholy in the concluding lines; a critic of today holds, on the contrary, that if Milton had been consistent as a theologian Adam and Eve would have departed

<sup>5</sup> H. J. Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, 2d. ed., 1809, vol. iv, pp. 351 ff. See also J. W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition*, 1915, ch. vi.

from the Garden of Eden in a far more disconsolate mood than they did.<sup>6</sup> The entire latter part of the poem, according to Professor John Erskine, is theologically incompatible with the earlier portions on account of its excessive lightness of spirit. The fundamental discrepancy pointed out is Milton's change of attitude towards sin and death. In the early part of *Paradise Lost*, says Professor Erskine, sin is represented by the poet as the offspring of Satan and therefore an unqualified evil; later "it seems to have crossed Milton's thought that perhaps we should have lost something, had our original parents clung to their innocence; perhaps we should have lost some spiritual benefit, which no saint would be without." With similar incongruity, continues Professor Erskine, Milton first informs us that death "is peculiarly Satan's gift to man," and later that "death is not a curse but a comforter, not the gift of Satan but the gift of God." Professor Erskine explains this contradiction as due to a change on the author's part from the theological to the poetical point of view: "The significance of the contradiction in the accounts of death and of sin is that in the later accounts the larger Milton speaks, the poet rather than the theologian. When he was preparing the epic for the press, presumably when he was finishing the last books, he had arrived at an independence in religion which would make the story of Eden distasteful to him." Hence it is, according to Professor Erskine, that the human victims of Satan's deception, far from being downcast over their expulsion from Paradise, are relieved to get away from its monotony. Adam and Eve have nothing but zest for the world before them. "At last they were to travel and see life—in short, to have a

<sup>6</sup> John Erskine, "The Theme of Death in *Paradise Lost*," *P.M.L.A.*, vol. xxxii, pp. 573-582.

renaissance career." A consistent theologian, he holds, "would have terminated the poem in a decent melancholy."

Exception has already been taken to this unusual characterization of the mood in which Adam and Eve depart from Paradise.<sup>7</sup> It is argued by Professor Stoll that the conclusion is hardly so lively as Professor Erskine represents it, that it is in complete unison with the spirit of the work as a whole, and that the poet has prepared the reader for the various changes of sentiment. This view will, I think, commend itself to most readers. Those critics who defended the conclusion against the objection of the neo-classicists acclaimed unanimously the artistic sureness with which Milton finally strikes the balance between *sorrow* and *hope*. Of the later school, Hazlitt discovered in the concluding line a "pathos of that mild contemplative kind which arises from regret for the loss of unspeakable happiness, and resignation to inevitable fate,"<sup>8</sup> and Verity a "feeling of mingled resignation and reluctance."<sup>9</sup> Professor Erskine's picture of our first parents setting out jauntily from Eden to embark on their renaissance career is more suggestive of Bentley's version than of the original text.

His objection to the conclusion is so stated, however, that a complete consideration of it must take into account fully what is said concerning Milton's theology. While the details of the author's theological creed are in themselves no longer of independent interest, they can never be wholly dissociated from the question of his art, and they assume a particular importance here, for Professor Erskine's criti-

<sup>7</sup> Elmer Edgar Stoll, "Was Paradise Well Lost?" *P. M. L. A.*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 429-435.

<sup>8</sup> William Hazlitt, *Lectures on the English Poets*: "On Shakespeare and Milton."

<sup>9</sup> A. W. Verity, *Paradise Lost*, 1892, note on Bk. xii, 648, 649.

cism of Milton the theologian is virtually equivalent to an arraignment of Milton the poet. As everyone knows, *Paradise Lost* abounds in what Mark Pattison calls "conceptual incongruities," and the poem suffers little in consequence; but the radical change noted by Professor Erskine—a change whereby the theologian becomes submerged in the poet and the fundamental thesis is contradicted—would result in a "divine poem" lacking the organic unity essential to any artistic work. If the objection urged by Professor Erskine is valid, it lends some color to the severe opinion of Laharpe, that "*Paradise Lost* is a shapeless production . . . which has neither course nor plan."<sup>10</sup> The tendency of most criticism is quite to the contrary. Milton is usually singled out as one of the most conscientious and painstaking artists in our literature. As a theologian he is known, of course, to have altered his early views materially; in the end he had become all but antinomian, and it is difficult to draw the line between what is literal in his interpretation of the Bible and what is merely allegorical. But it is generally held that however unliteral or unorthodox Milton may have become, there was in this evolution a final stage in which he was consistent with himself, at least on points of theology really essential—a stage represented, according to M. Paul Chauvet,<sup>11</sup> by *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and *Christian Doctrine*. A reversal of this opinion would demand, it seems to me, a method very different from that pursued by Professor Erskine; it would require a more detailed analysis of the poem itself and the inclusion of various critical opinions and well-known facts wholly omitted from the article under consideration. If we make sufficient allow-

<sup>10</sup> Cited by H. J. Todd, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 379.

<sup>11</sup> *La Religion de Milton*, 1909, Ch. xi. See also Margaret L. Bailey, *Milton and Jakob Boehme*, 1914, p. 164.

ance for the difficulties faced by Milton, it can be shown, I think, that the conclusion of *Paradise Lost* was clearly in mind from the beginning and that it is warranted poetically because it is thoroughly consonant with the theological doctrine which the poem was intended to embody.

There is external evidence for supposing that from the beginning Milton knew how his story was to terminate. For the purpose of writing *Paradise Lost* he had read widely in the works of predecessors who had undertaken, with varying degree of success or failure, at least a part of the same work to be performed by his poem. To what extent he made direct use of specific literary "sources," fortunately there is no need to inquire here; for the present purpose it is sufficient to accept what is admitted by all—that Milton was acquainted with a considerable body of such writing. One inevitable result of his reading was to direct his attention to the different ways in which different writers had brought the old story of Adam to an end. The Caedmonian *Genesis*, which was first published in 1655, and with which S. H. Gurteen<sup>12</sup> thinks Milton may have been familiar, concludes on a note grim enough, I presume, to satisfy the demands of Professor Erskine's theological justice, for the only cordial of hope administered to Adam and Eve is to be found in a mere passing phrase. The fourth act of Hugo Grotius's *Adamus Exul* (1601) ends with a chorus in which the angels express the belief that God will redeem "the erring sons of man;" but nothing is made of this hint at the end of the play. In Act V Satan boasts of his victory, and the original pair are driven from Eden by an angry Jehovah with a curse which contains no promise of alleviation. Vondel's *Adam in Ban-*

<sup>12</sup> *The Epic of the Fall of Man*, 1896, pp. 131-2. See also S. von Gajsek, *Milton und Caedmon*, 1911.

*ishment* (1664) ends quite as gloomily. On the other hand, Andreini's *L'Adamo* (1613) represents Adam and Eve rejoicing in the last scene because they have been rescued from Satan and his followers; Satan himself is almost convinced that his grand design has failed; and the drama closes with an exultant hymn in praise of the Messiah. In similar manner, Vondel's *Lucifer* (1654) concludes with a choral ode celebrating the rescue of man and the glory of his Savior. It is not probable that Milton failed to note these divergencies.

Moreover, that he had from the first planned a conclusion of the more consoling kind, and that he was not betrayed into it by a change of opinion after he began his poem, is proved clearly enough by the four drafts drawn up years before for his tragedy on the fall of man.<sup>13</sup> Obviously the one point he had settled at this early date was that his drama should eventually conduct Adam and Eve beyond the stage of their bitterest grief to one of resigned hope. The first two drafts give nothing more than a list of the characters, mainly allegorical; the enumeration closes with Faith, Hope, and Charity, the full significance of which becomes clear only in the later and more amplified schemes. In Draft No. 3 there is an outline of the story divided into acts. Act IV is occupied with the fall of man; he is cited by Conscience to appear before God for examination, and then the "Chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost." In Act V the guilty pair are driven out of Paradise and "praesented by an angel with Labour, Griefe, Hatred, Envie, Warre, Famine, Pestilence, Sicknesse, Discontent, Ignorance, Feare, Death entered into ye world." But this catalogue of evils is followed by the cheering statement that Faith, Hope, and

<sup>13</sup> See A. W. Verity, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi ff.

Charity "comfort him and instruct him," upon which "Chorus briefly concludes." The fourth and final draft foreshadows the conclusion as we actually have it in the finished poem: "The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise, but before causes to passe before his eyes in shapes a mask of all the eville of this life and world; he is humbl'd, relents, dispaire. At last appeares Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah, then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity, instructs him. He repents, gives God the glory, submitts to his penalty. The chorus briefly concludes." It has been remarked of this draft, with no reference to the matter under present consideration, that it "strikes the note of the Christian epic. Adam is ready to go forth with Faith, Hope, and Charity to conquer evil, and in this courageous resolve lies the triumph of good."<sup>14</sup>

The fact that Milton afterwards substituted the epic form for the dramatic may have direct bearing on the author's theological purpose. The probable reasons for this change of plan have been presented by Marianna Woodhull. She very plausibly assigns as the chief cause "the fact that throughout the story Milton's belief compelled him to make prominent the domination of Christ over Satan. For this reason man's fall issues, necessarily, not in a tragedy, but in a Christian epic in which Christ is the hero who triumphs over Satan; and man becomes a victorious hero only when, through faith and hope, he partakes of the Messiah's triumph."<sup>15</sup> If this assumption is correct, Milton's judgment was probably confirmed by the dramatic work of Grotius, Andreini, and Vondel. The limitations imposed by dramatic laws on each of these are such that, whatever the author's desire, the treatment of

<sup>14</sup> Marianna Woodhull, *The Epic of Paradise Lost*, 1907, p. 123.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

the Atonement is at most necessarily brief, a mere suggestion thrown in toward the close of the play, incapable of satisfying a design in which the part of the Messiah is to be the dominant theological note. The greater length and freedom of the epic, on the other hand, enabled Milton, through the use of a vision similar to that introduced by Vergil in the *Aeneid*, to develop this part of his scheme on a scale proportional to its importance.

It is this purely Christian element of *Paradise Lost* to which Professor Erskine's article does the greatest violence; through inattention to this, he gives a wrong impression of the author's original purpose. "If," he says, "there is a central doctrine in *Paradise Lost*, it would seem that death is the inevitable result of sin," quoting in confirmation from the following speech of the Deity. Unfortunately Professor Erskine includes in his quotation only the first three verses, thereby omitting a qualification that is clearly essential to a full statement of Milton's thesis. God announces (Book III, 207 ff.) that man

To expiate his treason hath naught left,  
But to destruction sacred and devote,  
He with his whole posterity must die,  
Die he or Justice must, *unless for him*  
*Some other able, and as willing, pay*  
*The rigid satisfaction, death for death.*<sup>18</sup>

The earlier critics have been corrected more than once for the assertion that Milton's theme is the fall of man. It is, in fact, something much larger than the "losing of our happiness." *Paradise Lost* is concerned primarily, not with the gloomy results of sin, but with the cure. The poem includes the essential points of Milton's theology—not merely the stern pronouncements of Hebraism but the theodicy of Christianity. M. Chauvet sums up the whole

<sup>18</sup> The italics are mine.

matter in two sentences: "Milton est le constant accusateur du péché et le chantre infatigable de la Redemption;" "Car la foi Miltonienne, d'accord en cela avec l'orthodoxie protestante, trouve à la Chute son remède immédiat."<sup>17</sup> According to Miss Bailey, the constant theme of Milton, as well as of Jakob Boehme, is "the origin and final overthrow of evil."<sup>18</sup> This purpose is announced in the invocation of *Paradise Lost*; the opening lines of the poem point to the supreme sacrifice by which "one greater Man" shall

Restore us, and regain the blissful seat.

The teaching that "the wages of sin is death" is merely the starting-point of a theological doctrine intended to fortify man against the terrors of the grave. The author of the Anglo-Saxon *Genesis*, DuBartas, Grotius, Andreini, and Vondel had virtually limited themselves to the Mosaic account of the fall; Milton has grafted upon this the complementary doctrine of the Atonement developed in Vida's *Christias*, Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island*, and Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie*. "*Paradise Lost* thus becomes virtually a paradise, though of another sort, regained; and the poem may be called another Divine Comedy."<sup>19</sup> With this fact in mind, M. Chauvet insists rightly that from the theologian's point of view the hero of *Paradise Lost* is not Satan, but the "Queller of Satan."<sup>20</sup>

To determine the measure of success with which Milton developed his theme, it would be well to recall, at the outset, that in the endeavor to explain the origin and nature of sin and its place in the human scheme, he was under-

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 211, 219.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>19</sup> E. N. S. Thompson, *Essays on Milton*, 1914, p. 194.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 218. See also Emily Hickey, "Is Satan the Hero of *Paradise Lost*?" *Catholic World*, vol. xcvi, pp. 58-71.

taking to solve the one insoluble enigma, one for which neither his theology nor any other philosophy has provided a consistent explanation. It is a subject, says S. H. Gurteen, "which could not possibly be treated consistently by the human mind or in human language."<sup>21</sup> Besides, as the author of an epic poem Milton was under the necessity of embodying his belief, not in the comparatively simple form of a disquisition admitting of exceptions and qualifications, such as we find in *Christian Doctrine*, but in a narrative which should have the independent value of a sequential and plausible legend; under these circumstances, the slightest maladjustment of details stands out in aggravated relief. It is important to consider also how much of the contradictory doctrine in *Paradise Lost* is a matter of tradition and how much is due to the poet himself. In the pious phrasing of Dr. Johnson, "The substance of the narrative is truth; and, as truth allows no choice, it is, like necessity, superior to rule."<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, it is well known that Milton imposed on the ancient story various modifications and "inventions" of his own. Of these, Johnson spoke with orthodox disapproval. Milton's case was not unique. Disturbed, like many other thoughtful men of the seventeenth century, by the new train of ideas growing out of scientific discovery, by the liberal doctrines of neo-Platonic philosophy, by various forms of mysticism, and by other teaching that either openly contradicted the Christian dogma or at least required compromise and adjustment, he endeavored to satisfy the demands of his own intellectual conscience by harmonizing the ancient creed with various liberal doctrines, some of which in the end gave rise to the skepticism of the eighteenth century. His endeavor to pour the new

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 178. <sup>22</sup> *Life of Milton*.

wine into the old bottle did not succeed. If he was the last great poet who attempted to versify the Christian myth, he was also a catholic philosopher whose liberalism all but wrecked the dogma he undertook to defend. The result is stated by Southey: "Milton framed for himself not only a system of divinity but a system of mythology also."<sup>23</sup> A comparative study of the traditional legend and the story recorded in *Paradise Lost* will emphasize two facts: first, that the most glaring contradictions in the poem are traceable to the system inherited; second, that Milton's endeavor to render the old story logically consistent has not wholly failed.

Professor Erskine's main objection is that Milton speaks of death as originating both from God and from Satan. From the very beginning the attempt to rationalize the biblical story was foredoomed to this contradiction as the result of the Hebrew myth intended to account for the origin and continuance of evil.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately for Milton's epic, this Hebrew story is neither monotheistic nor dualistic, but a confused combination of the two hypotheses. In the earlier stages the Hebraic religion was a pure monotheism. The *Book of Genesis* contains no reference to Satan as the originator of evil and the tempter of man; instead, we are left to suppose that evil as well as good emanated from the Deity. The contrary idea of a Satan, or Devil, as the source of evil and the opponent of the Good Spirit, is supposed to have been borrowed by the Hebrews from the Parsee religion during the period of their captivity. This foreign doctrine of dualism was grafted upon the Mosaic account of the temptation and fall of man by identifying the Devil with the strange ser-

<sup>23</sup> *London Quarterly Review*, xxxvi, pp. 54-5.

<sup>24</sup> For a full discussion, see C. C. Everett, "The Devil," *The New World*, vol. iv, pp. 1-22.

pent mentioned in *Genesis*; but actually the new system never completely superseded the old. It is not uncommon to find theologians insisting that Satan is a foreign intrusion, a conception irreconcilable with the original belief of the Jews. On the other hand, the supposition that God himself originated evil as well as good was so disturbing that the commentators were engaged in an endless effort to exonerate Jehovah from the charge of wanton cruelty. The difficulty of the task is illustrated by the *Clementine Homilies*, in which the apology becomes a mere jugglery with words.<sup>25</sup> The inevitable results of this antinomy between monotheism and dualism are that the paternity of evil is never fully solved, and that death, the penalty attached to sin, is ascribed variously to Satan and to God. Vondel makes a naive attempt to remove the discrepancy by having Satan declare, in Act V of *Adam in Banishment*, "Now I will secretly and falsely attribute the origin of evil to my enemy."<sup>25a</sup> Milton's genealogy of Sin and Death follows the dualistic hypothesis; Sin is born of Satan, and Death is their offspring.<sup>26</sup> But he is not consistent, and could not have been. In *Paradise Lost*, as in *Genesis*, it is God himself who informs Adam that death is the penalty of transgression, evidently a curse to be inflicted by the Deity;<sup>27</sup> the imposition of death on newly-created man, however, seems to be the greatest achievement of God's opponent Satan;<sup>28</sup> still later, God refers to death, not as due to Satan, but as something which He himself

<sup>25</sup> Note Homily XIX.

<sup>25a</sup> I have availed myself of a translation of Vondel's poem by Professor Gustave L. van Roosbroeck, which may shortly be expected to appear in print.

<sup>26</sup> Bk. II, 862 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Bk. IV, 426 ff.; VII, 544 ff.; VIII, 328-30; IX, 762-3; X, 49; XII, 397-8.

<sup>28</sup> Bk. X, 229-272, 354-409.

decrees to man.<sup>29</sup> The contradiction is quite as glaring as Professor Erskine says. It is not, however, a contradiction between an early and a late passage in the poem or between two opinions of Milton's; it is a contradiction running through *Paradise Lost* as it does through Hebraic mythology.

Milton's Deity really combines the human defects of character embodied in each of two hypotheses. If the monotheistic postulate involves the admission of cruelty as part of the divine nature, the resort to dualism entails the equally dangerous admission that God created the author of evil and subjected himself to rivalry. A creator and ruler of the universe whose will is opposed and partly frustrated by the designs of an adversary cannot be considered absolute either in wisdom or in rule. The most respectful reader perceives that the Jehovah of *Paradise Lost* is a grotesque creation of a primitive culture: he is neither omniscient nor omnipotent, and his bungling inefficiency often amounts to cruelty to those who are affected by his conduct. In the early stages of Milton's account the narrative of the struggle between God and his opponent Satan constantly borders on manicheism pure and simple. Out of this primitive conception of the Deity and his ill-defined relation to Satan arose most of the further contradictions noted by Professor Erskine. It was Milton's task to relate the story of a conflict between these two powers, Satan aided by Sin and Death, God by the Messiah—a conflict that was to decide the fate of man. Clumsy and illogical as details of this myth may appear, Milton's use of it indicates at least singleness of purpose and a serious endeavor to harmonize conflicting statements.

If that purpose is to represent Good ultimately trium-

<sup>29</sup> Bk. XI, 57 ff.

phant over Evil, to exhibit God as the all-wise and all-powerful spirit "forever educing good out of evil," it may seem in the early portions of the epic that the poet has aggravated the inherited difficulties of his task, that he has been diverted from the theological purpose of his epic by the peculiar fascination of Satan, and has thus prepared for the conclusion Professor Erskine demands. The Anglo-Saxon poet had chained the Devil in Hell immediately after his expulsion from Heaven; Milton more generously allows his Satan to range the universe, and endows him with heroic qualities that give his character a fictional interest far superior to that of any other single actor in the story.<sup>30</sup> This apparent contradiction between art and theology has given rise to more speculation probably than any other aspect of the poem. There may be an element of truth in some of the conjectures that trace the sublimity of Satan to accidental influences foreign to Milton's theology, especially in the supposition repeated by Hazlitt<sup>31</sup>—that Milton transferred to Satan some of his own noble ardor for liberty. Of a less conjectural nature is the influence derived from the vast body of literature which had already made of Satan a figure of heroic proportions. Actually, the originality of Milton's characterization is often exaggerated; one needs only to read Phineas Fletcher's *Apollyonists*, which is itself in the line of a long tradition, to realize that Milton's Satan embodies traits of grandeur which were a part of a familiar conception. During the Middle Ages, it is true, the figure of Satan had been degraded into a vulgar devil, especially by the religious drama; but Milton naturally followed the more

<sup>30</sup> See P. T. Forsyth, "Milton's God and Milton's Satan," *Contemporary Review*, vol. xcv, pp. 450-65; A. F. Agard, "Poetic Personifications of Evil," *Poet-Lore*, vol. ix, pp. 206-16.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*

dignified tradition of the scholars and theologians, which made of the Evil One an opponent worthy of the God whom he opposed.

It was an essential part of this tradition that Satan should be invested with dazzling powers of mind and personality. The explanation lies partly in the history of the Satan myth to which I have referred. The Parsee Spirit of Evil had the appearance of great wisdom, but it turned out always to be malicious and misdirected cunning that defeated itself. The Hebrew Devil resembled this prototype in the general speciousness of his attainments; but there was one notable difference, due to the fundamental distinction between the two religions. To make the doctrine of an Evil Spirit conform at all to monotheism, the Hebrews were compelled to assume that he was originally, not an independent being like the Parsee Angra Mainyu, but an object of the divine creation. Necessarily, therefore, Satan, unlike his prototype, was by nature capable of good as well as evil, and his character includes an element of dignity not found in the account of the clownish Parsee devil. Originally Lucifer was an angel, the brightest of the angels. This genesis imposed two conditions on any plausible history of the Hebrew devil. First, the sublime traits of the angel could not be stripped suddenly from the character of Satan. In the early part of Milton's story, as various critics have observed, we are confronted by the fallen archangel in the first stages of moral deterioration.<sup>32</sup> The process of Satan's gradual degeneration in Milton's poem reflects roughly the stages of his debasement successively in *Job*, *Zechariah*, and *Chronicles*. Secondly, the principle of justice, constantly lauded as the chief trait of the Hebrew Deity, demanded that the Devil should, by

<sup>32</sup> See P. T. Forsyth and A. F. Agard, *op. cit.*

the unimpeded exercise of his own moral choice and by his evil deeds, fully merit the final degree of death to which he was to be condemned. The appearance of justice in God could be preserved only by the most liberal permission for Satan to work out his own tragedy. Above all, a formidable Satan was essential also to Milton's purpose of glorifying the Christ, who was eventually to defeat Satanic wiles. The greater the power of Satan, the more powerful would the "Queller of Satan" appear, the more clearly would the work of the Messiah stand out as the ultimate fact in theology.

The initial assumption of the story once accepted, we cannot fail to admit that the account of the struggle, taken entire, moves forward step by step in the orderly exposition of the superiority of Good over Evil. For although Satan appears at first to triumph, his success always turns out to be ironical. To preserve the dignity of a monotheistic divinity in a system that had become essentially dualistic, Milton resorts to the clumsy makeshift that had become traditional—the explanation that all the machinations of the Devil are by the express permission of the Deity, and that they are used in the furtherance of the divine economy of the universe. Whatever our own unguided interpretation of any incident that seems to derogate from the omnipotence of God, we are cautiously reminded of the irony underlying mere appearances. It is so, too, with Satan's allies Sin and Death. Prominence is given to the fact that they, like Satan, are a part of the divine permission. God himself entrusted the key of the "infernal pit" to Sin.<sup>33</sup> Although she was forbidden to unlock the "adamantine gates," the Deity foreknew that Sin and Death would league their powers with Satan's. But we are reminded

<sup>33</sup> Bk. II, 850 ff.

constantly that the malignant acts of Sin and Death, as well as those of their instigator, are within the control of God, and that in some mysterious way their ravages are to be conformed to a design that does not detract from the omnipotence of the Creator. While Satan is on earth "devising death for man," these monsters are building a causeway from Hell to the World, and later they are given formal welcome to their future possession in one of Satan's grand orations. Once more the appearance of God's discomfiture is false. Any possible misconstruction of the reader's is obviated by an announcement from the Deity in Book x: 615 ff.: the Prince of Hell and his followers, exulting in their success, believe that God has weakly yielded to their superior cunning,

And know not that I call'd and drew them thither,  
My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth  
Which Man's polluting sin with taint hath shed  
On what was pure.

If *Paradise Lost* seems at first to indulge Satan's opposition to the point of the Deity's own insecurity, the myth as a whole is made to justify the permission, for in the end the cause of God completely triumphs, and Satan's defeat is all the more bitter because of his earlier success.

The nature of God, Satan, Sin, and Death and their relative powers are *per se* matters of pure speculation; it is only when these conceptions are made to converge into a definition of man's destiny that systematic theology assumes practical interest. Was this battle between supernatural forces of Good and Evil to issue in anything but a hopeless tragedy for the human pair concerned? Or could it be made to yield an evangel of great hope to all mankind? These are the practical questions which Milton's theology was to answer—questions posited by every philosophy that attempts to reconcile evil and divine

Providence. And in his treatment the ancient dogma becomes a creed of comfort rather than pessimism. It is Milton's answer to the persistent charge of atheism that Providence is a cruel thing, God a cruel being. So far as this answer relates exclusively to God, it rests chiefly on the doctrine of man's free will,<sup>34</sup> a libertarian belief substituted by Milton's creed for the grim determinism of the Calvinists. His emphasis upon freedom of the will is a long stride towards the humanization of a cruel dogma, enabling him to defend his Deity from the most serious charge ever made by the opponents of Christianity. Obviously, too, his characterization of the ancient Jehovah makes the most of the few possibilities to foreshadow from the first an outcome hopeful for disobedient man. The offended God recognized degrees of guilt. Adam's sin is less than that of the rebel angels;

Man therefore shall find grace,  
The other none: in mercy and justice both,  
Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glory excel;  
But mercy first and last shall brightest shine.<sup>35</sup>

Milton's rendering of the story is at this point more creditable to the Deity than Giles Fletcher's treatment of the same situation. In Fletcher's poem there is a set debate between Justice and Mercy before the throne of the Most High. The cold logic of Justice at first prevails with God and his angels; it is only after long pleading that Mercy induces God to relent towards sinful man. In connection with the story of the curse Milton has actually exhibited the Deity as more consistent and humane than the *Book of Genesis* does. God's solemn oath that man should die the day he transgressed is not executed, and the contradiction is left unexplained by the Mosaic account.

<sup>34</sup> Bk. III, 97 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Bk. III, 131-4.

In *Paradise Lost* Adam himself expresses surprise that he is allowed to "overlive" and not unreasonably accuses the Creator of inconsistency.<sup>36</sup> The poet has provided the reader with the necessary explanation in the epic itself (Book III: 207 ff.) and also in the argument prefixed to Book III. The curse is qualified: "Man with all his progeny devoted to death must die, *unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offense, and undergo his punishment.*"<sup>37</sup>

But Milton's answer to atheism does not turn primarily upon the benevolence of God. Even the doctrine of free will and such adjustments as he made in the traditional story do not serve as a full apology. With few exceptions, even the God of *Paradise Lost* turns out to be at best only the embodiment of inflexible Justice. Milton's conception required greater emphasis upon the kindlier attributes Goodness and Mercy. These are secured in the poem by supreme emphasis upon the nature and function of Christ as part of the divine nature. In a very distinct manner, the Son becomes the humane complement of the Father; he is literally the mediator between an offended God and sinful man, the Savior of the human race. Milton's account of the Messiah is, from the theological point of view, the most original aspect of the poem. In some very important details it deviates from common opinion and the literary tradition, and each of the changes made is significant of the poet's purpose to conclude the epic upon a note of human comfort. The alterations are of two kinds. In the first place, there is a departure from the conventional report that Satan was expelled from Heaven by Michael; instead, Milton represents Christ as the only one capable of the victory, thus bringing the two chief figures, who are in a sense "spiritual peers," into conflict from the begin-

<sup>36</sup> Bk. x, 771-5.

<sup>37</sup> The italics are mine.

God Justice  
but  
God is  
answer  
Son is  
answer

ning and preparing the reader for those subsequent victories in which man is to be a partaker. In the second place, there are changes that bring the Messiah into a closer and more intelligible relation to Man and thus give a plausible reason for his tender compassion for the race. This tendency has been noted by Chauvet in connection with Milton's chief heresy, Arianism. While such a doctrine may detract from the dignity of the Son considered as a member of the Trinity, it has this fictional advantage over the orthodox belief, that it renders the story of the Atonement more natural. A similar change is made by Milton in the account of the creation. According to the traditional version, the world was created by God; Milton has this act of creation delegated to the Son, so that from the beginning man's world and man's fate are made the peculiar concern of Christ.<sup>38</sup> The other poets followed the Mosaic legend also in having God himself descend to the Garden of Eden to rebuke Adam for his sin. DuBartas, for example, represents the Deity "with thundering majesty" upbraiding the "wretch" Adam in such awful terms that

His rosie cheeks are chang'd to earthen hew;  
His dying body drops an ycie deaw.<sup>39</sup>

Grotius and Vondel follow the same disciplinary model. Milton's account is less orthodox and less cruel. It was the Son of God who came to pronounce judgment on man<sup>40</sup>—"the mild Judge and Intercessor both." He came in the still, cool evening; his words and manner were as gentle as the close of day; when Adam had confessed,

<sup>38</sup> See, however, *Christian Doctrine*, Bk. I, Ch. v, vii.

<sup>39</sup> *The Devine Weekes and Workes*, tr. by Joshua Sylvester, ed. 1611, p. 246.

<sup>40</sup> See Bk. x, 85 ff. For an explanation of the apparent identification of God and Christ, see *Christian Doctrine*, Bk. I, Ch. v.

The gracious Judge without revile repli'd.

By such changes Milton has infused into the harsh story of *Genesis* something of the finer feeling and more tolerant spirit of the New Testament and overlaid the sternness of God with the beneficence of the Christ.

If all this deliberate characterization and motivation, some of it at the expense of a literal interpretation of the Bible, mean anything as a background for the battle which is to be waged for the possession of man in the last four books of *Paradise Lost*, they mean clearly that from the beginning the author intends the final victory to be won by the powers of Good over Evil, the conclusion of the story illustrating once more the truth hymned by the angels when the world was created:

Who seeks  
To lessen thee, against his purpose serves  
To manifest the more thy might: his evil  
Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.<sup>41</sup>

The reader knows beforehand that, whatever advantage Satan may gain in the struggle for man, it will be only apparent and temporary, an evil out of which will ultimately arise a greater good. No other conclusion could satisfy the demands of the story already foreshadowed or the theological doctrine announced.

The latter part of the poem is devoted largely to explaining how the apparent victory of Satan, through his creatures Sin and Death, is finally to be turned into utter defeat.<sup>42</sup> This knowledge is imparted to the reader in three scenes of the epic, each of which is built up round

<sup>41</sup> Bk. VII, 613-6.

<sup>42</sup> I cannot agree with R. E. Neil Dodge that the poem provides no definite task for God and the Son. See "Theology in *Paradise Lost*," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 2, p. 17.

the miracle of the Atonement. In the first (Book x, 1028-1104), affording little more than a hint, we are informed that Adam, caught in the toils of sin and struggling against despair, finally derives comfort from the vague prophecy of Michael that the seed of woman shall bruise the serpent's head. For this prophetic allusion to Christianity Milton found warrant in the usual interpretation of *Genesis*. But the other two scenes of the story, scenes in which the Christian plan is completely exhibited, are inventions added by the poet himself, and the very boldness of the procedure emphasizes the importance he attached to the doctrine. In one of these (Book xi, 22 ff.) God the Father accepts the offer of the Son in propitiation of man's sin in accordance with the scheme already explained in Book iii. In the other (Book xi, 370-Book xii, 605) this knowledge is conferred upon Adam through an apocalyptic vision of the future. Here Milton completely transcends the limits prescribed by literal interpretation. Adam was not entitled to such knowledge. Apparently the anonymous author of *Order and Disorder; or, The World Made and Undone* (1679)—a poem written, as the Preface says, to remove various unorthodox ideas added by poets to the story of man's fall—intended his rebuke for *Paradise Lost* when he declared that we can "but make a wild uncertain guess" as to how much of the Christian dispensation was vouchsafed to Adam. For Milton's purpose, however, the revelation was essential, and he introduced it with characteristic disregard for the literal.

Whatever may be said concerning the propriety of his including this material (and the question in no way concerns the matter under discussion), the doctrine expounded in these two scenes of the poet's invention is quite in keeping with Milton's original purpose and in most respects thoroughly orthodox. His explanation necessarily involves

the contradiction that the evils sin and death are converted into benefits. This is no original thought of Milton's, and the contradiction is not to be ascribed to any inconsistency of purpose. It is the central paradox of the creed he inherited. The dogma of Christianity, in common with philosophic apologies for the existence of evil, resorts to the paradoxical explanation that evil is not evil except to a partial view of the universal economy; according to the Christian's explanation, there is a transmutation of apparent evil into actual good, a miracle effected by the redemptive power of the Messiah. This is the miracle of human comfort which Milton endeavored to reduce to consistent narrative form. The least reflection will show that he aggravated the difficulties of a difficult task by undertaking to present Sin and Death allegorically. Addison pointed out that they are the least real of all the actors in the story.<sup>43</sup> There is a discrepancy between sin and Sin; sin the abstract enters the mind of man before Sin the monster has left the gates of Hell, and Milton himself apologizes for this confusion.<sup>44</sup> It seems also that Death must combine in one figure various ideas. The real crux, however, was to allegorize the paradox to which I have referred, the conversion of death into a benefit. In the end, Milton abandons the method of allegory; the figures Sin and Death are virtually discarded, and the solution of the riddle has to do only with the abstract ideas. This, however, is a failure, not of the theologian, but of the allegorist,<sup>45</sup> and in no way affects the question of theological opinion. From the purely speculative point of view

<sup>43</sup> *Spectator* 273.

<sup>44</sup> Bk. x, 585-7.

<sup>45</sup> For the tradition followed by Milton's allegory, see J. S. P. Tatlock, "Milton's Sin and Death," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. XXI, pp. 239-40; Herbert E. Cory, "Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton," *University of California Publications in Mod. Philology*, vol. II, No. 5, pp. 311-73.

two remarkable facts in Milton's exposition of the Christian miracle are that nowhere in *Paradise Lost* does he clearly define the term death, as he does in *Christian Doctrine*, and that, unlike Dante and Bunyan, he has little to say of the eternal death of the soul. There are passing allusions to it, as in the account of the causeway built between Hell and Earth and in Adam's vague surmise that the curse pronounced may mean, not mere cessation of life, but unending misery. The distinction between temporal and unending death is implied also in that colloquy over man's fate that takes place between the Deity and Christ in Book XI; but here, where we might naturally expect a pointed discrimination, the distinction is a matter of mere inference. The most definite statement made concerning the final death of the soul is found in Michael's comment to Adam upon the meaning of the crucifixion in Book XII: 427 ff.:

This God-like act  
Annuls thy doom, the death thou should'st have di'd,  
In sin forever lost from life.

The reason for this apparent incompleteness is, I think, obvious. Once Milton had explained the divine scheme for the rescue of man from this utmost form of death, and had stressed the freedom of man's will either to reject or to accept spiritual salvation, he had done all that was required in a poem written to vindicate the providence of God. He offers hope and consolation only to "as many as offer'd life Neglect not."<sup>46</sup> The revelation was made,

<sup>46</sup> Bk. XII, 425-6. "Now the call to repentance and the gift of grace are from the Deity; their acceptance is the result of faith; if therefore the efficacy of Christ's satisfaction be lost through want of faith, this does not prove that an effectual satisfaction has not been made, but that the offer has not been accepted," *Christian Doctrine*, Bk. I, Ch. XVI.

it must be remembered also, to Adam, a human being already repentant and eagerly seeking an escape from sin. It is not illogical that Milton's apology therefore relates exclusively to that kind of death entailed by Adam's sin upon all mankind, the one dread result from which, if we except a miracle or two, no man was to escape to the end of time. Only in connection with this universal penalty does he explain the paradox that a curse becomes a blessing. Like any other philosophy, his creed had to accept the ugly facts of life as we find it and to explain them as hopefully as possible. That physical death should continue among men for a time as the result of the original curse in spite of Christ's atonement was, according to the commentators, a demand of moral law; Mercy could not wholly supersede Justice. In *Paradise Lost* this principle is recognized by Christ himself.<sup>47</sup> The plan adopted, therefore, was in the nature of a compromise that satisfied the stern Jehovah and also the benevolent Messiah. According to the pact, man was to endure physical suffering and death, as God had solemnly sworn he should. Actually Milton held, as we know from *Christian Doctrine*,<sup>48</sup> that soul as well as body was to pay this penalty of interrupted existence. But death was to be only temporary: eventually the righteous man, renewed physically and spiritually, was to be admitted to a life of transcendent happiness far superior to his life in primal ignorance and innocence. Thus death, though considered by the Evil One as a curse, becomes through this merciful dispensation the righteous man's chief benefit. It is the transition from the life of sin to that "better life," where, says the Messiah,

All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliss,  
Made one with me as I with thee one.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Bk. I, Ch. XIII.

<sup>48</sup> Bk. XI, 40-1.

<sup>49</sup> Bk. XI, 43, 44.

Under this dispensation, perpetual life of the body would be the greatest of human curses, and it was a merciful motive that prompted the Almighty Ruler to announce in his "sovereign will" that Adam should no longer be left within reach of the Tree of Life. The angel instructs Adam that death is only

a deathlike sleep  
A gentle wafting to immortal life.<sup>50</sup>

Afterwards Adam, who has learned his lesson well, uses the similar phrase "to the faithful Death the gate of Life."<sup>51</sup> The following speech by the Deity (Book xi, 57-62), one cited by Professor Erskine as evidence of inconsistency, if taken in its full context, denotes no change in Milton's belief:

I at first with two fair gifts  
Created him endow'd, with happiness  
And immortality: that fondly lost,  
This other serv'd but to eternize woe,  
Till I provided death; so death becomes  
His final remedy.

The passage does, it is true, contradict other statements in the poem concerning both the origin and the nature of death; but they are contradictions imposed upon Milton by his creed, and his own narrative attempts to render the paradox intelligible.

When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,<sup>52</sup>

this partial victory over sin and death is to be completed at the second coming of Christ, who will defeat Satan in a last great battle. Announcement of this event is made by God to the angels in Book x: 632 ff. Adam is afterward informed that, when as a result of this victory Satan, Sin, and Death have been locked in Hell,

<sup>50</sup> Bk. XII, 434-5.

<sup>51</sup> Bk. XII, 571.

<sup>52</sup> Bk. XII, 459.

Then the Earth  
 Shall all be Paradise, far happier place  
 Than this of Eden, and far happier day.<sup>53</sup>

The knowledge afforded by this final scene in the "vision of God" is the occasion of Adam's greatest outburst of joy:

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!  
 That all this good of evil shall produce,  
 And evil turn to good; more wonderful  
 Than that which by creation first brought forth  
 Light out of darkness! full of doubt I stand,  
 Whether I shall repent me now of sin  
 By me done and occasion'd, or rejoice  
 Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring.<sup>54</sup>

It is here apparently that Professor Erskine finds his chief evidence that the latter part of the poem is more optimistic than consistent theology would warrant. Does he mean to say that Milton has adopted ideas not in keeping with the usual interpretation of Christianity? It is difficult, of course, to reconcile the idea of a world perfect before the entrance of sin with the statement that after the conquest of sin and death it will be succeeded by a "far happier place" in which man will enjoy a "far happier day" than he had known when fresh from the hand of God. But this is another of the contradictions proposed by the dogma itself, and it is authenticated in *Christian Doctrine* by an array of Scriptural passages.<sup>55</sup> The recognized authorities were not quite agreed as to what would have been the portion of man and his world had he withstood temptation. Milton himself raises the query, but wisely refrains from attempting to solve it; he contents himself with the certainty that the bliss to be attained was greater than that which Adam had forfeited. This consummate providence is the climax towards which the entire

<sup>53</sup> Bk. XII, 463-5.

<sup>54</sup> Bk. XII, 469-76.

<sup>55</sup> See *Christian Doctrine*, Bk. I, Ch. XXXIII.

revelation tends, and Adam's reception of the miracle is quite natural. In the earlier stages of the revelation, the prophecy of Christ's incarnation is kept prominent through the Israelitish prototypes. When the story reaches the birth of Christ on earth, the union of God with man, Adam is "surcharg'd" with joy. The miracle of the cross is explained, and then follows the account of the last fight. In the theologian's creed this is the miracle of miracles, the supreme fact for man's contemplation; surely, then, Milton was justified here, if anywhere, in ascribing to Adam happiness of the most ecstatic kind.

That the Christian poet Milton was not exceeding the bounds of orthodoxy in Adam's expression of happiness, that this phase of his doctrine was not a passing thought which came in to disturb the original gloomy design of *Paradise Lost*, can be demonstrated by reference to other writers of the time. *The Devine Weekes and Works* was written by a very stern old Puritan who evidently luxuriated in a stern God, and the story he told is confined chiefly to the events of the Old Testament; yet DuBartas, and that too with considerable disregard for context, introduces into his paraphrase of *Genesis* this same paradoxical view of sin and death. God, he says,

Extracts from dross of thine audacious ill,  
 Three unexpected goods: prayse for his Name;  
 Bliss for thy self; for Satan endless-shame:  
 Sith, but for sin, *Justice* and *Mercy* were  
 But idle names: and but that Thou didst erre,  
*Christ* had not come to conquer and to quell,  
 Upon the Cross, Sin, Satan, Death, and Hell:  
 Making thee blessed more since thine offence,  
 Then in thy primer happy innocence.  
 Then, might'st thou dy; now, death thou doost not doubt:  
 Now, in the Heav'n; then didst thou ride without:  
 In earth, thou liv'dst then; now in Heav'n thou beest:  
 Then, thou didst hear God's word; it, now thou seest:

Then, pleasant fruits; now, Christ is thy repast:  
Then might'st thou fall; but now thou standest fast.<sup>56</sup>

Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie* contains a passage expressing, in the person of the poet himself, the same doubt Adam felt as to whether the fact of sin in man's life should be deplored:

Such joy we gained by our parentals,  
That good, or bad, whether I cannot wish,  
To call it a mishap, or happy miss,  
That fell from Eden, and to Heav'n did rise.<sup>57</sup>

This is succeeded by stanzas in which this idea of evil converted to good is picturesquely elaborated by the favorite method of parallelism:

A tree was first the instrument of strife,  
Where Eve to sin her soul did prostitute;  
A tree is now the instrument of life,  
Though all that trunk, and this fair body suit:  
Ah cursed tree, and yet O blessed fruit!  
That death to him, this life to us doth give:  
Strange is the cure, when things past cure revive,  
And the Physician dies, to make his patient live.  
Sweet Eden was the harbour of delight,  
Yet in his honey flow'rs our poison blew;  
Sad Gethsemane the bow'r of baleful night,  
Where Christ a health of poison for us drew,  
Yet all our honey in that poison grew:  
So we from sweetest flow'rs could suck our bane,  
And Christ from bitter venom could again  
Extract life out of death, and pleasure out of pain.  
A man was first the author of our fall,  
A man is now the author of our rise:  
A garden was the place we perish'd all,  
A garden is the place he pays our price:  
And the old serpent with a new device,  
Hath found a way himselfe for to beguile:  
So he that all men tangled in his wile,  
Is now by one man caught, beguil'd with his own guile.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.

<sup>57</sup> "Christ's Triumph over Death."

Sir Thomas Browne is eloquent on the same subject.<sup>58</sup> In "the dormitories of the dead . . . the Devil, like an insolent Champion, beholds with pride the Spoils and Trophies of his Victory over Adam. This is that dismal conquest we all deplore, that makes us so often cry, *O Adam, quid fecisti?*" But, he continues, "I find not anything therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much less a well-resolved Christian; and therefore am not angry at the error of our first Parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, and like the best of them to dye, that is, to cease to breathe, to take a farewell of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one instant a Spirit. When I take a full view and circle of my self without this reasonable moderator, and equal piece of Justice, Death, I do conceive my self the miserablest person extant." In a later passage, discussing "the misery of immortality in the flesh," he adds, "The first day of our Jubilee is Death; the Devil hath therefore failed of his desires: we are happier with death than we should have been without it." What other conclusion was possible to one professing the Christian faith? The rapturous language used by Adam is merely an echo of the biblical passage, "O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory?"

The elder critics would have Adam remain in the state of exaltation produced by the vision; Professor Erskine apparently would have him entirely forget this experience. Neither solution would be possible; neither would be true to human nature. During the revelation Adam is the human race typified; what he learns is the epitome of human destiny as a whole, reaching beyond the very boundaries of time, and he speaks for all mankind. The vision

<sup>58</sup> *Religio Medici*, 1643, pp. 86-7, 100.

ended, the transport over, Adam became an individual facing an immediate present of conflict and probation. The gradual descent from the typical to the individual ends with the two pathetic lines at the close. The Augustan critics, intent on technicalities, could not fully appreciate the higher law at work in these concluding lines and would have forced the theme to conform to a literary pattern. This higher law of truth would be equally violated, on the other hand, if Adam's natural sorrow at his departure from Eden were not tempered by the vision, given for the explicit purpose that he might depart

Though sad

With cause for evils past, yet much more cheer'd

With meditation on the happy end.<sup>60</sup>

The skill with which Milton adjusts these two feelings is made evident by a comparison of the scene immediately preceding the vision and the one following it. When Michael appeared to Adam and Eve, he announced briefly that the decree of death had been postponed and that sin could be atoned for by penitence, but that they were to be banished forever from Eden.<sup>60</sup> At the moment, the first part of the message made no impression; Adam and Eve were lost in the bitter reflection that they must give up their abode of innocence and be driven from the immediate presence of God. The grief expressed here is probably bitter enough to coincide with Professor Erskine's ideal. Afterwards, when Adam has beheld the future, the first part of the angel's message has come to have real meaning; the wildness of grief has been softened into the resignation of Christian hope for the race as a whole. The fineness of Milton's perception and the deliberateness of the concluding sentiment may be demonstrated also by comparing

<sup>60</sup> Bk. XII, 603-5.

<sup>60</sup> Bk. XI, 251-62.

the close of *Paradise Lost* with that of *Adamus Exul*. Grotius's tragedy ends with Adam's lament—

Yet my heart is sad  
To quit this charmed birthplace, and my eye,  
Wet with its many-gushing tears, looks back  
To take its long, its last farewell of Eden.  
Where shall we wander? Whither shall we bend  
Our weary steps? Where choose our place of rest  
And find a home in exile, and a hope? <sup>61</sup>

The concluding lines of *Paradise Lost* are very similar, probably not by accident; but the general similarity emphasizes the one notable difference. Grotius's tragedy, confining itself to the Old Testament, dismisses Adam with a hopeless question; Milton's Christian epic has provided the first Man with the answer he sought. It is appropriate, both theologically and poetically, that the Adam of *Paradise Lost*, who has beheld the vision of God's providence, should depart from Eden "though sorrowing, yet in peace." <sup>62</sup> The shadow of death following hard upon sin does, as M. Chauvet says, hover over the poem. But "Devant ces tristes constatations, Milton s'émeut pas; mais il affirme la Providence éternelle dans la Rédemption. Michel en suscite la vision réconfortante au couple puni, qu'il peut dès lors expulser 'en paix' du Paradis Terrestre. C'est un des plus beaux passages du poème, calme et fort, où l'on sent planer la bonne justice de Dieu." <sup>63</sup> I consider that Johnson's estimate still holds good: "To the completeness or *integrity* of the design nothing can be objected; it has distinctly and clearly what Aristotle requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end." <sup>64</sup>

C. A. MOORE.

<sup>61</sup> Tr. by F. Barham, 1839. <sup>62</sup> Bk. XI, 118. <sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 219-20.

<sup>64</sup> This article necessarily leaves out of account some recent important studies of Milton; it was accepted for publication in March, 1920.

## II.—“THE DEVIL AND THE ADVOCATE”

Der Stricker, an Austrian poet who is perhaps best known for his *Pfaffe Amîs* (ca. 1230), is the first (so far as we know) to tell the story of a wicked advocate (or judge) who was more unscrupulous in robbing his neighbors than the Devil himself. This tale, though perhaps a folk-tale originally, and even in its written versions never very far from the spirit of the folk, is interesting chiefly for its literary adaptations, notably Chaucer's *Friar's Tale*.<sup>1</sup> Its principal forms, which are maintained with remarkable consistency, no doubt because its propagation was rather through books than through oral tradition, seem to have been determined by its use as exemplum, jest, or simple story. The oldest form, as it occurs in the narratives of der Stricker and Caesarius of Heisterbach, is also the most frequent and important. A rather unhappy rearrangement of the same incidents, which have to do with the leveling of a curse at a man or beast, characterizes a second form, of which the earliest example is found in Johannes Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* (1522). A little later (1537) Hans Sachs altered the story by omitting one episode regularly found in the other two types. Into one of these three closely related groups, represented by der Stricker and Caesarius, Pauli, and Hans Sachs respectively, the great majority of the thirty known versions fall. The variations are comparatively

<sup>1</sup> In the studies dealing specifically with Chaucer, as cited in the bibliographies of Miss Hammond and Professor Wells, less than a dozen parallels to the *Friar's Tale* are to be found, about a score more are mentioned in this article.

insignificant, and the analogous tales which do not follow one of these standard outlines are strikingly few.<sup>2</sup>

Der Stricker tells the story as follows:

A judge, so rich and notorious a sinner that people think that the earth should swallow him up, rides out early one market-day to visit his favorite vineyard, and when he is returning to the village meets a richly dressed stranger. The judge greets him, asking who he is and whence he comes. The stranger at first refuses to disclose his identity, but when the judge threatens him he confesses he is the Devil and explains his business, saying that today he is allowed to take anything that is offered to him in earnest. The judge volunteers to accompany him and orders him under the penalty of God's wrath to seize all that should fall to his lot. To this the Devil demurs, saying that these instructions will not benefit the judge; but the latter insists and the two go toward the market-place. As they walk along a woman drives a pig out of her house, saying, "Now go to the Devil!" The judge orders his companion to carry it off, but the latter does not dare to, for the woman is not in earnest. Then they meet a woman who sends one of her cattle to the Devil, but this, too, he will not accept. Nor can he take a disobedient child, as the judge commands him, for the mother would not have given it up for two thousand pounds. As they enter the market-place they are halted by the crowd. An old woman perceives the wicked judge and begins to weep, calling misfortunes down on his head because he had without good and just reason taken her cow and mocked her poverty.

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<sup>2</sup> The following examples I have not had access to: (1) in Momigno (see below, p. 41); (2) in *Vademecum für lustige Leute*, III (1767), 60, No. 70, which was taken from Pauli (cf. Jess, *Langbein und seine Verserzählungen*, p. 43: on the *Vademecum* cf. Hayn u. Gotendorf, *Bibl. German. Erotica & Curiosa*, München, 1914, VIII, 59, 60); (3) in Bauernfeld, *Aus der Mappe der alten Fabulisten*, 1879, p. 99, "Der Richter und der Teufel"; (4) Dach, *Zeitvertreiber*, 124 (cited by Oesterley, in Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, p. 482, No. 81); (5) Pant. Candidus op. Schulze, 185 (cited by Oesterley, *ibid.*; cf. Stiefel, *Herrigs Archiv* CXXV [1910] 104); (6) Erasmus Melander, *Iocoseria*, *Deutsche Ausgabe (Schimpf und Ernst)*, Lich, 1605, II, 115, No. 102 (cited by Wesselski, *Mönchslatein*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 212, No. 36); (7) Dähnhardt, *Schwänke aus aller Welt*, No. 60 (cited by Andrae, *Beiblatt zur Anglia* XXVII [1916], p. 86. Andrae, *ibid.*, cites *Fliegende Blätter*, 1875, "Wann es ernst ist," but the reference is wrong. Nos. 4, 5, and 6 above appear to represent the jest-book tradition.

By Christ's sufferings she begs that the Devil should bear off the judge, body and soul. The Devil does not need to have his attention called to this opportunity twice and, seizing his prey by the hair, flies away with the judge to the astonishment of the multitude in the market-place. . . . "Thus ends the tale: the judge in his victory tasted defeat; he thought to win; he lost. It is most unwise to have dealings with the Devil. . . . He knows so many a savage trick that he is greatly to be feared, as we have seen in this story of the judge. May God deliver us from the pains of Hell."<sup>3</sup>

The same story is told by Caesarius of Heisterbach, a thirteenth century collector of folk-tales, almost contemporary with der Stricker, in his fragmentary *Libri Octo Miraculorum*,<sup>4</sup> a work which the author perhaps did not live to complete and publish, and which seems to have had a much more restricted circulation than his *Dialogus Miraculorum*. Caesarius is careful to give the source from which he derived the tale, saying that "a certain abbot in the diocese of Bremen" told it to him. It is not necessary to reprint the text of Caesarius' version since it is very closely followed by the later versions. It is copied almost verbatim in the *Promptuarium* of Herolt (ca. 1435-40), perhaps the most important of the systematic collections of exempla. Here it differs from its source only in the omission of the introductory sentence ("Retulit mihi [*i. e.*, Caesarius] quidam abbas ordini Cister-

<sup>3</sup> Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, Stuttgart, 1850, III, 387-393, No. LXIX, "Der Richter und der Teufel."

<sup>4</sup> A. Meister, "Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 13. Supplementheft, Rome, 1901, p. 90, Book II, ch. 17, "De advocato, quem diabolus vivum rapuit, dum iret facere exactionem." It is retold in German in the *Beilage der Täglichen Rundschau*, 22 Oct., 1912 (Andrae, *Beiblatt zu Anglia*, XXVII, 1916, 86). Max Foerster (*Herrig's Archiv*, CX [1903], 427) remarked on the similarity to Chaucer's tale, but did not observe that the story was identical with an analogue which had already been published.

ciensis ante annos paucos in diocesi Bremensi militem quendam fuisse diversarum villarum advocatum”), in the regular substitution of “advocatus” for “miles,” and in other insignificant variations in phrase.<sup>5</sup>

Slightly modified, the story is twice reported in manuscripts in the British Museum: one of the versions, differing only in that the hog of the first episode is replaced by a calf, has been frequently printed;<sup>6</sup> while the other, which is unpublished, substitutes a sheep. The latter differs completely in phraseology from the story in the Cotton MS, but contains the same incidents in the same sequence. The text is as follows:

Quodam tempore quidam Rusticus surgens diluculo intendebat ire ad forur proximę ville. Cui demon in forma alterius rustici expectabat ante hostium suum, et cum rusticus exiret de doma sua demon salutavit eum et quesivit quorsum tenderet. Et ille respondit se velle ire ad forum proximę ville. Demon dixit, ‘Et ego uolo illuc ire; simus ergo socii in via.’ Dixit Rusticus, ‘Placet michi.’ Et cum venissent ad uiam quesivit Rusticus quis esset. Qui respondit, ‘Ego sum demon.’ Et ille, ‘O maledicte, quid tu vis facere in foro?’ Ad quod demon, ‘Non propter aliud modo ibi vado, nisi quia uolo recipere quiequit michi spontaneę offertur.’ Tunc Rusticus, ‘Sic bene pacior te ire mecum, quia spero quod michi nichil facias.’ Dixit demon, ‘Ne timeas.’ Procedentes igitur in uia et confabulantes in leticia; ecce venit quidam qui pascebat gregem suum, et cum vna ouis nimium discurreret ab aliis iratus super eam pastor maledixit ei et verbis tradidit eam dyabolo. Tunc Rusticus audiens dixit

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<sup>5</sup>Herolt’s version is easily accessible; see Wright, *A Selection of Latin Stories* (Percy Society, VIII), p. 70, No. LXXVII (reprinted in Clouston, *Originals and Analogues of Some of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales*, I [London, 1872], 106). It is translated in Wesselski, *Mönchs-latein*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 43-44, No. 36.

<sup>6</sup>First published from Cotton MS. Cleopatra DVIII, fol. 110 by Wright (*Archæologia*, XXXII [1847], 365); recollated by Miss L. T. Smith and published in Clouston, *Originals and Analogues*, I, 105 and in Skeat, *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, III (Oxford, 1900), 450-451; cf. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, London, 1910, III, 639, No. 5.

demoni, 'Ecce ouis illa data est tibi; tolle eam.' Cui demon, 'O karissime,' ista maledictio et donacio non procedit ex corde et ideo non possum eam tollere.' Demum venerunt ad uillam, et ecce intra portam in prima domo sedebat quedam mulier in foribus domus sue habens in sinu paruulum lactantem et nimium vagientem. Qua de re mulier nimium rapta furore cepit puero maledicere et eum verbis dyabolo tradere. Quod audiens Rusticus demoni dixit iterum, 'Ecce puer ille datus est tibi; tolle eum.' Cui demon chaninando [? cachinando] respondit, 'O nec ista maledictio procedit ex corde.' Et sic pertransierunt. Venientes autem super forum, subito apparuit quedam femina pauper, et videns Rusticum dixit, 'O quod dyabolus vos accipiat cum corpore et anima quamdiu uultis affligere animam meam cum mercede mea quam apud nos merui et michi non datis.' Statim demon tenens Rusticum per collerium suum dixit, 'Modo volo accipere quod datum est michi, quia hoc processit ex corde.' Et ita deduxit eum permittente dei iudicio. Ne igitur nobis simile contingat, saltem in anima multum cauere debemus ne frauderimus mercennarios nostros mercede uel uictu suo, quia dicit Apostolus I ad Thimo[theum] V, 'Qui suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet fidem negauit et est infideli deterior.' Sed potius debemus studere esse liberales erga ipsos et alios pauperes. Tunc deus multiplicabit nobis bona etc.\*

From Herolt's collection the story was borrowed with insignificant changes by Andreas Hondorf (d. 1572) for his *Promptuarium Exemplorum*.<sup>9</sup> I print it here because it is less easily accessible than Herolt's version:

Es war ein geitziger *Procurator* vnd *Aduocat*/ der sich in gerechten vnd vngerechten sachen/ gebrauchen lies/ vnd vbernam die Leute nur redlich/ sonderlich die Bawren auff dem Lande/ von denen er oft gebraucht ward/ das jhm die Leute sehr feind/ seiner Geitzes halben/ vnd das er gerechte sachen/ vngerecht zu machē pflegte. Als er ein mal zu einem Dorff reisete/ zu *procuriren*, kam der Teuffel/

\* The reading in the copy before me is uncertain.

<sup>9</sup> Add. MS. 15833, fol. 156b, cf. Herbert III, 592, No. 108. For this copy I am indebted to Dr. Willard Farnham.

<sup>9</sup> Fol. 362b-363a (Leipzig, 1580). Oesterley's reference (notes to Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*, No. 81) is to the edition of 1572. On Hondorf see T. F. Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, p. lxxvii. For a copy of Hondorf's version I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor Crane.

in gestalt eines Menschen zu (363a) jhm. Als sie nun lange mit einander sprachten/ vermerckte er das es der Teuffel were/ furcht sich sehr/ kondte weder mit Zeichen des Creutzes noch Gebet seiner los werden. Indem begegnet jm ein armer Man/ der ein Schwein an einem Stricke fûrete. Als sich nu die Sau nicht wolt fûrē lassen/ vnd hin vnd wider lieff/ ward der Mensch schellig/ vnd saget/ Ey lauff das dich der Teuffel holte/ etc. Als solches der *Procurator* hõrete/ sagt er Hõre Geselle das Schwein ist dir gegeben/ Gehe hin vnd fûhrs weg/ Meinet also er wolte des Teuffels los werdē. Da antwort der Teuffel/ Er hat mir sie mit nichte gegeben/ denn es ist jhm nicht vmbs Hertz. Als sie nu zu einem Dorff wamen/ hat ein Kind sehr geschrien vnd geweinet/ das die Mutter gesagt: Ey schrey/ das dich der Teuffel hole/ wie bistu doch so eigensinnig. Als solches auch der *Procurator* gehõrt/ Sagt er/ Hõrestu nun dis/ das kriegestu eines Menschen Seel/ Gehe hin/ vnd fûre dis Kind weg. Da antwort der Teuffel wider/ vnd sagt/ Ey es ist der Mutter lange nicht vmbs Hertz/ die Leut pflegen aus Zorn bewegt also zu sagen. Als sie nun an den ort kamen da der *Procurator* hin wolte/ vnd die Leut des *Procurators* gewar waren/ die jm sonderlich auch spinne feind waren/ vnd wol wusten/ warumb er keme/ Sagten sie semptlich/ Ey wol her/ in aller Teuffel namen/ Der Teuffel/ der dich hergebracht/ der fûre dich auch wider weg. Als solches der Teuffel gehõrt/ Sagt er: Hõrestu das diese meinens aus grund des Hertzens/ vnd ist jnen ein ernst/ darumb mustu mit mir/ vnd also hat jn der Teuffel alsbald dahin gefûrt. *Discipulus de tempore in Promptuario*.<sup>10</sup>

Following the same tradition Abraham a Sancta Clara introduces the story of the lawyer's punishment into his magnum opus, *Judas, der Ertzschelm* (1686). In this work the mediæval legend of Judas Iscariot supplies a thread on which to hang moralizings and reflections of the greatest variety; each section of the book contains, furthermore, a short narrative. Thus the chapter "Judas ein ungetreuer Jünger und gewissenloser Dieb" is made up of remarks on Judas' thefts, a brief version of our story, and a sermon on dishonesty.<sup>11</sup> The narrative is vivacious

<sup>10</sup> This phrase gives Hondorff's source, i. e., Herolt, who regularly refers to himself as *Discipulus*.

<sup>11</sup> There are many editions of *Judas, der Ertzschelm*, cf. the Aus-

enough, but without any important additions or variations. One amusing touch may be noted: when the Devil refuses to take the peasant's hog he adds disquietingly, "Zum andern acht ich nit vil das schweinerne Fleisch; meine beste Bissl seynd die Seelen." The point is not entirely lost on the lawyer. The worthy monk concludes drily that no doubt other lawyers have suffered in similar fashion.

Von Ditfurth, who is favorably known for his publications of seventeenth century broadsides and ballads, versifies the story from Abraham a Sancta Clara, expanding it with puns and efforts at wit.<sup>12</sup> The introductory stanzas are characteristic of this rather pretentious version:

Ein Bruder war's in Christo,  
Und Schelm in Folio—  
Die Bauern schwuren's alle—  
Der Doktor Vulpio.

Er war ein Anwalt eben,  
Kein anderer ihm gleich;  
Die Reichen arm er machte,  
Die Armen doch nicht reich.

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*wahl* edited by Bobertag in Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, p. iv. I have seen the edition printed at Zug, 1687, in which the story occurs in vol. I, p. 195; Oesterley cites *Werke*, Passau, 1835, I, 425; and Andrae (*Beiblatt*, xxvii [1916], 86) reprints the text of the edition at Bonn, 1687, I, 184. Abraham says he takes the story from Momigno, which Professor Crane suggests may be Evangelista de Momigno, *Directorium superiorum regularium et ecclesiasticorum, continens centem et septem sermones . . . Cum indicibus necessariis ac tabula sermonum*. Editio secunda . . . 2 pts. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1665. Dr. Farnham, who has seen this book in the British Museum, did not find the story mentioned in the indices; and it may be remarked that Abraham is notoriously careless in giving his sources. Andrae notes that Weber has copied the story in *Demokrit*, x (1839), 178.

<sup>12</sup> "Doktor Vulpio," *Alte Schwänke und Märlein*, Heilbronn, 1877, pp. 184-193.

One morning Dr. Vulpio goes out on business and before he has gone far Mephisto—the choice of this name does not seem happy—comes out of a sidepath to meet him. He does not dare to acknowledge that the stranger's company is unwelcome and the two walk on, discussing how the world has treated them. The Devil confesses his poverty, which the lawyer finds incomprehensible:

Will mir nicht recht zu Kopfe;  
Die Schuld liegt wol an Euch;  
War ich nur halb Mephisto,  
Ich spielte mich schon reich.

At this moment a peasant drives a pig across the road and curses it for its perversity in choosing the wrong turn. Dr. Vulpio wishes to relieve himself of his companion and remarks that things are fairly thrust under the Devil's nose. But Mephisto observes that the peasant spoke in anger, and besides he dislikes swine. The lawyer is not in the least abashed and dilates on his fondness for pork, to which the other replies with a significance which does not wholly escape Dr. Vulpio:

Je nun, es hat so jeder  
Seinen eignen Geschmack;  
Mir Euer Gesellschaft lieber,  
Wie alles Schweinepack.

Mephisto also refuses a boy offered him by an irritated mother. On this occasion Dr. Vulpio expounds his interpretation of law and terms the Devil fastidious and over-precise:

Anlangend die Gewalte,  
So Euch verliehen ist,  
Da müsst es fein zugehen,  
Kroch zwischendurch nicht List.

Allwo ein Wort gesprochen  
Oder geschrieben steht,  
Es hat doch noch ein Häklein,  
Dran man es anders dreht.

As they approach a village the doctor would gladly avoid going farther, for when the peasants see him they curse him roundly. He pushes his hat down on his head and pretends not to hear what is said. Now Mephisto calls attention to the situation:

Ei, lieber Bruder, höret  
Ihr nicht der Freunde Gruss?

Das kommt doch mal von Herzen  
Und hat auch Hand und Fuss.

When the peasants attack the lawyer he cries:

Es geht mir an das Blut;  
Hilf mir, du Weggeselle,  
Ich möcht dir's lohnen gut!

With a clap of thunder the Devil bears him off and the astounded peasants, when they have come to their senses, remark:

Kein Fehler wär es eben,  
Ging's noch zuweilen so.

Von Dittfurth's tale is the last of a long line, which can be traced from one printed version to another, beginning with the exemplum written down by Caesarius of Heisterbach in the thirteenth century.

There are, furthermore, some indications of the folk's familiarity with this form of the story. The outlines are those of the exemplum, but the handling of the episodes is freer and dependence on Caesarius is not so obvious. The following instances—folk-tales and literary versions—seem to speak for a tradition which runs parallel to the line of descent already marked out. This tradition does not reach very far back unless we link it up with der Stricker's tale, which also does not accord exactly with the exemplum, or with the story from the British Museum manuscript printed above. J. W. Wolf, a zealous follower of the Brothers Grimm in mythological studies, took down in Hesse a version entitled "Der Advokat und der Teufel."<sup>13</sup>

A lawyer, resident in Darmstadt, meets a stranger as he is going out on an errand of extortion. He recognizes the newcomer by his foot and asks boldly, "Have you no work in Hell?" The Devil

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<sup>13</sup> *Hessische Sagen*, Göttingen and Leipzig, 1853, pp. 158-160, No. 256 (reprinted in Merckens, *Was sich das Volk erzählt*, II, 46-49, No. 59).

laughs and says he has come to the marsh to fetch a soul that has long been ripe for him. Naturally enough the lawyer thinks someone else is intended and feels no constraint. When the Devil refuses a peasant's pig the lawyer thinks that his companion has too tender a heart. Nor will the Devil take a crying child; for which the lawyer sneers at him, "You are a queer Devil; if I thought as you do, I should have been a beggar long ago." At the house where the lawyer is to levy on a bed, the miserable debtor pleads for mercy, but the lawyer laughs, saying to his companion, "Now see how I do it," kicks the peasant aside, and declares his intention of selling everything. The peasant curses him for his severity—with the usual result. "The lawyers of Darmstadt have taken all possible pains to conceal this event—but in vain," declares the narrator.

In Denmark a number of analogues, following closely enough the typical succession of incidents, were collected by Kamp, who constructed a rather elaborate version out of them.<sup>14</sup> The author dwells at great length on the character of the lawyer and his ambitions, employing half of the story in this way. The lawyer is as usual grasping and hard. He is on the point of retiring to enjoy his wealth and, as he strolls along, muses on the luxuries he can purchase and on the means by which he can gain a more honored and respected place in the community; he will perhaps build a foundling's home and attend church. The Devil joins him and makes himself known when a man curses his sow. The Devil has been told, it appears, that he is to have the third thing which is cursed in his presence that afternoon—and he does not know, as in all other versions, that the lawyer is his predestined victim. ("Men i Dag skal jeg ogsaa kun have den tredje, som bliver mig tilbuddt, saadan lyder min Ordre"—pp. 232-233). He dares not take a child, since it is only the

<sup>14</sup> *Danske Folkeeventyr*, Anden Samling, Copenhagen, 1891, pp. 227-234, No. 24, "Fanden og Prokuratøren." The tale, says Kamp (p. 244), "er fremkommet ved en Sammenstilling af 10-15 forskellige Overleveringer."

second thing which has been offered him. Somewhat to the Devil's surprise the lawyer himself proves to be the third. This ingenious variation adds much to the interest of Kamp's version, and it may well have been found in some of the folk-tales he collected. Decidedly less effective is the minute account of the lawyer's plans for the future, an account which may have been suggested by something in the folk-tales. Its elaboration, however, is surely the work of Kamp.

A few literary versions which follow the model of der Stricker and Caesarius presuppose oral variations of the theme rather than the exemplum as their source. They have in common nothing more than this fact, and are doubtless independent modifications of the story. Of these the earliest chronologically was composed by Usteri, a writer in Swiss dialect.<sup>15</sup> The first of Usteri's five stanzas will illustrate sufficiently his terse style:

Der Schuldenbott gieng über felt,  
 Der tüfel sich zu jhm gesellt:  
 Kumpan, wohin so schnelle?  
 (Botte) Ich treib ein armes Bürlin vs,  
 Vnd was gehst du zu suchen vs?  
 (Tüfel) Ein Brätlein für die helle.

The episodes in Usteri's version are those with which we are already abundantly familiar: the offering of the pig and of the naughty boy.

A "Schwank vom Teufelholen" by Theodor Hell—a pseudonym of K. G. T. Winkler, whom Goedeke terms "one of the chief agents in the corruption of the Viennese

<sup>15</sup> Vetter (*Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XIII [1902], 180-181) reprints the text, which is derived, he thinks, from Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*. This opinion can hardly be correct, for the jest-book has a different sequence of incidents.

stage"—has some individual features.<sup>16</sup> The lawyer recognizes and greets the Devil, whom he has often seen, without the slightest hesitation. As they walk on together the lawyer inquires why the Devil does not always take what is offered to him:

Mein lieber Teufel, sagt mir,—  
 Das bleibt mir stets ein Rätsel noch,—  
 Die Ihr, bei aller Eurer Macht,  
 Es doch noch nicht dahin gebracht,  
 Dass, wenn ein Mensch, des Ärgers voll,  
 Dass ihn der Teufel holen soll  
 In seinem finstern Mute schwört,  
 Ihr auf der Stelle ihn erhört?

And the story is an exemplification of the Devil's answer that he accepts only gifts seriously offered: he refuses a herdsman who wishes the Devil might take him when one of his swine drowns, and the rebellious child cursed by its father. He bears off the lawyer at the wish of the people in the village, which is about to be sold for debt, saying:

Den Casum jetzt du lernst;  
 Denn diesmal war's wahrhaftig ernst!

In all this the emphasis on the lawyer's inquisitiveness heightens the ironic effect of his taking-off.

The story is told more interestingly in Thuringian dialect by Sporgel, who inserts another episode into the series:

One fine summer's day a bailiff in Altenburg, noted for his extortionate practises, is walking under the lindens when he sees a stranger looking at him boldly and, being vexed at his impudence, inquires who he might be. The stranger replies, "Ich hob dich je su garn, wie'j salten en Menschen gehott hobe, un ich denke: mir zwee

<sup>16</sup> It first appeared in the *Morgenblatt*, 1827, 465 and *Der Sammler*, 1827, 299, cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup>, ix, 284, No. 30. It is most easily accessible in M. Bern, *Deklamatorium*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 565-567 (Reclam's *Universalbibliothek*, Nos. 2291-2295).

warn noch gute Freinde minanner ware. Ich bin namlj der Deifel." This surprising information does not frighten the bailiff in the least, for he is only convinced of its truth when he sees hoof and horns. The Devil then explains his errand, "Ich hob heite mein Tog, dan'j jedes Gohr bluss eemol hobe. Wenn heite jemand vun mir ewos in Arnste winscht, heite darf'j's 'n glei uf der Stelle derfille. Un do will 'j nu nei in de Stodt, denn do baten se mich marre on, all ufn Dorfe, wu se's marre mit ahrn liem Gutte all mit'n Deifel haln un wu 'j nich holb so veel Kondetoten fer meine Helle hobe, all in der Stodt. Do will 'j nu sah, ab 'j heite ewos fer mich wagschnobbe konn." He invites the bailiff to accompany him, saying, "Wenn dersch iernd Sposs mocht un de willst der die Geschichte emol mit onsah, konnste je mitkumme." The bailiff accepts gladly. The Devil refuses to take a sow which a woman is trying to drag into its stall by the tail, nor will he accept a carrier's horse which will not pull, nor finally a child which stops on the road and cannot be induced to go further. At last they reach the market-place, where a man who sees them from a distance says, "It would be no loss if the Devil would take the bailiff." The Devil has scarcely heard this when he whirls about, seizes the bailiff by the neck, and says, "Siste, dar meent's in Arnste! Nu hilft der nischt mieh, nu biste meine!"

Sporgel concludes this lively tale aptly enough with the proverb "Every pot has its lid":

Heite kimmt su wos freilich nich mieh veer, abber's mog sich's jeder ibberlee, dan's ongieht: wenn's emol zen Traffen kimmt, do kreit jeder Tubb sein Deckel.<sup>17</sup>

The second of the main forms of the story, varying from the preceding examples in the arrangement rather than in the choice of the incidents, has been published in three distinct versions. Its earliest appearance is in that encyclopedic collection of jests, Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*.<sup>18</sup> This version is important enough to be worth

<sup>17</sup> "Der Deifel und der Omtmonn," *Noch Feierohnds*, I (1894), 93-97, which is conveniently reprinted in Dähnhardt, *Heimatklänge aus deutschen Gauen*, II, *Aus Rebensflur und Waldesgrund*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 93-96.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. H. Oesterley, Stuttgart, 1866, p. 63, No. 81, cf. notes, p. 482, and in Bobertag, *Vierhundert Schwänke des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Deutsche National-Litteratur, xxiv), p. 54.

reprinting here, for a number of other tellings derive directly from it.

Es gieng vf ein mal ein statknecht uberfelt in ein dorff, vnd wolt schuld ynziehen von einem bauren. Da kam der tüffel zü im in eins bauren weisz, und giengen also mit einander. Da sie also durch ein dorff giengen, da weint ein kind und ward die muter fast zornig und sprach. Nun schrei das dich der tüffel holen müsz. Der statknecht sprach zu dem tüffel, hörstu nit das man dir da ein kind gibt, warumb nimstu es nit. Der tüfel sprach, der muter ist nit ernst, sie ist zornig. Sie kamen weiter, da was ein grosz hert saw vff dem feld, da was ein saw weit neben vsz gelauffen, das der hirt lieff und sie wider herumb treib, und sprach das dich der tüffel hol aller saw. Der statknecht sprach aber zu dem tüffel, das gibt man dir ein saw, warumb holestu sie nit. Der tüffel sprach, was wolt ich mit der saw thun, wan ich sie nem, so müst sie der arm hirt bezalen. Sie kamen bisz an den hoff, da der statknecht gelt solt heischen, da stund der buer in der schüren und trasch, da er den statknecht sahe kumen, da sprach er wolher in aller tüffel namen, das dich der tüffel holen müsz. Der tüffel sprach zu dem statknechten, hörest du was der buer sagt, dem ist ernst, darumb mustu mit mir, und furt in dahin. Darumb so bedörffen gar wol die statknecht und dy schuldfögt, das sie sich segnen war sie kumen pfand vsz zu tragen oder schuld zu heischen, was sie offt vnd dick dem tüffel gegeben werden.

A clumsy insertion in the 1532 edition of the *Eulenspiegel* chapbook, the 91st tale, "Wie Vlenspiegel zu Berlin ein bütel oder statknecht ward, und het ein grossen lust den bauren gelt oder pfand auszutragen," is borrowed, probably through some intermediary, from Pauli.<sup>19</sup> The story, which is not found in the editions of the chapbook prior to 1532, is an intruder in the *Eulenspiegel* cycle and has no place in that scamp's life—indeed it is inserted as an afterthought when the hero has written his will, and its effectiveness as a story is totally destroyed by the effort to adapt it to the purposes of a biographical, anecdotal novel for whose hero the author has prepared another

<sup>19</sup> J. M. Lappenburg, *Dr. Thomas Murners Ulenspiegel*, Leipzig, 1854, pp. 142-143, *Historie* xcvi.

death. Except for the alteration of the concluding episode the changes are trivial; they suggest, however, that the reviser of the chapbook derived the story from an oral tradition dependent on Pauli rather than from the *Schimpf und Ernst* directly. For example, the Devil says he is searching for a hidden treasure, which he promises to share with Eulenspiegel—no hint of this pointless addition occurs in Pauli. The hero of the chapbook of course must not be defeated even by the Devil, and accordingly the author extricates himself and his hero from the serious complication which the story involves by a feeble enough stratagem: at the critical moment Eulenspiegel declares that he has had enough of the Devil's company and invites him to appear before the bailiff.<sup>20</sup>

The inversion of the order of the incidents which characterizes Pauli's tale occurs in two folk-tales, one from Pomerania and one from Ireland, but there is no reason to suppose that these two stories have any connection with the earlier one. The Pomeranian folk-tale<sup>21</sup> is long but skilfully told. Its similarity to the narrative of der Stricker is as striking as it is inexplicable. The possibility of the persistence of the story in oral tradition as independent of the line of descent in exemplum literature

<sup>20</sup> Von der Hagen in his introductory remarks on the Stricker's tale cites a dialect text published by Schmeller (*Die Mundarten Bayerns grammatisch dargestellt*, Munich, 1821, p. 447) as proof that the story was still current among the folk. He did not observe that Schmeller's version is nothing more than a transliteration of Pauli into the vernacular of Aschffenburg. Consequently Schmeller's text is an unsatisfactory witness to the existence of the story in current tradition. Other descendants of Pauli's text which I have not seen are mentioned above (Note 1, Nos. 2 and 5) and I suspect that some of the other instances there given may be traced back to the jest-book.

<sup>21</sup> "Der Richter und der Teufel," Jahn, *Volkssagen aus Pommern*, Stettin, 1886, pp. 318-320, No. 401.

has already been suggested and the resemblances of this Pomeranian tale to der Stricker's story are more significant and speak more strongly in the favor of such persistence than does any other evidence. The fact that this folk-tale resembles the Middle High German version in its detail rather than Pauli's jest indicates pretty clearly that the inversion of the order of the incidents is, at least in this instance, accidental and not indicative of the folk-tale's origin. In the Pomeranian tale the cause of the widow's enmity toward the judge is explained and our sympathy is enlisted on her side from the beginning—a procedure which argues for a somewhat changed view of courts and lawyers, for in the versions we have already seen one's feelings are supposed as a matter of course to be hostile to the agents of justice.

After the father of seven children has died, the widow struggles to make both ends meet. When she is unable to supply a laborer for the estate on which she lives, as is required by the owner, he induces a venal judge to dispossess her of her cow and to evict her. But after a few years when her children have grown larger and contribute to the support of the family she feels able to buy another cow and goes to the annual fair for that purpose.

On the same day the judge rises early in order to enjoy the fresh air. After admiring himself in the mirror and priding himself on his power in the neighborhood he goes out. At the city gate he meets a gentleman who is dressed in equal splendor. The stranger passes him without a word of greeting and the judge, irate at this discourtesy, calls him to account and demands his name. He confesses himself to be the Devil, who is allowed, he says, to take his due on that day. The judge is curious to see what the Devil will claim and, thinking that the Devil always acts unjustly, never considers himself in danger in offering to accompany him. Notwithstanding the judge's suggestion the Devil will not take a restless child from its mother nor a troublesome pig which a peasant is driving to market. As they enter the market-place the widow who has just bought a cow sees the judge and recalls how he had once before robbed her of another cow. In righteous fear and anger she prays that the Devil might take the judge. "At once he seized his companion by the hair and flew away through the air with him."

Knortz reports a similar tale from Ireland, which begins with a wager between the Devil and a tax-collector as to which of them would on the following day receive a voluntary gift of greater value.<sup>22</sup> It is therefore rather out of keeping with this introductory episode for the tax-collector to call his companion's attention to a woman who curses her lazy daughter for lying in bed or to a man who is cobbling his shoes and curses his swine instead of driving them out of the crops. The story concludes in the usual fashion: toward evening they enter a house where the tax-collector seems to be well-known, since its owner on seeing him at once calls on the Devil. The latter without listening to any remonstrances thrusts the tax-collector into his sack and marches on with a contented smile.

In both of the foregoing groups the incident of the weeping child has been present. A Swedish folk-tale<sup>23</sup> seems to have omitted that incident by inadvertence, for in other particulars the story is identical in outline with those which have been described. Here the Devil refuses a cow and a pig and then bears off a bailiff because the peasant's curse is meant in earnest.

The third distinct form of the story appears first in a *Meistergesang* of Hans Sachs. There is no other literary version of this form, but it is still current among the folk in northern Germany and Denmark. In it there are but two incidents, both of which are already familiar: namely, the Devil first refuses the weeping child and then bears off his companion. It is impossible to determine whether this form is a corruption and contraction of the longer

<sup>22</sup> *Irländische Märchen*, Zürich, 1886, p. 18, No. 11, "Der Teufel und der Steuerempfänger."

<sup>23</sup> Bondeson, *Svenska folksägor*, Stockholm, 1882, No. 58, pp. 204-205, "Länsmannen och gamle far."

forms or an earlier and simpler telling of the story, although I incline to the former opinion. Hans Sachs entitles his composition "Der procurator."

In a tavern on the road to Regensburg the Devil announces himself by observing regretfully on hearing a mother's curse:

Ey, lauter mueter fluech das sint,  
Der kainer get von herzen.

Empty-handed he and the lawyer go on and at the city gate the Jew whom the lawyer is seeking catches sight of his enemy and says at once, "Das dich der dewffel hole!" The lawyer cites his companion's hesitancy of the night before, but in vain. The worthy cobbler concludes with the pious wish that all false lawyers might be so treated.<sup>24</sup>

Of the folk-versions of this form of the story the first to be published was that noted by Woeste in Iserlohn in the Grafschaft Mark.<sup>25</sup> It offers little for comment. Like Knortz's Irish tale it begins with the offer of a bet: the Devil wishes to wager with the executor that he will be the first to get his prey. The man says he is likely at any moment to see something to distrain. He thinks his companion has won when the woman offers the Devil her child, but she shuts the door in the Devil's face when he comes to claim it. When an old woman curses the executor, the Devil says, "Düem weiwe es et deäut-äirnst. Kuem met, kumpan."

Two analogous Danish folk-tales are published by Evald Tang Kristensen. The first and longer has no characteristic details, except, as is perhaps worth noting, that the Devil follows the *Ladefoged* instead of accompanying him; under the circumstances the unfortunate man's

<sup>24</sup> Goetze and Drescher, *Sämliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs*, III (Halle, 1900), 179-180, No. 78 (*Neudrucke*, CLXIV-CLXXVI).

<sup>25</sup> Kuhn, *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen*, Leipzig, 1859, II, 225-226, Anhang: Märchen, No. 6, "Der Teufel und der Executor."

anxiety would naturally be increased.<sup>26</sup> The shorter one is brief enough to translate:

One day the Devil and a steward went out to attach the property of a farmer. They passed a woman who was picking vermin from her child's head and the child was weeping and screaming. Then the woman said in anger, "Would the Devil had you, you naughty child!" The steward and his companion went on and came to a poor woman to whose property the steward laid claim. Then she became angry and said, "Would the Devil had you!" So the Devil took the steward. The latter in anger asked why he did not take the child. "No," said he, "the first woman meant no ill with her wish, but the other meant hers from the bottom of her heart."<sup>27</sup>

A version is reported from Oldenburg in which a demon of the lower mythology, a "Wälriderske,"<sup>28</sup> replaces the lawyer (steward). The change is not a felicitous one; for the "Wälriderske" should presumably be an ally rather than the prey of the Devil.<sup>29</sup>

There remain three versions of the story which do not fall readily into any of the preceding groups, one each from Germany, France, and England.

A. F. E. Langbein, a facile versifier who enjoyed a great vogue in Germany a little more than a century ago,—his phrase "Als Grossvater Grossmutter nahm" is still remembered,—combines a new episode of the peasant who curses his horse with that of the weeping child.<sup>30</sup> His

<sup>26</sup> *Danske Skjæmtesagn*, Forste Samling, Aarhus, 1900, § 48, "Det mente de af," pp. 103-104, ¶ 148.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104, § 49.

<sup>28</sup> It has been suggested that this creature, perhaps most nearly equivalent to the English night-mare, can be connected with the Norse Valkyries (cf. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen*, I, 43, and for a contrary opinion, Siebs, *Zs. des Ver. für Volksk.*, III [1893], 392).

<sup>29</sup> L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg*, zweite erweiterte Ausgabe von Karl Willloh, I (Oldenburg, 1909), 479-480. This tale does not occur in the first edition. It is summarized by Andrae, *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XXVII (1916), 86-87.

<sup>30</sup> "Der Advokat und der Rothmantel," *Sämtliche Schriften*, Stutt-

lively narrative is a literary effort of some interest and for this reason I may analyze it at greater length.

A lawyer is sent on an errand of extortion by "ein alter Mammons knecht," who has already made three hundred per cent. on the loan in question. This usurer, who unfortunately is not punished, says:

Mein Stämmchen bei dem Kerl ist hin;  
Denn er hat nur ein Nest  
Voll Kinder und sonst nichts darin,  
Was sich versilbern lässt.  
  
Die Schlappe wurmt mich auch nicht sehr;  
Denn—unter uns gesagt!—  
Ich hab' ihm wohl schon dreifach mehr  
Prozentchen abgeplagt.

The lawyer's meeting with the Devil is amusing. This cringing miscreant (not the arrogant figure we have seen elsewhere) is flattered when a distinguished stranger in a red cloak recognizes his fawning greeting:

Im nächsten Wald, den er durchstrich,  
Bot sich ein fremder Mann,  
Den einem reichen Kauze glich,  
Ihm zum Gefährten an.  
  
Ein rother Mantel floss um ihn  
Vom Kopf bis auf den Fuss,  
Und seinen Tressenhut zu zieh'n,  
Vergass er ganz beim Gruss.  
  
Der Rechtsmann dachte: Sicherlich  
Ist das ein reicher Herr;  
Denn er ist grob.—Auf, zeige dich  
Ihm desto höflicher!  
  
Ihm sey, wird er nur dein Klient,  
Sein Bauernstolz erlaubt!—  
So dachte Mäv, und riss behends  
Sein Deckelchen vom Haupt.

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gart, 1835, II, 208-225. It first appeared in his *Feierabende* (1794). H. Jess (*Langbein und seine Verserzählungen*, Berlin, 1902, pp. 42-43) thinks Langbein may have combined Abraham a Sancta Clara's story with Chaucer's *Friar's Tale*; but this conjecture is undemonstrable.

He is even more affected by the admiration that the stranger professes to have for him, "ein Spiegel und ein Stern der Advokaten," and readily assents to the stranger's wish to accompany him. Only when his companion is unable to keep pace and shows the cause—a horse's hoof—does Mäv cross himself and mutter a prayer. Now the Devil seizes his protégé, who would gladly escape, and drags him a hundred paces until he is ready to walk alone:

Papachen Pferdefüssler zog  
 Hierauf sein Söhnlein fort,  
 Das krumm sich wie ein Sprengel bog,  
 Und Zeter schrie und Mord.  
 So dauerte die Schlepperei  
 Wohl hundert Schritte lang.  
 Dann sagte Mäv: "Lasst mich nur frei:  
 Ich gehe sonder Zwang."—

In mortal fear the lawyer points out the horse which a farmer curses and a weeping child, but for these the Devil has not the least desire. At the debtor's door the lawyer displays his habitual pitilessness while the Devil looks on with approval. After the lawyer has rejected the pleas of the peasant for mercy and the entreaties of the wife, the peasant curses him, "Der Teufel hol' euch doch!" This wish the Devil accepts at its face value.

A version which contains some unfamiliar episodes has recently been taken down in eastern France.<sup>31</sup> It is briefly as follows:

A bailiff who is walking about in the fresh air recognizes the Devil and crosses himself, but when he sees that this is unavailing he accosts the Devil and asks his business. The Devil explains that he is allowed to seize anything of which some one should say, "The Devil take you." They walk on together and before long they see a peasant and his wife who are trying to drive two oxen hitched to a plow. The young untrained animals cause the woman a great deal of trouble and the man swears shockingly. Finally he says, "May the Devil take you!" The bailiff stops for a moment as if in inquiry, but the Devil says there is nothing for him here. Nor will he take two women who are offered him by their employer, nor beasts offered

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<sup>31</sup> C. Roussey, *Contes populaires recueillis à Bournois* (Canton de l'Isle-sur-le-Doubs, arrondissement de Beaume-les-Dames), Paris, 1894, pp. 120-126, No. XIII, "Le Diable d'avec l'huissier."

him by herdsmen, nor children offered him by their mothers. The situation worries the bailiff and he rejoices to find himself near the end of his journey, a village at the foot of a small mountain. His companion apparently goes on alone, but in fact hides behind a pile of faggots to listen to what will happen. Two women in the hut beat the bailiff and drive him out into the road with curses. At once the Devil, bearing his huge iron fork, comes from his place of concealment and spears the bailiff.

A third version of the tale is that with which Chaucer's Friar irritates the Somnour, making thus a humorous interlude in the discussion of marriage on the road to Canterbury. According to the classification here employed, the tale is composed of but two episodes: a carter curses his horse and an old woman curses a somnour for an undeserved insult. But Skeat's comment is hardly correct:

This Tale furnishes an admirable example of Chaucer's method; the mere outline of the story is little altered, but the mode of telling it gives it a new spirit and quiet touches of humour are abundant throughout.<sup>22</sup>

One cannot justly say that "the mere outline of the story is little altered," when Chaucer's source is unknown and his tale is the most original in outline and selection of incident of all thirty versions. On the other hand, it is only fair to say that few tales which have enjoyed any currency among the folk or literary people exhibit a more dreary uniformity than does this tale of the Devil and the Advocate.

Of these last three versions Langbein's poem is perhaps a literary rifacimento, or represents an oral corruption of the type found in der Stricker's tale. The French folk-tale is too remotely analogous to be classifiable. Chaucer's *Friar's Tale*, too, has peculiarities which distinguish it

<sup>22</sup> *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, III (Oxford, 1900), 451. See a more detailed criticism in Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, pp. 244 ff. Modernisations of Chaucer's tale are cited by Lounsbury (*Studies in Chaucer*, III, 190, 217, 223).

from all other redactions. It may be remarked, however, that these three have one incident in common: the cursing of a beast of burden; and though the significance of this similarity is not quite clear, certainly it is not sufficient to imply any close relationship. The incident could be invented easily enough—or for that matter it could be observed on any highroad. Its occurrence has already been remarked in one of the more independent versions of the story, Sporgel's Thuringian dialect tale, where the narrator shows a mite more ingenuity than most of those who have handled the subject.

As regards the interrelations of the different groups into which the story of the Devil and the Advocate falls, it is clear that the one represented by the tale in Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* is a corruption of the exemplum of Caesarius and its congeners: the climactic arrangement (cursing of the sow, the child, and the lawyer) is so obvious and so logical that an interchange of the first two episodes can only be due to an unskilful and unappreciative narrator. There is hardly a possibility that Pauli preserves an older form which has been improved upon by others. The question then arises: is the long form (sow, child, lawyer) or the short form (child, lawyer) the earlier in the story's history? On the basis of the known texts one might conclude that the longer form is the older, for it was the first to be written down and it is and has been the more widely distributed. Yet the existence of a widely circulated fable which has some similarity to the shorter form might possibly be alleged on the other side. For comparison I give it as it is found in Caxton's *Fables of Æsop*:

Men ought not by byleue on al maner spyrytes / As reherceth  
this fable of an old woman / which said to her child because that it  
wept / certeynly if thow wepst only more / I shal make the to be ete

of the wulf / & the wulf heryng this old woman / abode styl to fore  
 the yate / & supposed to haue eten the old womans child / & by  
 cause that the wulf had soo longe taryed there that he was hongry /  
 he retorned and went ageyne in to the wood / And the shewulf  
 demaunded of hym / why hast thou not brought to me some mete /  
 And the wulf answered / by cause / that the old woman hath begyled  
 me / the whiche had promysed to me to gyue to me her child for to  
 haue ete hym / And at the laste I hadde hit not / And therfore men  
 ought in no wyse to trust the woman / And he is wel a fole that  
 setteth his hope and truste in a woman / And therfore truste them  
 not / and thou shalt do as the sage and wyse.<sup>33</sup>

It would not require much ingenuity to transpose this story of the nurse and the wolf with the story of the devil, the weeping child, and the lawyers. Some fables seem to have passed through such a process.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Jacobs, *The Fables of Æsop*, London, 1889, II, 216, cf. notes, I, 258-259 (the references include parallels to the fable, the tale discussed in this article, one in the *Disciplina Clericalis*, and a fourth narrative [Pauli, No. 90]. See also B. Waldis, *Æsopus* (ed. Tittmann, Leipzig, 1882, I, 127-128), Bk. I, c. 86. Compare another tale in Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, p. 68, No. 90, and the valuable notes, p. 483 (with a similar confusion in the citations); cf. Lave-not, "Le Voleur et le Diable," *Revue des traditions populaires*, VIII (1893), 217. A tale in the *Disciplina Clericalis*, "De bobus lupo promissis a rustico vulpisque iudicio," is sometimes cited as an analogue, but it is rather remote; on it see Jacobs, I, 266 (*Fables of Alfonse*, IX); Bolte's notes to "Die fabel von dem pawren, wolff vnd füechs," Goetze, *Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs*, II (Halle, 1894), 4-7, No. 202 (*Neudrucke*, CXIX); and Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, III (1898), 78, No. 57, and IX (1905), 30-31, No. 21.

<sup>34</sup> E. g., the fable of a division of crops wherein the fox cheats the wolf repeatedly is often told of a peasant and the devil. The story is briefly as follows: The fox and the wolf agree to share a crop which is to be planted. The fox plants grain and gives the wolf the lower half. The next year the wolf demands the upper half and the fox plants a vegetable. For references see Andrae, *Romanische Forschungen*, XVI (1904), 326; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, I, 322; Polivka, *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXI, 276, No. 73; *ibid.*, XXII, 306, No. 206; Wünsche, *Der Sagenkreis vom geprellten Teufel*, p. 70, etc.

But it is neither demonstrable nor obvious that a similar transformation produced the story of the lawyer and the Devil. Perhaps a suggestion of the fable appears in the Westphalian tales taken down by Woeste, in which alone of all the variants the Devil makes an effort to obtain the child. But this similarity does not seem to have much significance, and the incident in the German tale is a natural enough variation.

It is rather difficult to bring the three anomalous tales under one roof with the others. The episode of the carter (or ploughman) cursing his beasts, which they have in common, would suggest itself so readily that (as I have said) it is venturesome to argue any relationship from it. To be sure, Langbein's "Der Advokat und der Rothmantel" helps in a way to bridge the gap between these tales and the (so-to-say) canonical forms of the story, for it contains the episode of the weeping child, which is the most stable component of the story. Probably it is, as I have suggested, a variation of the usual form, of which the French folk-tale may be a still more remote descendant. Chaucer's *Friar's Tale* remains without a close analogue, and without any suggestion of its immediate origin; one cannot hope at present to determine whether the curious shape it takes is wholly Chaucer's own reshaping of an exemplum or whether it is in large measure the result of oral transmission.

ARCHER TAYLOR.

### III.—THE POLITICS OF THE GREATER ROMANTIC POETS

Political controversy and partisan feeling were intimately blended with the literature of England during what we call loosely the Romantic Period. The views of individual authors have been treated here and there by their biographers; but little attempt has been made to generalize or draw conclusions from the several political attitudes of the poets, who, tho forming no school in the strict sense of the term, were nevertheless outstanding figures in the same liberal movement in literature. Some simple conclusions, drawn from a study of these men, are presented here; and in the presentation of this material opportunity has been taken to correct a few misunderstandings which exist regarding their political relations. For convenience, the poets may be divided into three groups: the conservative yet individual men, Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge; the Old Tory, Scott; and the more or less radical trio, Byron, Shelley, and Keats. For obvious reasons little need be said of the last-named poet.

Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge may be considered together, for they show striking similarities. The most noticeable, perhaps, is an early republicanism, revealed in a sympathy for France during the early nineties. The later changes in the political feeling of Wordsworth and Southey have been traced by a number of able scholars, and it is unnecessary to retrace them here. Of Coleridge, the remark has been made, "He was never a democrat, certainly no Jacobin;"<sup>1</sup> and the impression seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Hancoek, *French Revolution and English Poets*, N. Y., 1899, p. 172.

general that he was somehow less a republican in his youth than Wordsworth and Southey. This impression needs to be to some extent corrected.

In the first place, too much has been made of Coleridge's own statement in the *Friend* in 1818, when he said he had never been a convert to Jacobinical principles.<sup>2</sup> Again, a certain attitude appearing in his two addresses to the people in 1795, has apparently led Professor Hancock to declare that Coleridge took a position on the fence between the upper and lower classes, which he conceived to be divided by a "great gulph."<sup>3</sup> Now as far as may be determined from the language he used, Coleridge did assume a difference between the orders of society, but it was a difference in general intelligence and ability to understand the intricacies of government. Such a conception was very natural and a common one in that day. Even the radical Shelley as late as 1817 saw a similar great gulph, which made universal suffrage a hazardous experiment.<sup>4</sup> Coleridge's conception of society in 1795 does not prove that he was "no democrat." Indeed, he saw at this time that "truth might best be diffused among the poor by one who—uniting the zeal of a Methodist with the views of a philosopher—should be *personally* among the poor, to teach them their *duties* in order that they might be susceptible of their right."<sup>5</sup>

This impression that Coleridge was less a republican in his early years than the other two poets has been fostered by Dowden,<sup>6</sup> who enlarges on the poet's own statement. It has also been encouraged by the biographer,

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Works*, N. Y., 1853, II, 203.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays on His Own Times*, London, 1850, I, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Prose Works*, London, 1880, II, 296.

<sup>5</sup> *Essays on His Own Times*, I, 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Studies in Literature*, London, 1878, p. 12.

Brandl.<sup>7</sup> The latter quotes the unpublished *Memorandum Book* of 1798—a passage which contains the following words:

To give the common people philosophic or metaphysical notions, whether of Religion or the Principles of Government, is evidently to unfit them for their proper station in the Commonwealth or State. In the different ranks of understanding or intellectual capacity there must be that of vulgar men, as well as men who are fit for public virtue and political wisdom. The one must be ruled by Superstition and by Law, the other must see the Principle upon which men are to be ruled. But to give the ignorant any power, however mediate or distant in the government of the State, is surely to depart from the broad rule of wisdom learned in the broad experience of mankind.<sup>8</sup>

Now a reference to the manuscript of this *Memorandum Book* in the British Museum shows that Coleridge did not write this passage down as his own view of the subject. Rather, he quoted Hutton's *Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge*, Vol. III, 548, neither indicating that he approved or disapproved the sentiment. Yet Brandl uses this as an expression of Coleridge's opinion at the time. It is possible the young poet jotted down the quotation, intending sometime to refute it. At any rate, there is no reason for accepting this as proof that he was less a republican than Wordsworth or Southey. Three years earlier he had said emphatically that Pitt's assertion—"The mass of the people have nothing to do with the laws but obey them"—was a base calumny on mankind.<sup>9</sup> He opposed bitterly the Treasonable Practices Bill and the Seditious Meetings Bill of the same year. In 1796 he published his *Watchman* for the express purpose of "crying the state of the political atmosphere." He openly opposed the government, by evading the stamp tax which

<sup>7</sup> *Life of Coleridge*, London, 1887, p. 226.

<sup>8</sup> B. M. Addit. MS. 27901, f. 47. Reprinted in 1896. See *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 97, p. 363.

<sup>9</sup> *Essays on His Own Times*, I, 56.

it imposed. The *Watchman*, it should be noted, was one of the very earliest of the stamp-evading publications, the "Unstamped Press," which increased in numbers and influence until the 'thirties. Finally, in this connection, we cannot fail to note Coleridge's intimacy with John Thelwall as late as 1797.

Other selected lines from the *Memorandum Book* in the British Museum show how little Coleridge had changed by 1798, and indicate that if not a Jacobin, he was to some important degree, at least, a republican. To illustrate, take these fragmentary notes:

F. 9—"Property, intended to secure to every man the produce of his toil—as at present instituted, operates directly contrary wise to this. *Nota Bene.*"

F. 11—"Due to the staggerers that made drunk by Power  
Forget Thirst's eager Promise, and presume  
Dark Dreamers! that the world forgets it too."

"Preventing by their Bills the growth of the human mind—"

"British Constitution—giving quite a safe and amusing little  
( ) for Royalty to play with."

F. 12—"Continuance of the war likely to produce an abolition of Property."

F. 13—"They teach not that to govern well is to train up a nation to true wisdom and virtue, etc. This is the masterpiece of a modern Politician, how to qualify and mould the sufferance and subjection of the People to the length of that foot which is to tread upon their necks."

"Under pretence of guarding the Head of the State, there are Bills to prevent the cutting off of an enormous wen that grows upon it."

F. 15—"Tis the time's plague when madmen lead the blind."

F. 19—"A state of Compulsion, even tho that Compulsion be directed by perfect Wisdom, keeps Mankind stationary—for whenever it is withdrawn, after a lapse of ages, they have yet to try evil in order to know whether or no it be good."

F. 26—"God shall cut off the spirit of Princes—he is terrible to the Kings of the Earth."

F. 28—" . . . . Like a mighty giantess,  
Seized in some travail of prodigious birth,

Her groans were horrible: but O! most fair  
The Twins she bare—*Equality and Peace!*”

F. 29—“At Genoa the word Liberty is engraved on the chains of galley-slaves and the doors of Prisons.”

F. 53—“By obliging everyone always to do that which to him shall seem in their present time and circumstances conducive to the public good; or by enjoining the observation of some determinate Laws, which if universally obeyed would produce universal happiness.”

The truth seems to be, Coleridge in his youth was much the same kind of republican as Wordsworth and Southey. The fact that he in later years asserted his political consistency should not be taken too seriously, for Wordsworth and Southey did the same. Altho Wordsworth signed his letter to Bishop Watson (1793) “By a Republican,” he maintained in 1821 that he had always stuck to his principles.<sup>10</sup> It will be remembered that Southey, likewise, whatever apostacy he was accused of, always loudly declared his devotion to principle. “It is the world that has changed, not I,” he said.<sup>11</sup>

A second likeness is found in the common failure of Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge to appreciate domestic problems. All showed interest enough in questions of foreign politics, and—even in later years—unusual individuality for Tories. When France came to represent Tyranny rather than Liberty, all three turned against her, finally, with varying degrees of acquiescence, accepting the return of the Bourbons as the best solution of the international difficulty. All three, it must be noted, rejoiced at the rise of the Spanish people against the French. Southey and Coleridge, at least, opposed England’s policy with neutrals, especially America. Southey in 1823 pointed out to John Murray, publisher of the *Tory Review*, the

<sup>10</sup> *Prose Works*, Ed. of Grosart, London, 1876, III, 268.

<sup>11</sup> C. C. Southey, *Life of Robert Southey*, London, 1850, III, 22.

folly of the warfare carried on against the young republic; and at Murray's request wrote what was the first avowed attempt to heal the wounded feelings of abused Americans—a conciliatory review of Dwight's *Travels in New England and New York*.<sup>12</sup>

So also, Coleridge and Wordsworth, in prose and poetry, had much to say about Liberty in the abstract, and were ever ready to direct the attention of Englishmen away from political abuses at home to affairs outside the British Isles. But on domestic matters they showed a common obstinacy and blindness, even if this attitude was modified by the personal feeling of each. Southey wrote long and impressive reviews in the *Quarterly* on matters of domestic concern, usually from the point of view of a social reformer rather than a partisan. But his remedies for the ills of suffering England were almost invariably childish and absurd. He feared to make any concessions to the Catholics because Romanism, like Dissent, endangered the very foundation of English institutions. He wanted no change in the Poor Laws which would take organized charity out of the control of the Established Church. Reform of Parliament, he believed, would be fatal to that form of government to which England owed her power and her glory.<sup>13</sup> And in 1829 he said the supremacy of popular opinion was the worst evil society was threatened with.<sup>14</sup> More laws rather than fewer were needed. "The laws, only the laws can save us!" was his jeremiad in 1817.<sup>15</sup> First and last, his panacea for the domestic ailments of England was Christian education—in the Established Church.

<sup>12</sup> New Haven, 1823. Reviewed in *Quarterly*, xxx, 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Quar. Rev.*, xvi, 225.

<sup>14</sup> *Sir Thomas More*, London, 1829, I, 234.

<sup>15</sup> *Quar. Rev.*, xvi, 511.

Coleridge, altho long professing to recognize England's guilt in the conduct of her wars against France, after his change of feeling became a strong Nationalist, as his poems indicate. In his leaders in the *Morning Post* in 1800, he showed considerable independence and liberality. Yet in the *Courier* in 1811, he wrote only of the Distillery Bill, the Bullion Question, criminal laws—regarding which his views are unimportant here—and of Irish Concessions, Reform, change in the Poor Laws, Corn Law Repeal, and free speech, all of which he really opposed at this time, altho he carefully recorded his protest in favor of Reform, conducted “judiciously and on sound principles of policy.”<sup>16</sup> Coleridge's leaders show him at this date (1811) generally in agreement with the old line Tories, pooh-poohing abuses at home, while he urged the middle and lower classes in England to look steadfastly at foreign affairs.

Wordsworth, altho he told an American visitor in 1833 that he had given twelve hours of thought on the conditions and prospects of society to one given to poetry,<sup>17</sup> yet had little to say about the domestic policies of his country, and when he did speak, revealed himself narrow and hidebound. On practically every live issue after the beginning of the century, he was either silent or obstructive. Often, he resorted to meaningless evasions. For instance, he saw a “deeper justice” in maintaining the severity of the cruel criminal laws in 1839;<sup>18</sup> he praised the Oxford reformers for inspiring the age with a “deeper reverence,” before he fully understood the real trend of the Oxford movement; altho he professed to favor freedom

<sup>16</sup> *Essays on His Own Times*, I, xxv.

<sup>17</sup> Harper, *Life of William Wordsworth*, London, 1916, II, 385.

<sup>18</sup> See Sonnets on Punishment by Death.

of the press, he wished for freedom *thru restrictions*.<sup>19</sup> When in 1829 he opposed the New Poor Law Act, he did so because he thought the principle of parochial relief, administered by the upper classes, tended to elevate rather than debase human nature;<sup>20</sup> and vote by ballot, he opposed, because he believed it would *encourage* bribery and crime at the elections. These ingenious shifts always left Wordsworth in a good Tory position. He "stuck to his principles," to be sure. But somehow he managed to interpret those principles so as to support the ultra-conservative faction in politics.<sup>21</sup>

A third general similarity which groups these men together is their later loyalty to the Landed Aristocracy and the Church. In fact, it may be said with a large measure of certainty that their apparent or real change of political face and the obstinate convictions of their mature years are traceable to a religious bias—derived partly, it may be, from their faith in Burke.

Conscience should be the basis of policy, Southey declared in 1829.<sup>22</sup> All the evils of society arise from lack of faith in God, he affirms in another place.<sup>23</sup> Again, he says, the religion of England is the great charter of her intellectual freedom;<sup>24</sup> the principle of non-conformity in religion is very generally connected with political discontent; again, nothing is more certain than that religion is the basis on which Civil Government rests.<sup>25</sup>

Wordsworth was less absurd than Southey. He was a less religious man—less bound to the established and the

<sup>19</sup> *Prose Works*, Ed. of Grosart, III, 270.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 271 ff.

<sup>21</sup> See "Protest against the Ballot," *Poems*, Camb. Ed., p. 761.

<sup>22</sup> *Sir Thomas More*, London, 1829, I, 134.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 228.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 285.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 44.

orthodox. His movement toward conformity began in 1809 or thereabouts. In his pamphlet on the Convention of Cintra he is found conscious of a divine energy moving "in the sacred passions of a people sacrificing themselves for freedom, for home, for religion." Altho much of his conservatism on domestic affairs may be accounted for by his relations with Lord Lonsdale, yet it is probable that he welcomed Established religion more and more as a bulwark of the State. In his addresses to the freeholders of Westmoreland, he extolled the glorious constitution of Church and State, and asserted that "conscience regulated by expediency" was the basis of England's free government.<sup>26</sup>

But it remained for Coleridge, the most ardent follower of Burke, to make the most of this underlying principle. Coleridge, like Wordsworth and Southey, wished to have all nations governed by the laws of individual conscience. This is the most consistent, perhaps, of all his political theories—the one which thruout his life justified his claim of political constancy. As early as 1794, his avowed opposition to England's war against France was based on religious grounds rather than immediate sympathy with the Revolutionists.<sup>27</sup> In his two Addresses in 1795, he saw religion the only means universally efficient for teaching the laborer his duty to society.<sup>28</sup> Later in life, recalling how his youthful feelings had been kindled by the general revolutionary conflagration, and then how in disappointment he had turned to pantisocratic dreams, he said, "What I dared not expect from constitutions of government and whole nations, I hoped from Religion and a

<sup>26</sup> *Prose Works*, Ed. of Grosart, I, 219.

<sup>27</sup> See *Religious Musings*.

<sup>28</sup> *Essays on His Own Times*, I, 22.

small company of chosen individuals. . . ."<sup>29</sup> But other works, especially the *Lay Sermon* of 1817, presenting the Bible as the best guide to political skill and foresight, make the attitude of his mind on this matter unmistakable. It is well known that religious prejudice prevented him from doing justice to the historians, Hume and Gibbon. From 1795, when he complained that the "Aristocratic Party" did not like a man better for his practical Christianity,<sup>30</sup> to the close of his life when he saw in the Church the last relic of English nationality, he was in this belief consistent. Religious principle was the basis of good government.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, a fourth trait common to these poets was a certain romantic individualism in politics; and the influence each exerted was often far from partisan. Southey in 1808 loudly declared he despised all parties. He was "of the great school of Sidney and Milton and Hutchinson. Public morality was never produced in any other."<sup>32</sup> But after he began earning the larger part of his living from the *Quarterly Review*, he moved—so his son tells us—closer to the Old Tory position.<sup>33</sup> Southey wrote many notable political articles for the *Quarterly*. In these political papers he handled the most stirring subjects of the day. But after the lapse of a century, more or less, it is easily seen that Southey was hardly ever right, especially on matters of domestic concern. He was frequently not in conformity with Tory interests, and for

<sup>29</sup> *Complete Works*, N. Y., 1853, II, 203.

<sup>30</sup> See *Athenaeum*, Sat., May 2, 1918.

<sup>31</sup> *Omnia*, Oxford Ed., 1917, p. 167.

<sup>32</sup> See C. C. Southey, *Life of Robert Southey*, London, 1850, III, 183, and Warter, *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, London, 1843, II, 105.

<sup>33</sup> C. C. Southey, *Life of Robert Southey*, III, 182.

that reason bitterly complained of Gifford's emasculating pen. The editor was obliged constantly to cut up his articles with a "heavy and unsparing hand." Southey was often more hidebound than the Ultra-Tories whom the *Quarterly* represented; sometimes he was more liberal than the Whigs. But in spite of his vagaries, he was allowed to express his views in the *Quarterly* for many years, since he was almost indispensable as its foremost reviewer. Lockhart, the editor in 1827, summed up the whole matter in a letter to Murray when he said, "For the actual bustle of passing politics his is not the hand; but he is continually upholding that grave character and Christian philanthropy which lends effect to the sharper diatribes of mere worldly intellects."<sup>34</sup>

Wordsworth was the least individual of the three. The patronage of Lord Lonsdale, so Professor Harper has shown, curbed the expression of Wordsworth's political views to the extent that scarcely anything in his poetry or prose, in later years, would indicate he was other than the most orthodox Tory of the "Ultra" faction.

Coleridge's politics were of a more individual quality during the earlier years of his career as a leader writer than later. In nearly all these newspaper essays he showed good sense and fairness, and it is well known that his contributions to the *Morning Post* in 1799-1800 gave that paper an independent flavor. In 1811, altho writing for the *Courier*, he called the reappointment of the Duke of York a national insult—certainly not a Tory view. He declared the Government more wrong that Carlisle, when in 1819 the latter was imprisoned for publishing seditious literature. At least once in later years he was found

<sup>34</sup>Smiles, *Life of John Murray*, London, 1891, II, 265.

agreeing with Brougham.<sup>35</sup> On the question of negro slavery, he held a very singular opinion; and he thought meanly of Peel, even when that statesman was in high favor with the Old Tories.<sup>36</sup> For Fox, Coleridge had many good words, until the former's negotiations with Napoleon in 1802. Altogether, in spite of the fact that the weight of his opinion was thrown with the Tory government during the greater part of his life, we may take seriously his declaration in 1811 that he was "No admirer of party confederacies in any form."<sup>37</sup> Like Southey, and to a lesser extent Wordsworth, Coleridge maintained a striking individuality in his political views; altho his statement in the *Friend* that he had never been a convert to the Jacobinical system reminds us curiously of Southey's solemn "It is the world that has changed, not I."

Walter Scott liked to believe that he, also, took an independent stand in politics, but he may be with justice regarded as a competent leader in the most reactionary camp of the Tories—the group about the *Quarterly Review*. Toward the end of his life, he asserted that from year's end to year's end he thought little about politics, except to laugh at the farce of little men swaggering in the rear of party.<sup>38</sup> Yet a study of the origin of the *Quarterly Review* shows him to have been the one person chiefly responsible for the founding of this most important Tory organ. He was not the original suggestor of the plan for this *Review* "to some men in power," as has been frequently written.<sup>39</sup> The plan of founding a Tory organ

<sup>35</sup> *Omnia*, 430.

<sup>36</sup> *Omnia*, 472.

<sup>37</sup> *Essays on His Own Times*, III, 682.

<sup>38</sup> *Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, N. Y., 1891, p. 80.

<sup>39</sup> See especially Warton, *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, II, 107; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, XII, 165; and Haney, *Early Reviews and the English Poets*, Phil., 1914, xxvii.

to counteract the influence of the *Edinburgh Review* was well under way before Scott was asked by Murray to give it his support. But Scott quickly became the most important man in the little group of political conspirators. Altho there is no evidence anywhere to justify the statement made by Elliot in the *Cambridge History* that Scott "successfully pressed the editorship upon Gifford,"<sup>40</sup> yet his activity was none the less essential to the success of the venture. Alienated from the *Edinburgh* in 1808 by unjust criticisms of his own poems and by political articles,<sup>41</sup> Scott threw his valuable energy into the new project. His correspondence between October, 1808, and the end of 1809, especially the letters to Gifford, Murray, George Ellis, and his brother Thomas Scott, indicate that his was the guiding hand during the critical days of the enterprise. We have only his own statement that he refused the editorship.<sup>42</sup> But his notable letter of advice to Gifford (October 25), Gifford's letters to him, which indicate the editor's complete dependence on Scott during the first year or two, and Murray's correspondence, all show clearly how essential he was to the success of this momentous undertaking.<sup>43</sup> Scott was also the master strategist of the Tory camp. Since the *Quarterly* was planned to offset the political influence of the *Edinburgh*, Scott schemed to draw from the Whig periodical the first blow in the duel, and thus get the advantage of the counter blow. This maneuver was carried out successfully for a number of years in two great questions on which Whigs and Tories were at odds—war with France and the treatment of neutral nations. It was less successful as years went on.

<sup>40</sup> Vol. XII, 165.

<sup>41</sup> See especially the "Don Cevallos" article, *Edin. Rev.*, XIII, 215.

<sup>42</sup> Lockhart's *Life*, N. Y., 1914, II, 52.

<sup>43</sup> Smiles, *Life of John Murray*, London, 1891, I, 102.

Altho Scott did not hesitate to criticise now and then the blunders of the Tory government, and liked to call himself "constitutional" rather than partisan, he seldom revealed any such individuality of opinion as is found in Coleridge and Southey. His career in politics came to a tragic close with his bigoted utterances against Reform in 1831.<sup>44</sup> Altho he seems to have written no political articles himself, Scott was of all the greater Romantic poets most consistent and thoro in his conservatism, and most important in his political influence.<sup>45</sup>

The blindness of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and Scott to most of the abuses in domestic politics may be contrasted well with the keener interest shown by Byron and Shelley, who from the detachment of Italy could view their native land with less prejudiced eyes.

Byron's partisan contacts were shadowy and indefinite. On taking his seat in the House of Lords in March, 1809, he refused to shake hands with Lord Eldon, because he did not wish to commit himself to party. Scott believed Byron's occasional and protean democratic expressions

<sup>44</sup> Lockhart's *Life*, N. Y., 1914, v, 410.

<sup>45</sup> Scott was evidently one of the founders of the *Beacon*, a Tory newspaper started in Edinburgh in 1821, but had little to do with the management. Richard Garnett in the *Dictionary of National Biography* connected him with Theodore Hook and the founding of *John Bull*, a paper with a purpose similar to the *Beacon*—opposing the pretensions and partisans of Queen Caroline. But with the exception of a conjecture found in Lockhart's review of Hook (*Quar. Rev.*, LXXII, 75) there is no evidence that he was in any way connected with the London publication, of which Hook was probably the editor. An examination of Hook's unpublished correspondence in the British Museum, as well as the letters which passed between Scott and McVey Napier, Madden, and George Thomson, fails to throw any further light on the matter. The Letters of Lord Kinneser (William Erskine) to Scott, which must have contained much valuable information regarding his political views and activities, were destroyed (Skene, *Memoirs*, London, 1909, p. 115).

were insincere and for effect; he regarded him as a patrician on principle. And it seems true that Byron cared little for the positive, constructive, and social tendencies of the revolutionary movements in his day. He liked to pose as a democrat among aristocrats; an aristocrat among democrats. In many poems are evidences of a superficial and passing interest in the domestic problems of England. But this interest seldom led to earnest expression or to effective protest.

Of all the greater Romantic poets except Keats, Byron exerted perhaps the least influence in politics. The most we can say of him is that he was an opponent of the "Reaction." The *Quarterly Review*, most partisan of critical organs, treated him with utmost favor until the publication of *Don Juan* and *Cain*. This fact and Jeffrey's long friendship may be regarded as clear evidences that both Whigs and Tories considered his political influence unimportant, altho the Tories must often have disapproved his utterances. It must be remembered, too, that Gifford, the editor of the *Quarterly*, was Murray's reader. He saw Byron's poems in manuscript, and sometimes made omissions for political reasons.<sup>46</sup>

Scott, at the end of a review of *Child Harold*, once took Byron to task for not figuratively dropping a wreath of laurel on Wellington's head.<sup>47</sup> On the whole, little notice was taken of his frequently unorthodox sentiments. After his break with the *Quarterly* Tories, Byron in *Cain* (1821) and in the *Age of Bronze* (1823) derided the policy of the Holy Alliance, and ridiculed the Landed Interests and the Church. But it was in a review of his dramas in 1822 that he was finally condemned by the Tory periodi-

<sup>46</sup> Moore's *Life of Byron*, London, 1830, II, 75.

<sup>47</sup> *Quar. Rev.*, XVI, 191.

cal, which had always before been his friend.<sup>48</sup> And he was condemned on religious rather than political grounds. The writer of the review was Reginald Heber.<sup>49</sup>

A very interesting expression of Byron's liberalism is his *Ode to Venice*, in which he hails America as the home of true freedom.<sup>50</sup> It connects him with the outspoken, radical Shelley, who in the *Revolt of Islam*, xi, xii ff., apostrophizes this "Eagle" among nations, the home of freedom, and goes on to prophesy the remarkable growth and power of the United States in the World. Dowden has pointed out the chief value of Shelley's political views—the idea of reconstruction. Shelley was far from an extreme Radical. His biographer found in him a moderation of temper and opinion that preserved him from the views of a Major Cartwright. In 1812 he favored Catholic Emancipation in his own way, as well as repeal of the Union with Great Britain, which the Irish were not especially eager for. He believed himself hated by both parties, Oppositionist and Ministerial. In 1811 he cared not a farthing for the Radicals.<sup>51</sup> He berated the Aristocracy in Ireland, yet acquiesced in their continued existence. In his *Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote*, 1817, the most important document we possess for determining his views, he declared Reform not practical at the time, altho desirable. What he feared most was a premature attempt at setting up a republican form of government. He opposed vote by ballot as strongly as Wordsworth did, but for a different reason—it was "too mechanical."<sup>52</sup> Only those who paid direct taxes, he

<sup>48</sup> *Quar. Rev.*, xxvii, 476.

<sup>49</sup> *Murray's Register*.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Ode to Napoleon*, xix., *Childe Harold*, iv, xevi, *Isles of Greece*, ii.

<sup>51</sup> Dowden's *Life*, London, 1886, I, 132.

<sup>52</sup> *Prose Works*, London, 1880, II, 296.

thought, should send members to Parliament. Apparently he looked forward to a time of equality in possessions. He encouraged men to expect a vast transformation of society—a gradual change, unstained by cruelty or crime. "For the time being," he wrote Leigh Hunt in 1819, the great thing was "to hold the balance between popular impatience and tyrannical obstinacy."<sup>53</sup> And he saw no hope of more general representative government in England, until the public mind, thru many gradations of improvement, should have arrived at maturity and put away the childish symbols of monarchy.<sup>54</sup>

One important effect of politics on Shelley and Keats is seen in the assaults of Tory reviewers, both in the *Quarterly* and in *Blackwood's*. The organs of criticism were in the hands of politicians. Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, were favorably reviewed by the Tories, because of their conservatism and their relations with party periodicals. Shelley and Keats, because of their friendship with Leigh Hunt and Hazlitt, were condemned unread, and their characters as well as their poetry reviled. Even the callow Tennyson was in 1833 abused by Croker in the *Quarterly*, partly because he was somehow related to the "Cockney School."<sup>55</sup>

The greater poets of the Romantic school held at least this conviction in common—they felt that all politics should be regulated, not by a shallow expediency such as Coleridge denounced in Pitt, but by a deeper expediency

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 285.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 94.

<sup>55</sup> As assigned in Murray's *Register*:

Review of Keats: *Quar. Rev.*, XIX, 204—by John Wilson Croker.

Review of Shelley: " " XXI, 461—by J. T. Coleridge.

" " XXVI, 168—by W. S. Walker.

" " XXXIV, 139—by J. G. Lockhart.

Review of Tennyson: " " XLIX, 81—by J. W. Croker (?).

See my *Tory Criticism in the Quarterly Review*, N. Y., 1921.

of humaneness and justice. Politics and the social order should be moralized. With the exception of Scott and Keats, each poet of the group believed this—and in his own way gave the faith expression. In Wordsworth and Coleridge, this became a profoundly religious conviction. They gradually connected it with the Established Church. Southey agreed with them, and went further than either in making loyalty to the Anglican Church the panacea for all the evils of society. Out of his love of abstract justice and human right, Shelley made a religion of his own, having found in Godwin's teachings an obstacle to faith in the Church.

In general, Romantic politics were upon an emotional basis. "What I *feel* about Spain, you know," Southey wrote to Bedford, declining to review Spanish affairs in the *Quarterly*, altho he gave the Cause his whole-hearted sympathy and good will.<sup>56</sup> The same impulsiveness and sincerity of emotion which made Southey, Coleridge, and Wordsworth champion in the days of their youth the French Revolutionists, later led them to rejoice in the Spanish uprising, and thruout their careers to take independent and un-Tory-like views of many questions of human welfare. Their blindness to many abuses in English domestic politics—hard to explain—was certainly not due to any callousness to human need. "With me, politics is a feeling," declared Byron, in whom, as in Shelley, the fervor of Romantic politics reached its height. Both these poets were less blind to the crying needs of the English social structure than their more conservative contemporaries, yet even they failed to put much effective protest into their poetry. Byron's championship of the frame-breakers of Nottingham,<sup>57</sup> his hate of Castlereagh

<sup>56</sup> Letter of Nov. 9, 1808.

<sup>57</sup> Parliamentary Speeches, *Works* (Murray), II, 424 ff.

and derisive utterances regarding the Holy Alliance, like Shelley's "Masque of Anarchy," are merely flares of emotional fire. There was no steady flame to reveal the depth and breadth of the abuses in English politics and society in that day.

If we may give our own interpretation to Coleridge's phrase—a phrase not easily expounded—we may say the Romantic poets of this group were less interested in local and temporary affairs than in "the permanent politics of human nature." In this they were obviously true poets. Most of the emotions to which these men gave utterance, the principles which they announced and remained loyal to (even tho such loyalty brought charges of inconsistency and tergiversation)—these principles are of no less value and truth today than they were a century ago. Of passing events and conditions, these poets sought to find the eternal significance. And if Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, or Shelley, appeared at times narrow, wilfully blind, or fantastically visionary and impractical, it was to a great degree because of their preoccupation with the permanent politics of human nature.

WALTER GRAHAM.

#### IV.—GRAMMATICAL AND NATURAL GENDER IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

The scholars who have investigated the history of gender in Middle English have been unanimous in the conclusion that the loss of grammatical gender was the result of the loss of the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension, the definite article and demonstrative, and other pronominal words. Körner wrote in 1888:

Die angelsächsische sprache unterschied bekanntlich drei grammatische genera, während das moderne englisch das grammatische geschlecht überhaupt nicht mehr besitzt. Der verlust desselben hängt natürlich mit dem verluste der flexion aufs engste zusammen und findet auch hierin seine alleinige erklärung. Bot doch die flexion allein dem sprechenden einen anhalt für die unterscheidung des grammatischen geschlechts; woran hätte man sich sonst noch halten können, als erstere aufgegeben wurde? Denn der zusammenhang zwischen der bedeutung und dem überkommenen geschlecht der bezeichnungen für leblose wesen wurde längst nicht mehr gefühlt. Als daher durch aufgabe der flexion das äussere erkenntniszeichen für das grammatische genus fiel, so musste letzteres überhaupt schwinden. Es ergab sich von selbst, dass an seine stelle das natürliche gelecht trat.<sup>1</sup>

Hoffmann (1909) says, in summarizing the results of his investigation of grammatical gender in Lazamon's *Brut*:

Wie die schon teilweise zerrüttung der kasusformen und die nebenher gehende analysis (umschriebene kasus) zeigen, war für Lazamon schon ein sprachzustand vorhanden, in welchem das grammatische geschlecht zwar noch allenthalben deutlich gefühlt wurde, jedoch die stützen, auf denen es ruhte, immer spärlicher geworden waren. Bei fortschreitender entwicklung der sprache mussten auch diese stützen (gewisse früher bezeichnete unterscheidungsvolle kasus der pronominal- und adjektivflexion) bald hinfällig werden und der

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<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge zur geschichte des geschlechtswechsels der englischen substantiva*, p. 1.

völlige schwund des grammatischen genus eintreten. Die auf Lazamon folgende generation hat diesen wandel vollzogen.<sup>2</sup>

Landwehr (1911) says in his investigation of grammatical gender in the *Ancren Riwele*:

Dass gerade im englischen die durchbrechung der gr. kongruenz und die rückkehr zum natürl. genus, wie wir es ja in der hauptsache im NE. finden, stattgefunden hat, lässt sich sehr leicht erklären. Mit dem aufgeben der geschlechtlichen formenunterschiede des artikels, des adj. und des attributiven fürwortes und bei der völligen ausgleichung der deklination der subst. aller geschlechter musste die erinnerung an das frühere gr. g. sich fast ganz verlieren. . . . Im ags. war die flexion der endungen so stark ausgeprägt, dass in dem auslaut, d. h. der flexionsendung eines wortes, das g. desselben sich zu erkennen gab. Mit dem zusammenfall der alten auslautenden vokale in e, mit dem verlust jeglichen endungsvokals und schliesslich mit der verallgameinerung des artikels *ðe* für alle kasus und genera, hörte auch die möglichkeit auf, aus der flexionsendung eines wortes oder seinem artikel dessen genus zu erkennen. Mit der aufgabe der flexionsendungen musste auch das gr. g. verloren gehen.<sup>3</sup>

Morsbach (1913) says in his *Grammatisches und psychologisches Geschlecht im Englischen*:

Der untergang des grammatischen genus hängt einzig und allein mit dem schwund und der nivellierung der genusunterscheidenden nominal- und pronominalformen zusammen. . . . Dieser prozess, dessen anfänge bis in die westgermanische zeit zurückgehen und der hier im einzelnen nicht weiter verfolgt werden kann, beruht auf mancherlei psychologischen und physiologischen ursachen. . . . Die ursachen, welche das aussterben des grammatischen genus bewirkt haben, sind nicht schwer zu ermitteln, obgleich der ganze verlauf dieses prozesses dem forscher im einzelnen manche schwierigkeiten bietet. Da die erhaltung des grammatischen genus, welchem in seiner historisch gewordenen ausprägung kein bedeutungselement mehr zukam, einzig und allein an gewisse äussere sprachformen durch die tradition geknüpft war, so ist es ganz natürlich, dass das genus schwinden musste, sobald die genusunterscheidenden formalen

<sup>2</sup> Das grammatische genus in *Lazamons Brut*, p. 69; cf. also pp. 66-68.

<sup>3</sup> Das grammatische geschlecht in der *Ancren Riwele*, pp. 32 f.

merkmale verloren gingen. Indem das genus nur an der flexion der adjektiva and pronomina haftete (mit ausschluss der personalia, die bei diesem prozess keine rolle spielen konnten), war mit dem verfall der rein äusseren unterlagen, an die das genus geknüpft war, die neutralität aller substantiva, die keine geschlechtigen lebewesen bezeichneten, gegeben. Die äusseren stützen des grammatischen genus sind natürlich nicht mit einemale, sondern allmählich geschwunden und zwar etwa in demselben masse wie die in frage kommenden endungen der pronominal- und adjektivflexion. Allein das grammatische genus lebte doch so lange als solches noch, obwohl nicht mehr in der ursprünglichen ausdehnung und reinheit, als bis die letzte wirksame stütze gefallen war.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, Glahn (1918) says:

Die umbildung dieser im ae. wesentlich grammatischen kategorien der drei genera: maskulinum, femininum, neutrum, zu den psychologischen des natürlichen geschlechts: männlich, weiblich, geschlechtslos, hat das me. vollzogen, zu verschiedenen zeiten in den verschiedenen dialekten. Diese neuwertung alter formen hängt eng mit einem teil der sonstigen geschichte der englischen sprache zusammen, veränderungen in der nominal- und pronomialflexion, die z. t. lautlicher, z. t. analogischer natur sind: die ursache des verfalles des alten grammatischen geschlechts ist im verfall der flexion zu suchen.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Grammatisches und psychologisches geschlecht im englischen*, pp. 6-9. This paper was first printed in *Nachrichten von der königlichen gesellschaft der wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Geschäftliche mitteilungen*, 1912, Heft 2, pp. 102-121, but was reprinted in Berlin with copious notes in 1913 (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung). My quotations are made from the later edition.

<sup>5</sup> *Zur geschichte des grammatischen geschlechts*, p. 5. Lindelöf shows, in his *Beiträge zur kenntnis des altnorthumbrischen (Mémoires de la Société Neo-Philologique à Helsingfors, 1, 1893)*, that in the language of the Lindisfarne Gospels there is great confusion and inconsistency in the use of noun genders, but does not attempt to explain the causes that brought about this condition; Carpenter, in *Die Deklination in der northumbrischen evangelienübersetzung der lindisfarner handschrift*, pp. 66-68, adds nothing to Lindelöf's material and nothing of importance to his discussion of the material. Breier, in his *Eule und Nachtigal*, pp. 101-107, states the facts in regard to the retention of the Old English grammatical genders in the *Owl and the Nightingale* but contributes nothing towards ex-

This explanation of the loss of grammatical gender was anticipated by Mätzner<sup>6</sup> (whose *Englische Grammatik* antedated Körner's work) and has been generally accepted by writers on English historical grammar and the history of the English language.<sup>7</sup> It is supported by a great body of facts that are accessible in the special investigations referred to above, and it is thoroly consistent with the general principles of development and change in language.

The distinctions of grammatical gender depend on grammatical concord between nouns (or pronouns) on the one hand and adjectives and pronouns on the other. Such a system of gramatical concord is transmitted from one generation of speakers to a younger generation by means of the tradition of the spoken language. The habit of saying in German *ich habe einen apfel* but *ich habe ein buch* is acquired in the same way that the other habits involved in speaking German are acquired. It is a matter of build-

plaining the loss of gender in later Middle English; his statement that "der untergang des gram. genus nimmt . . . einen ähnlichen verlauf wie der verfall der flexion des substantivs, in der ja das gram. geschlecht zum ausdruck kam" (p. 101) expresses a view that is discussed below in note 8. Philippsen, in *Die deklination in den Vices and Virtues*, pp. 72-83, deals with the retention and confusion of genders in the text he studies but contributes nothing to an explanation of the loss of gender except the statement that "ein früher verfall des grammatischen geschlechts setzt stets auch einen frühen verfall flexionsverhältnisse voraus" (p. 72).

\* "Mit dem aufgeben der geschlechtigen formunterschiede des artikels, des adjektivs und des attributiven fürwortes und bei der völligen angleichung der deklination der substantive aller geschlechter musste die erinnerung an das frühere grammatische geschlecht sich fast gänzlich verlieren," *Englische grammatik*, 3 ed., 1880, I, 263.

<sup>7</sup> Emerson, *History of the English language*, pp. 289 f., 303; Sweet, *New English grammar*, I, 305 f.; Eienkel, *Grundriss der germanischen philologie*, 1 ed., I, 910 f.; Bradley, *Making of English*, pp. 48 f.; Keluza, *Historische grammatik der englischen sprache*, 2 ed., II, 139 f.

ing up in the minds of the members of the oncoming generation, thru the speech-learning process itself, a system of associations which make it as difficult for them to say *ich habe einen buch* or *das apfel ist auf der baum* as it is for us to say *I have those book* or *this is my mother picture*.

Obviously, therefore, the transmission of grammatical gender from one generation to another depends upon the transmission of the gender-distinctive forms of the pronouns and adjectives. If these are lost, grammatical gender is lost, for it is in the concord of these with nouns that grammatical gender consists.<sup>8</sup> Now Old English had such a system of gender-distinctive forms in the inflections of the strong adjective declension,<sup>9</sup> the definite article and demonstrative *sē*, *sēo*, *þæt*, and other pronominal words. This system of gender-distinctive forms was transmitted to the generation whose speech is represented by the very earliest Middle English texts with some modifications due to sound change and analogy but on the whole unimpaired. Within a generation or two, however, other sound changes occurred, and analogy began to operate

<sup>8</sup> Altho in Old English, as in Latin and other languages, nouns of different genders are characterised to a great extent by certain types of inflection, noun gender does not consist in or depend upon noun inflection. No mere change in the system of noun inflection, however extensive, can cause the *loss* of grammatical gender. Changes of noun inflection, by establishing new associations, are likely to cause confusion and shifting of genders, and it is probable that the *confusion* of genders which occurred in early Middle English was to a great extent the result of changes of noun inflection which had taken place thru the operation of sound change and analogy. But the loss of grammatical gender cannot be explained by this cause alone.

<sup>9</sup> The Old English gender-distinctive forms of the weak adjective inflection (*-a* in the masculine nominative singular and *-e* in the neuter accusative singular) were not gender-distinctive in Middle English.

more extensively. As a result of these processes all of the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension were lost, the definite article lost all inflection and was reduced to the invariable form *the*, and the inflection of the demonstratives *this* and *that* was reduced to two forms, one for the singular and one for the plural. These changes in inflection were paralleled by changes in the gender of nouns. The earlier stages of the development are characterized by *confusion* of genders; masculines and neuters often became feminine, masculines and feminines often became neuter, and feminines and neuters often became masculine. The later stages of the development are characterized increasingly by *loss* of gender. Nouns that were masculine or feminine in Old English and that represented objects without life became neuter. When all of the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension, definite article and demonstrative, and other pronominal words had passed out of use, the distinctions of grammatical gender could no longer be made and were replaced by those of natural gender which we have in Modern English.

This generally accepted explanation of the loss of gender in Middle English which I have outlined in the preceding paragraph is deficient, however, in two respects. None of the investigators of the subject have really accounted for the appearance of *natural* gender in Middle English. And they have practically ignored the fact that altho the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension and definite article and demonstrative were lost, those of the personal pronoun—Modern English *he*, *she*, *it*, *his*, *him*, *her*—were retained. These defects in the in the current explanation of the loss of grammatical gender have lately been very well stated by Mr. Classen

in his article *On the Origin of Natural Gender in Middle English*.<sup>10</sup> The theory assumes, he says,

that natural gender sets in *after* the confusion arising from the loss of inflections. . . . How, then, was it, in fact, expressed? It was expressed solely by means of the personal pronouns, for all other distinctions of gender had been lost. Is it not then a perfectly natural and obvious objection to this theory, that these self-same pronouns, *he*, *she*, and *it*, would have sufficed to preserve the old grammatical gender? If, *ex hypothesi*, there were no other means of expressing gender than the pronouns *he*, *she*, and *it*, would not these pronouns have served just as well to express grammatical gender as to express natural gender? . . . [And] is it not . . . likely that, with a long tradition of grammatical gender, English would have retained such gender by the means at its disposal—the personal pronouns—unless [there had been some reason to the contrary]? . . . The personal pronouns indicating natural gender would have made the distinction of gender just as clear as they do in the case of natural gender in Modern English and, as a matter of fact, English might by means of the pronouns of *he*, *she*, and *it* retain grammatical gender to this day. . . . The current view then merely amounts to saying that after inflections disappeared it was no longer possible to distinguish gender by means of inflections: which nobody will deny. But when it is said that the loss of inflections made it impossible to distinguish gender *at all*, then the statement is a flat contradiction of the fact that gender might have been indicated by the pronouns.<sup>11</sup>

The difficulties in the accepted theory of the loss of gender pointed out by Mr. Classen are real ones and have not been met by the investigators of the subject. In regard to the gender-distinctive forms of *he*, *she*, and *it* they say: "die pronomina personalia haben nie eine besondere bedeutung für die erhaltung des gram. genus; sie haben jedenfalls nach dem vorfall der englischen flexion die zerrütung und das schwinden des gram. genus nicht aufhalten können";<sup>12</sup> "wie schon einmal erwähnt, zeigt ja die geschichte selbst, dass die personal- und possessivpro-

<sup>10</sup> *Modern Language Review*, xiv, 97-102.

<sup>11</sup> Classen, p. 98.

<sup>12</sup> Hoffmann, p. 68.

nomina allein nicht ausreichten, den alten zustand zu erhalten." <sup>13</sup> In regard to the substitution of natural for grammatical gender they say: "So konnte denn nach dem aussterben des gram. genus das natürliche geschlecht, das am deutlichsten und sinnfälligsten wirkende element, mit voller kraft wieder in die erscheinung treten, wie es denn auch tatsächlich geschehen ist"; <sup>14</sup> "schon im ags. scheint dieses [i. e. das natürliche genus] seine wirkung geltend zu machen. . . Das nach dem schwund der flektivischen endungen nun sich dieses moment besonders stark geltend macht, ist einleuchtend"; <sup>15</sup> "waren auch die genusunterscheidenden markmale der adjektiv- und pronominalflexion (mit ausnahme der der personalia) geschwunden, so dass es hier nur eine und zwar geschlechtlich indifferente form gab (*the, that, this* etc.), so hatten sich doch die personalpronomina mit ihren geschlechtsunterscheidenden formen erhalten (*he, she, it, his, her(s)*), da sie ja für die unterscheidung der geschlechter lebender wesen nicht entbehrt werden konnten. Als nun durch den verfall der flexionsendungen die tradition für das persönsonliche geschlecht unpersönlicher substantiva abgebrochen war, mussten diese im grammatischen sinne neutral werden, d. h. es wurden die neutralen kein persönsonliches geschlecht bezeichnenden formen des personalpronomens und des entsprechenden possessivs *it* (später *its*) auf sie bezogen, da die sprache nur diese im grammatischen sinn neutralen, nicht aber eine absolut neutrale, grammatisch indifferente form besass. Somit ist das grammatische genus im englischen hier formell noch erhalten. Freilich wird es nicht als solches empfunden." <sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Glahn, p. 21; cf. p. 9. Cf. also Morsbach's expression, in passage quoted above: "mit ausschluss der personalia, die bei diesem prozess keine rolle spielen konnten."

<sup>14</sup> Hoffmann, p. 68; see also p. 57.

<sup>15</sup> Landwehr, p. 35.

<sup>16</sup> Morsbach, pp. 10 f.

The passages I have quoted do not tell us *why* the gender-distinctive forms of the personal pronoun could not maintain the distinctions of grammatical gender, nor do they explain *how* natural gender took the place of grammatical gender. Morsbach says that the gender-distinctive forms of the personal pronoun were retained because they were indispensable for the designation of the sex of living beings. But Modern Persian has neither grammatical nor natural gender, the same pronoun being used for both *he* and *she*, and a demonstrative (which however can refer to persons as well as things) being used for *it*. It is not necessary for our present purpose to explain why the gender-distinctive forms of the personal pronoun were retained in Middle English, but we can be certain that their retention was not due to their indispensableness. And Morsbach fails to explain *why* nouns designating things without life had to become neuter after the tradition of grammatical gender was broken. Not to mention other possible systems of gender different from the Old English and Modern English systems, it is at least theoretically conceivable that, since practically all nouns came to have the endings derived from those of the Old English masculine *a*-declension, the nouns which had been feminine and neuter in Old English might have become masculine.

Körner's explanation of the origin of natural gender is somewhat more definite than that of the other writers I have quoted. He says:

In den sprachen, in welchen die substantive mit grammatischem geschlechte versehen sind, giebt es gewisse bezeichnungen für personen, die ihrem (meist neutralen) genus nach mit dem natürlichen geschlechte der bezeichneten personen im widerspruche stehen. . . . Dieser von der sprache auferlegte zwang wird jedoch dadurch gemildert, dass gewöhnlich jedes auf ein solches wort sich zurück-beziehende pronomen das natürliche geschlecht der gemeinten person

zum ausdruck bringt. So sagte man ags. *þæt mægden, þæt wif, se wifmon*, liess ihnen aber oft unmittelbar darauf *heo, hie* und ä. folgen, je nachdem der zusammenhang es mit sich brachte; in gleicher weise konnte man *þæt child* wieder aufnehmen mit *he*, wenn ein knabe gemeint war, oder mit *heo*, wenn von einem mädchen die rede war. Als nun aber die ags. flexion zusammen mit dem herkömmlichen grammatischen geschlechte im schwinden begriffen waren, musste auch das mit diesen worten verbundene demonstrativpronomen seine grammatisch-geschlechtliche form zu gunsten des sexuellen geschlechts der bezeichneten person umändern.<sup>17</sup> Diese erscheinung finden wir in der ersten hälfte des 13. jahrh. in der that vor. So begegnet z. b. in der A. R. p. 406: *þene mon oðer þeo wummon*. Warum hätte sonst der verfasser nicht auch *þene wummon* geschrieben, da ja dem *wifmon* im ags. als compositum von *mon* gleichfalls das männliche genus zukommt? [Nine more examples are given from early Middle English texts of *maiden, wummon, and wif* accompanied by a feminine article or demonstrative.]<sup>18</sup>

This explanation, however, applies only to the small group of nouns like *wif, mægden*, and *wifmon* whose grammatical gender was in conflict with the sex of the persons whom these nouns designated. It does not explain the transition from grammatical to natural gender in the great body of nouns which denoted lifeless objects and which were masculine or feminine in Old English.

The explanation of these difficulties, however, is after all a simple one, and the same explanation accounts both for the failure of the gender-distinctive forms of *he, she, it*, to prevent the loss of grammatical gender and also for the existence of natural gender in the later Middle English.

<sup>17</sup> The statement made in this sentence is erroneous. As will be shown later in this paper, the gender-distinctive forms of the demonstrative and definitive article, even when they modified nouns like *wife, maiden*, and *woman*, were as a rule in concord with grammatical gender. The usage Körner illustrates was only occasional.

<sup>18</sup> Körner, p. 27. See also the last sentence of the passage quoted from Körner at the beginning of this paper.

The fact is that in Old English the use of the gender-distinctive forms of *hē*, *hēo*, *hit* was almost the same as our own use of them. The masculine forms in the overwhelming majority of cases referred to males, the feminine forms to females, and the neuter forms to things without sex. They were only rarely used in conflict with natural gender. For example, *Beowulf* contains about 429 gender-distinctive forms of *hē*, *hēo*, *hit*, of which only 8, less than 2 per cent., are in conflict with natural gender. On the other hand, the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension, *sē*, *sēo*, *þæt*, and other pronominal words were very frequently used in conflict with natural gender. As compared with the 8 gender-distinctive forms of *hē*, *hēo*, *hit* which are in conflict with natural gender in *Beowulf*, the number of gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension, *sē*, *sēo*, *þæt*, and other pronominal words that are used in conflict with natural gender is about 280. In other words, out of all the gender-distinctive pronominal words and strong adjectives in *Beowulf* which are in conflict with natural gender, less than 3 per cent. are forms of *hē*, *hēo*, *hit*.

It is obvious from these facts that the personal pronoun *hē*, *hēo*, *hit* furnished little support for grammatical gender. The genders that were difficult to learn were those of masculine and feminine nouns that denoted lifeless objects—that is the nouns that had a grammatical gender that was in conflict with natural gender. But the gender of such nouns was very seldom indicated by the forms of *hē*, *hēo*, *hit*, for these forms were seldom used in conflict with natural gender. It is evident, therefore, that when in Middle English the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension, definite article and demonstrative, and other pronominal words began to be displaced by forms that were not distinctive of gender, it

became increasingly difficult for the younger generations of speakers to learn the traditional genders. But it also became increasingly easier for them to evade the uncertainties of grammatical gender by using the forms not distinctive of gender (*the, that, this*, etc.) which were displacing the gender-distinctive forms.<sup>19</sup> Inevitably, therefore, the tendency (initiated by sound changes and analogy) to displace these gender-distinctive forms by forms that were not distinctive of gender was accelerated, the gender-distinctive forms passed entirely out of use, and grammatical gender was dead.

The gender-distinctive forms of the personal pronoun, however, continued to be used in Middle English very much as they had been used in Old English. They were occasionally used in conflict with natural gender as long as the distinctions of grammatical gender were maintained at all. We shouldn't expect them to be used *more* freely in conflict with natural gender in the period when the distinctions of grammatical gender were weakening than they were in the period when the system of grammatical gender was still intact. And when the distinctions of grammatical gender ceased to be made, the personal pronoun continued to be used in virtually the same way. Only instead of being used in accordance with natural gender (say) 98 per cent. of the time they were used in accordance with natural gender 100 per cent. of the time. That is, after grammatical gender was lost, the personal pronoun, which in Old English had seldom expressed anything but natural gender, continued to express natural gender. In fact, inasmuch as natural gender is expressed

<sup>19</sup>In using the words "evade" and "uncertainties" I do not intend to imply on the part of speakers of Middle English any consciousness of evasion or uncertainty.

entirely by means of the personal pronouns, we might say that natural gender did not *replace* grammatical gender in Middle English but survived it.

The fact that grammatical gender was mainly expressed and supported in Old English and early Middle English by the strong adjective declension and the pronominal words exclusive of *he, she, it* is very clearly illustrated by cases in which an adjective, article, or demonstrative is in concord with the grammatical gender of the noun with which it is used but the personal pronoun which refers to the noun is in concord with its natural gender and in conflict with its grammatical gender. There is an example of this in *Beowulf* 2802 ff.:

Hātað heaðo-mære      hlēw gewyrcean  
 beorhtne æfter bāle      æt brimes nōsan;  
 sē seel tō gemyndum      mīnum lēodum  
 hēah hlifian      on Hrones-nesse,  
 þæt hit sē-liðend      syððan hātan  
 Biowulfes biorh.

In *Genesis* 2647 ff. we have:

Mē sægde ðær  
 þæt wif hire      wordum selfa  
 unfriegendum,      þæt hēo Abrahames  
 sweostor wære.

Wülfinġ has given two examples from *Bede* and *Orosius*.<sup>20</sup> Other examples from the same period are:

Ac hie woldon selfe fleon ða byrðenne sua micelre scylde, ða ðe his unwierðe wæron, gif hie, etc. (*Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet, p. 31, 14 f.).

Ic ðe wolde giet reccan sume swiðe rihte raca; ac ic wat þæt þis folc his nele gelyfan (*Boethius*, ed. Sedgefield, p. 122, 17 f.).

<sup>20</sup> *Die syntax in den werken Alfreds des grossen*, I, section 238. For another Early West-Saxon example see *Dialogs of Gregory the Great*, ed. Hecht, p. 17, 17 ff., ms. C. For other examples in poetical texts see *Genesis* 2242 f., 2380 f. See also note 26 below.

Almost any number of examples could be given from Late West-Saxon texts. A few are the following:

And God þa geswefode þone Adam, and þaþa he slep ða genam he an rib of his sidan, and geworhte of ðam ribbe *ænne wifman*, and axode Adam hu *heo* hatan sceolde (*Ælfric, Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 14).

He com ða on næddran hiwe to þam twam mannum, ærest to *ðam wife*, and *hire* to cwæð, etc. (*Ibid.*, I, 16).

Wyrc þe nú *anne arc*, þreo hund fæðma lang, and fiftig fæðma wfd, and þritig fæðma heah: gehref *hit* eall, etc. (*Ibid.*, I, 20).

Ðæt *cild* is tuwa acenned: *he* is acenned of þam Fæder on heofonum, etc. (*Ibid.*, I, 24).

Eft swa gelice gelæhte *ænne calic*, senode mid swiðran, and sealde his gingrum, of to supenne æfter gereorde; sæde þæt *hit* wære soðlice his blod, etc. (*Ibid.*, II, 244).

Etað *þisne hlaf*, *hit* is min lichama (*Ibid.*, II, 266).

Ða wearð þæt *mæden myccelum hoh-ful hū heo* æfre wæras wissian sceolde (*Ælfric, Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, I, 32, 121 f.).

Witodlice basilius, gebyld þurh his drihten, be ende-byrdnyss awrat ealle ða þenunga þara *halgan mæssan swa swa hit* healdað grecas (*Ibid.*, I, 58, 142 ff.).

Þeos *race* is swiðe lang-sum fullice to gereccenne, ac we *hit* sægað eow on þa scortostan wisan (*Ibid.*, I, 98, 139 f.).

. . . geopenie þonne se ælmihtiga hælend *þises wifes* muð þæt *heo* mæge spræcan (*Ibid.*, I, 122, 96 f.).<sup>21</sup>

Ðā on þām ehteoþan dæge hig cōmon þæt *cild ymsnīþan*, and nemdon *hyne* hys fæder naman Zachariam (*St. Luke*, ed. Bright, I: 59).

In Middle English there are many cases of this usage in *Lazamon*, for example:

Sone swa he hider com: swa he þat *maide* inom.  
 he wolde mon-radene: habben wið þan *maidene*.  
 Ælde næfde heo na mare: buten fi[f]tene zere.  
 ne mihte þat *maidē*: his mone i-polien.  
 anan swa he lai *hire* mide: *hire* lif *heo* losede sone (25909 ff.).

Heo wuneden inne Winchæstre: an and twēti wikene.  
 & senden to Rome ful iwis: æfter þan *maidene* Genuis.

<sup>21</sup> I have printed Skeat's text as prose and modified the punctuation.

ƿat maiden mid isūde: com to ƿisse londe.  
 & Claudien þe kaisere: 3æf heo ƿisse kinge.  
 3et hit is isene: heo wes her quene (9540 ff.).

ƿis tidinde com biliue: in to þā [MS. B þan] wīfe.  
 ƿæt hire læuerd wes icumen: and mid him his ƿreo gumen  
 (19014 ff.).

Efne pissen worden: þa ƿat wīf seide.  
 Beduer heo gon hirten: mid hendeliche worden (25939 ff.).

Ouer so[þ] seiden ƿat 3unge vīfmō: hire folweð mochel wisdom  
 (3468 f.).

Ah þa Claudius ærest in pissen londe com: he funde enne  
 feire wimman.

heo wes wit' heo wes wis: heo wes maidē ful iwis (9598 ff.).

For other examples see 156 f., 2499 ff., 3111 ff., 9568 f., 22229 ff., 25867 f., 30792 ff.<sup>22</sup> The following example occurs in the homilies of ms. Cotton Vesp. A 22:

He [Satan] com þa anédren hiwe toðam twám mannum, erést to ðan wīfe, and hir to cweð.<sup>23</sup>

Landwehr (p. 52) gives three examples from the *Ancren Riwele*:

Muchel medschipe hit is, he seið, don wel, & wilnen word þerof: don hware þuruh me buð þene kinedom of heouene, & sulleð hit for a windes puf of wordes (p. 148, 1 ff.).

Gif þeo ilke scheadewe were 3et so kene, oðer so hot, þet 3e hit ne muhten nout wiðuten herme ivelen, hwat wolde 3e siggen bi þet ilke eiffule þing þet hit of come (p. 190, 25 ff.)?

. . . þet teo hwule þet heo drinkeð þene drunch, ne beo hit neuer so bitter, ne iueleð heo hit neuer (p. 240, 1 f.).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> For examples of *maiden*, *wif*, and *wimman* used with neuter or masculine forms of the article or strong adjective but not followed by a personal pronoun see Lazamon 3202, 9067, 9543 f., 14349, 14364, 16018, 22227, 23619, 25959 ff., 26132, 26137.

<sup>23</sup> *Old English Homilies*, I, 223, 18 f.; I have modified the punctuation. Note also ðes meidenes 241, 12.

<sup>24</sup> Landwehr's comment upon these passages is as follows: "Dass ein und dasselbe wort an verschiedenen stellen verschiedne genera (das des etymons und geschlechtslosigkeit z. b.) zeigen kann, wird

Very rarely in Old English and occasionally in Middle English a definite article modifying *wife*, *maiden*, or *woman* is in conflict with the grammatical gender of its noun and in concord with its natural gender, as in *sēo wifman* (Judges 4:21), *þeo wimon* (Lazamon, 279), *bi þære wimman* (*ibid.*, 6357), *of þære luðere wimmon* (*ibid.*, 14973), *mid þer unwēmmēd meide his moder* (*Old English Homilies*, I, 239, 18). But in the overwhelming majority of cases, in Middle English as well as in Old English, the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension, definite article, and other pronominal words exclusive of *he*, *she*, *it* were used in accordance with grammatical gender. And as long as these gender-distinctive forms were used at all in Middle English they were used with the greatest freedom in conflict with natural gender.

That the gender-distinctive forms of the personal pronoun, however, were seldom in conflict with natural gender is proved by the tables printed below. These tables show the total number of gender-distinctive forms of the per-

kaum auffallen (vergl. p. 41 u. ff.). Wenn aber, wie in folgenden beispielen, in ein und demselben satze das gleiche wort zweigeschlechtig behandelt wird, und zwar so, dass das direkt dabei stehende pronomen (hier der artikel) erhaltung des genus des etymons zeigt, das entfernter stehende pronomen aber, das das wort wieder aufnimmt, bereits neutrum ist, so können wir hieraus folgern, dass in diesen fällen das gefühl für das gr. genus nicht mehr stark war. In dem gebrauch des geschlechtigen artikels können wir hier nur eine spontane weiterführung eines sprachgebrauchs erblicken, der in einer früheren periode noch lebendig und lebensfähig war" (p. 51). If Landwehr had recognized that grammatical gender which was in conflict with natural gender was expressed in Old English and Middle English primarily by the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension and definite article and demonstrative, and only occasionally by the personal pronoun, he would not have made this comment. The personal pronoun is conclusive evidence of grammatical gender only when it is used *in conflict* with natural gender.

sonal pronoun that occur in ten representative Old English texts (or portions of texts) and ten representative Middle English texts (or portions of texts), the number of gender-distinctive forms in each text that are in conflict with natural gender, and the percentage of conflicts. To the tables themselves, however, I must prefix some explanations of the system I followed in collecting the data on which the tables are based.

All of the Old English forms of the personal pronoun are either positively or negatively gender-distinctive; *hē*, *hēo*, *hit*, *hire*, *hine*, and *hīe* (fem. acc. sing.) are positively gender-distinctive, and *his* and *him* are negatively gender-distinctive. In collecting my data I disregarded *his* and *him* and included only the forms that are positively gender-distinctive.<sup>25</sup> I followed this plan because I wished to conduct the investigation on the terms least favorable to my own thesis. The forms *his* and *him* are very frequent and are almost never in conflict with natural gender.<sup>26</sup> To have included them, therefore, would have

<sup>25</sup> I followed the same principle in collecting the data given earlier in this paper in regard to the conflicts with natural gender in the gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension, *sē*, *sēo*, *þæt*, and other pronominal words in *Beowulf*. That is, I disregarded the masculine and neuter genitive and dative singular and the masculine-feminine forms of *hwā*. I also disregarded the occasional plural gender-distinctive forms of the strong adjective declension.

<sup>26</sup> Inasmuch as *his* and *him* are indifferently masculine and neuter, they can be in conflict with natural gender only when they refer to masculine or feminine nouns that denote females (like *wifman* and *wif*). But such nouns are almost always referred to by a feminine pronoun. The cases in which *his* and *him* refer to masculine nouns that denote lifeless objects (e. g. *Beowulf* 1528 f., *ðā wæs forma sīð / dēorum mādme*, *þæt his dōm ālæg*) are ambiguous, even apart from the tendency to use a neuter pronoun for referring to masculine and feminine nouns denoting lifeless objects, as in—*sto eeg gewāc / brūn on bāne*, *bāt unswiðor*, / *þonne his ðiod-cyning þearfe hæfde* (*Beowulf* 2577 ff.).

considerably increased the total number of gender-distinctive forms without correspondingly increasing the number of conflicts. *Beowulf*, for example, contains about 233 examples of *his* and *him*, none of them in conflict with natural gender. If *his* and *him* are included, the total number of gender-distinctive forms is 662, the number of conflicts is still 8, and the percentage of conflicts is therefore .0121 instead of .0186. The former percentage, however, rather than the latter is really the significant one for our purpose.

The table containing the data from Middle English texts is based exclusively on the Middle English derivatives of the Old English forms that were positively gender-distinctive,<sup>27</sup> *his* and *him* being disregarded. Here the exclusion of *him* operates to increase the percentage of conflicts with natural gender even more than in the data from Old English texts, for in the majority of the Middle English texts included in the table *him* has either partly or wholly displaced *hine* as the masculine accusative singular form of the pronoun. The portion of the *Ancoren Riwe* that I have examined contains about 163 examples of *his* and *him*, none of them in conflict with natural gender. If these forms are included, the total number of gender-distinctive forms is 658, the number of conflicts is still 28, and the percentage of conflicts is therefore .0425 instead of .0566. Here again the former percentage rather than the latter is really the significant one. I have also (perhaps without sufficient reason) disregarded the pronouns *ha*, *hare*, and *(h)is* (feminine accusative singular); these are frequent in some of the Middle English texts I have used and are very rarely in conflict with

<sup>27</sup> I have treated the masculine nominative *he* (*heo*) and feminine nominative *heo* (*he*) as distinct in spite of occasional ambiguities of spelling.

natural gender. So the effect of these exclusions also is to increase the percentage of conflicts.

As the criterion of "natural gender" I have taken Modern English usage. For example, I have not considered *it* as in conflict with natural gender when it refers to *child*, nor a feminine pronoun when it refers to *Church* (collective sense), because this usage is still common in Modern English. And I have not considered masculine or feminine pronouns as in conflict with natural gender when they refer to animals (real or mythical) unless there is evidence that the animal is *not* of the sex indicated by the pronoun. Nor have I regarded masculine pronouns referring to Grendel's mother in *Beowulf* or feminine pronouns referring to *Jerusalem* and *Bethlehem* as being in conflict with natural gender. In all other doubtful cases, however, I have assumed conflict.

The tables are as follows:<sup>28</sup>

| Texts<br>Old English                                | Total gender-<br>distinctive forms | Conflicts with<br>natural gender | Percentage<br>of conflicts |
|---|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Beowulf</i> , ed. Chambers                       | 429                                | 8                                | .0186                      |
| <i>Juliana</i> , ed. Strunk                         | 97                                 | 0                                | .0000                      |
| <i>Elene</i> , ed. Holthausen                       | 119                                | 3                                | .0252                      |
| <i>Genesis A</i> , ed. Holthausen                   | 178                                | 4                                | .0225                      |
| <i>Orosius</i> , ed. Sweet, Book IV,<br>pp. 154-212 | 357                                | 19                               | .0532                      |

<sup>28</sup>I offer the data contained in these tables as close approximations. I have gone thru all of the texts twice to make my collection of conflicts as complete as possible, but doubtless a few have escaped my notice. The totals of the gender-distinctive forms in the various texts are (except in two or three instances) based on one count. The actual totals would prove, I believe, to be slightly greater than those given in the tables, for one is more likely to miss forms in counting than to count forms that ought not to be counted, and in the cases in which I did make a recount I found my second total to be greater than my first. The probable error in the determination of the totals therefore tends to neutralize the probable error in the determination of the number of the conflicts.

| Texts<br>Old English   | Total gender-<br>distinctive forms | Conflicts with<br>natural gender | Percentage<br>of conflicts |
|--|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Bede</i> , ed. Schipper, Book II,<br>pp. 106-189, MS B  | 463                                | 10                               | .0216                      |
| <i>Dialogs of Gregory the Great</i> ,<br>ed. Hecht, pp. 1-53, MS C                                       | 500                                | 22                               | .0440                      |
| <i>Ælfrie's Homilies</i> , ed. Thorpe,<br>I, 2-160 (to 1.18 inc.)  | 1000                               | 47                               | .0470                      |
| <i>Ælfrie's Lives of Saints</i> ,<br>ed. Skeat, I, 24-138 (1.354)  | 500                                | 14                               | .0280                      |
| <i>St. Luke</i> , ed. Bright   | 1082                               | 35                               | .0323                      |
| Average percentage: .0292  |                                    |                                  |                            |
| Middle English   |                                    |                                  |                            |
| <i>Bodley Homilies</i> , ed. Belfour,<br>EETS, p. 2-44 (1.28)  | 300                                | 22                               | .0733                      |
| <i>History of the Holy Rood-Tree</i> ,<br>ed. Napier, EETS   | 381                                | 10                               | .0262                      |
| <i>Lazamon's Brut</i> , ed. Madden,<br>II. 1-2560, MS A  | 600                                | 27                               | .0450                      |
| <i>Owl and the Nightingale</i> , ed. Wells,<br>MS C  | 455                                | 24                               | .0527                      |
| <i>Lambeth Homilies</i> , ed. Morris,<br><i>Early English Homilies</i> ,<br>I, 3-101 (1.20)              | 623                                | 47                               | .0754                      |
| <i>Ancren Riwle</i> , selections in Mätz-<br>ner's <i>Altenglische Sprachproben</i>                      | 495                                | 28                               | .0566                      |
| <i>Trinity Coll. Homilies</i> , ed. Morris,<br><i>Early English Homilies</i> ,<br>II, 31 (1.18)-114 1.4) | 300                                | 12                               | .0400                      |
| <i>Life of St. Katherine</i> , ed. Einkenkel,<br>EETS  | 326                                | 3                                | .0092                      |
| <i>St. Juliana</i> , ed. Cockayne,<br>EETS, MS Royal   | 240                                | 1                                | .0042                      |
| <i>Ayenbite of Inwyrt</i> , selections in<br>Mätzner's <i>Altenglische Sprach-<br/>proben</i>            | 517                                | 23                               | .0445                      |
| Average percentage: .0427. <sup>29</sup>   |                                    |                                  |                            |

<sup>29</sup> The greater percentage of conflicts in the Middle English texts is due partly to causes stated above on page 96, but still more, I think, to the abstract nature of the Middle English material as compared with the Old English. We should naturally expect a higher percentage of conflicts in homilies and similar material than in

It is evident, I think, from the facts set forth above that natural gender "came in," as Mr. Classen says, "by way of the personal pronouns."<sup>30</sup> But the fact that the per-

narrative. The surprising fact is that in material so abstract as the *Bodley* and *Lambeth Homilies* the percentage is not greater. Of course in limited portions of text the percentage may be much greater than any of those given in the table. For example, the first of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (ed. Skeat), which is largely a discourse on the nature of the soul, has a very high percentage of conflicts. But discourses of this kind are exceptional even in literature, and they are generally of limited extent. I might add that the unexpectedly high percentages of conflicts in *Orosius* and the *Brut* are due to the use of feminine pronouns referring to *Romebyrig*, *Carthage*, *burh*, etc.

<sup>30</sup> *Modern Language Review*, xiv, 100. On the following page Mr. Classen says: "it is clear from the evidences of Old English that there existed a strong sense of sex. . . . Such a sense of sex might readily develop a sense of sexlessness, or a sense of the distinction between living and lifeless things. How far this sense may have been strengthened by the *possibility* [italics mine] that the personal pronouns are most commonly used in the masculine and feminine to refer to man and woman, we do not know. But it is a possibility which ought not to be lost sight of." These sentences might very well have suggested to me the mode of investigation used in the present paper if I had not already formulated the thesis here presented and accumulated material sufficient for its establishment a year or two before Mr. Classen's article appeared. I am glad, however, to acknowledge that I have been considerably aided in the presentation of my thesis by being able to use as a point of departure that portion of Mr. Classen's article quoted earlier in this paper. To discuss the article as a whole would take more space than can be given to it here. Mr. Classen does not appear to be acquainted with the investigations of Körner, Hoffmann, Landwehr, and Morsbach (Glahn's investigation was probably not available at the time he wrote). If he had been acquainted with them he would probably have distinguished more clearly than he does between the two distinct problems of the loss of *grammatical* gender and the establishment of *natural* gender in Middle English. As I have tried to show in the body of this paper, the loss of grammatical gender might have occurred without the establishment of natural gender, and the establishment of natural gender (expressed by the personal pronoun) might have occurred without the loss of grammatical gender,

sonal pronoun was very seldom in conflict with natural gender could not have led either directly or indirectly to the loss of grammatical gender. It is perfectly conceivable that the personal pronoun might have come to be used in accordance with natural gender 100 per cent. of the time instead of 98 per cent. of the time even if the other gender-distinctive forms had been retained. But this would not have been loss of grammatical gender. There would have been a double system of gender, natural gender expressed by the personal pronoun and grammatical gender expressed by the other gender-distinctive forms.<sup>81</sup>

The conclusion that the predominant use of the personal pronoun in accordance with natural sex or sexlessness in Old English and Middle English was not a cause of the loss of grammatical gender is not merely *a priori* probable but is supported by direct evidence. Grammatical gender was lost in Middle English but has been retained in Modern High German and Modern Low German. If the predominant use of the personal pronoun in accordance with sex or sexlessness were peculiar to Old English and Middle English we should have some ground for suspecting that this usage might have been a cause in bringing about the loss of grammatical gender. As a matter of fact we find that the use of the personal pronoun in Old High German and Old Saxon, as well as in Gothic, was identical with its use in Old and Middle

<sup>81</sup> Indeed, natural gender exists together with grammatical gender in Latin, Greek, Germanic, and the Indo-European languages generally. When a Roman remarked to his companion of a girl whom both had noticed but of whom neither had yet spoken, "*Pulchra est*" or "*Illa pulchra*," the use of the feminine was determined by natural gender. So also in "*Ignarus sum*," "*Curiosa es*," etc. And a clause (which of course has no grammatical gender) is always neuter.

English. The percentage of conflicts with natural gender in the gender-distinctive forms of the personal pronoun in representative texts of these dialects is shown in the following tables: <sup>32</sup>

| Texts   | Total gender-distinctive forms | Conflicts with natural gender | Percentage of conflicts |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Gothic: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians (Stamm-Heyne's <i>Ulfilas</i> , 11 ed., ed. Wrede)....                     | 602                            | 20                            | .0332                   |
| Old High German: <i>Tatian</i> , ed. Sievers, 2 ed., pp. 13-162.....  | 768                            | 25                            | .0325                   |
| Old High German: Otfrid's <i>Evangelienebuch</i> , selections from Book IV in Braune's <i>Althochdeutsches Lesebuch</i> , 7 ed., pp. 116-134... | 451                            | 2                             | .0044                   |
| Old Saxon: <i>Heliand</i> , ll. 1-3000, ed. Behaghel, <i>Heliand und Genesis</i> , 2 ed.....  | 845                            | 18                            | .0213                   |
| Average percentage: .0228   |                                |                               |                         |

We find also that in these dialects, as in Old English, the gender-distinctive forms of the personal pronoun are frequently used in conflict with grammatical gender when they refer to nouns whose grammatical gender does not coincide with natural gender. This occurs most frequently when the pronoun refers to a neuter noun that

<sup>32</sup> I followed in collecting the data on which this table is based the same system that I followed in collecting the data from Old and Middle English texts on which the previous tables are based. Of the Gothic pronoun *is*, *si*, *ita*, etc., the Old High German pronoun (*h*)*er*, *siu*, *iz*, etc., and the Old Saxon pronoun *hē*, *siu*, *it*, etc., I included only the forms that are positively gender-distinctive. The same forms are positively gender-distinctive in all four dialects except that in Old High German the neuter genitive singular *es* is positively gender-distinctive whereas the corresponding forms in the other dialects are only negatively gender-distinctive. I have gone thru the Gothic, Old High German, and Old Saxon texts only once, but I believe the percentages I have arrived at are a sufficiently close approximation for the purpose for which I offer them.

denotes a male or female;<sup>33</sup> it occurs occasionally when the pronoun refers to a masculine or feminine noun that denotes a lifeless object.<sup>34</sup>

In the light of these facts it is evident that the Old English (or Germanic)<sup>35</sup> usage in regard to the personal pronoun was the determining cause of the establishment

<sup>33</sup> Old English examples of this usage would be superfluous here, and examples from the other dialects are scarcely less so. Among those that occur in the texts examined for the purpose of this paper are: *thaz kind . . . inan*, *Tatian*, IV, 11; *uûib sie*, *Tatian* XXVIII, 1; *themo magatine . . . siu*, *Tatian*, LXXIX, 9; *that kind . . . he*, *Heliand* 382; *that fri . . . ira*, *Heliand* 435 f.; *them uûibe . . . siu*, *Heliand* 445 f.; *barn . . . ina* *Heliand* 798; *pata barn . . . izai*, *St. Mark*, 5: 41. In these texts I have not found any neuter noun denoting a female referred to by a neuter pronoun; *kind* and *barn* are referred to either by a neuter pronoun or by a pronoun corresponding to the actual sex of the child.

<sup>34</sup> I have noted the following clear examples in Old High German: *Otfrid*, IV, 16, 33; *Tatian*, LXXII, 5. In *Heliand* 1509 f. *himile* (mas.) and *erðu* (fem.) are referred to by neuter *that*. To the Old English examples already given of *hit* referring to a masculine or feminine noun I may add: *Beowulf* 779, 1234, 2248, and possibly 3161; *Orosius*, p. 174, 4-8; *Ælfric*, *Homilies*, I, 88, line 3 from bottom.

<sup>35</sup> As a matter of fact this usage is no more peculiar to Germanic than to Old English. It is impossible of course to give for Latin and Greek comparative statistics in precisely the form that was used for the Germanic dialects, because Latin and Greek have no third personal pronoun (that is no gender-distinctive demonstrative used exclusively as a substantive) and because the pronominal words that perform in Latin and Greek the function of the Germanic third personal pronoun are so diverse morphologically. But if we examine the substantive use of these pronominal words in Latin and Greek we find that they are seldom in conflict with natural gender. The Latin Vulgate text of St. Luke (ed. Nestle) contains about 759 forms of *ille*, *is*, *hic*, *ipse*, and *iste* used substantively, of which 25 are in conflict with natural gender, giving a percentage of .0329. The Greek text of St. Mark (ed. Westcott and Hort) contains about 593 forms of *αὐτός*, *οὗτος*, *ἐαυτοῦ*, *ἐκεῖνος*, and demonstrative *ὁ* and *ἡ* used substantively, of which 21 are in conflict with natural gender, giving a percentage of .0354.

of natural gender in Middle English. The cause of the loss of grammatical gender, however, must be sought elsewhere. It is to be found in the causes which led to the loss of the gender-distinctive forms of the adjective, definite article and demonstrative, and other pronominal words by which grammatical gender was expressed and communicated.

SAMUEL MOORE.

## V.—THE EVE OF ST. AGNES AND THE MYSTERIES OF UDOLPHO

That Keats in *The Eve of St. Agnes* was possibly indebted to Mrs. Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* was suggested to me by my colleague, Professor Margaret Sherwood, who pointed out several signs of relationship between the two works. Since that time I have made some study of the problem, and record the following observations. No attempt is here made to discuss the question raised by President MacCracken<sup>1</sup> of Keats's obligation to Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, since it is not possible to reach final conclusions in regard to the matter without making a systematic study of the relationship of the *Eve of St. Agnes* to *Floris and Blancheflur*, *Filocolo*, *Romeus and Juliet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, and *Christabel*.

Keats jests at Mrs. Radcliffe (Letter to Reynolds, March 14, 1818), saying: "I am going among scenery whence I intend to tip you the Damosel Radcliffe—I'll cavern you, and grotto you, and waterfall you, and wood you and water you, and immense-rock you, and tremendous-sound you, and solitude you." But, underneath this playfulness there is certainly evidence of a distinct acquaintance with the works of the lady. What may have been the influences she exerted on the young poet's imagination?

*The Mysteries of Udolpho* is characterized by an ardent delight in natural beauty, by a romantic sentiment towards the Middle Ages, and by an intensely

<sup>1</sup> "The Source of Keats's *Eve of St. Agnes*," *Modern Philology*, v, 1907-8.

vivid power of depicting both concrete detail and emotional experience. Mrs. Radcliffe excelled in arousing the sense of wonder and mystery; she threw a glamor over landscape; she reproduced the very moods of love, loneliness, and terror; she knew to a nicety how to create that sort of suspense which enthralls any reader of sensibility. Underneath her extravagance there is a steady logical structure, a certain firmness in management of material. Is it not possible that Keats read Mrs. Radcliffe with more or less scoffing and more or less genuine study of her methods of casting an artistic realism over the most improbable scenes?

The setting of Mrs. Radcliffe's story possessed many elements that seem revived by Keats. There was the solid grandeur of an ancient Gothic castle, with shadowy, galleries, mysterious staircases, moonlit casements, and gorgeous apartments hung with arras glowing with medieval pageantry. The feudal life with old retainers serving an arrogant master and his carousing friends is pictured in both works.

In plot, Keats found in *Udolpho* the story of a young gentlewoman beloved by an eager impetuous lover who, despite enemies and opposition, gained admission to his lady's presence, and in secret interviews poured out his protestations of love, begging her to fly with him away from her harsh guardians.

The characterization in Mrs. Radcliffe's story is as emotional and vague as is that in the *St. Agnes*. In both stories the emotional effects are all heightened, but not really individualized. The lovely heroine with her fears and her helplessness is less real than the sturdy old servant. Neither lover nor lady is more than a shadowy suggestion of embodied romance, but in Keats's work the heroine has a youthfulness, an innocence, a separateness,

as of an enclosed nun. She seems to touch earth very lightly, and is, indeed, a saint's "charmed maid."

The element of mystery, horror, and haunting dread of ghostly sights and sounds, crudely and honestly explained in the denouement by Mrs. Radcliffe, was to Keats a challenge to create that fine and pensive mystery of a world where love, endowed with visionary powers and leagued with saints, becomes a spiritual portent. Keats casts the spell of enchantment over objects of beauty and over the rapturous devotion of the lovers. Mrs. Radcliffe exalts sensation, surrounding love with sinister, objective fears, and fails to create that illusion of awed wonder which makes the *St. Agnes* so supremely "romantic."

The following are, possibly, instances of Keats's knowledge and memory of *Udolpho*. I quote the passages from Keats first, and then cite passages from Mrs. Radcliffe's work. It should be noted that the passages from Mrs. Radcliffe have some words omitted; for the sake of condensation only significant details have been included. Of course a perusal of the chapters in their entirety is desirable. The edition used is one published in Philadelphia, 1879 (Claxton).

#### I. The midnight scene in the chapel.

The *St. Agnes* opens with the description of the ghostly chill and gloom within and without the feudal chapel. Here Keats displays his wonderful powers of making real the very sensations of that moment, and his artistic insight is revealed in his choice of an introduction that gives an austere purity and sanctity to a tale of love. The tone thus established at the beginning, keeps the story on a high level of nobility of feeling wholly different from the *Filocolo*:

## I

St. Agnes' Eve—Ah, bitter chill it was!  
 The owl, for all his feathers, was a-cold;  
 The hare limp'd trembling through the frozen grass,  
 And silent was the flock in woolly fold:  
 Numb were the Beadsman's fingers, while he told  
 His rosary, and while his frosted breath,  
 Like pious incense from a censer old,  
 Seem'd taking flight for heaven, without a death,  
 Past the sweet Virgin's picture, while his prayer he saith.

## II

His prayer he saith, this patient, holy man;  
 Then takes his lamp, and riseth from his knees,  
 And back returneth, meagre, barefoot, wan,  
 Along the chapel aisle by slow degrees:  
 The sculptur'd dead, on each side, seem to freeze,  
 Emprison'd in black, purgatorial rails:  
 Knights, ladies, praying in dumb orat'ries,  
 He passeth by; and his weak spirit fails  
 To think how they may ache in icy hoods and mails.

## III

Northward he turneth through a little door,  
 And scarce three steps, ere Music's golden tongue  
 Flatter'd to tears this aged man and poor.

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Emily remained in her chamber till she heard the convent bell strike twelve, when the nun came, as she had appointed, with the key to the private door that opened into the church, and they descended together the narrow winding staircase that led thither. The nun offered to accompany Emily to the grave, adding, it is melancholy to go alone at this hour. . . . The sister gave her the lamp. . . . The cold air of the aisles chilled her, and their deep silence and extent, feebly shone upon by the moonlight that streamed through a distant Gothic window. . . . On the preceding evening . . . she had heard at a distance the monks chanting the requiem for his [a friar's] soul . . . as the voices mingling with a low querulous peal of the organ, swelled faintly, gloomy and affecting visions had arisen upon her mind. . . . St. Aubert was buried beneath a plain marble . . . near the foot of the stately monument of the Villerois. Emily remained at his grave till a chime, that called the monks to early prayers, warned her to retire (Chap. VIII, p. 73).

In another chapter describing the midnight burial of Emily's aunt, we read:

They had to cross two courts . . . but the silence and gloom of these courts had now little power over Emily's mind . . . and she scarcely heard the low and dismal hooting of the night-bird, that roosted among the ivied battlements of the ruin, or perceived the still flittings of the bat, which frequently crossed her way. . . . She saw the venerable figure of the friar, and heard him in a low voice, equally solemn and affecting, perform the service for the dead . . . the venerable figure of the monk wrapt in long black garments, his cowl thrown back from his pale face (Chap. xxxi, pp. 299-300).

May it not be that Emily's grief, her lonely visit to the chapel, the black figure of the friar, the sounds of solemn requiem for the dead, and the atmosphere of death and penance influenced Keats? The lamp, the private door, the distant music also seem suggestive; even the owl may have given Keats a hint. Do we perhaps see, here, an instance of the way in which the imagination can seize various concrete suggestions and transmute them into distinctive and highly unified beauty?

II. The old servant. The feebleness of the old woman is pictured by both writers.

XI, XII, XVIII, XX

Ah, happy chance! the aged creature came,  
Shuffling along with ivory-headed wand,

. . . . .

And grasped his fingers in her palsied hand.

. . . . .

“Ah Gossip dear,  
We're safe enough; here in this armchair sit,  
And tell me how—

Ah! why wilt thou affright a feeble soul?  
A poor, weak, palsy-stricken, churchyard thing,

For I am slow and feeble.”

I am come at last, lady, said she; I wonder what makes my old limbs shake so tonight. I thought once or twice I should have dropped as I was coming. Emily seated her in a chair and desired that she would compose herself before she entered upon the subject that had brought her thither (Chap. XLIII, p. 415).

The tenderness of the heroine for her old servant appears clearly in:

## XXII

Her falt'ring hand upon the balustrade,  
Old Angela was feeling for the stair,  
When Madeline, St. Agnes' charmed maid,  
Rose, like a mission'd spirit, unaware:  
With silver taper's light, and pious care,  
She turned, and down the aged gossip led  
To a safe level matting.

Dorothee at first carried the lamp, but her hand trembled so much with infirmity . . . Emily took it from her, and offered her arm to support her feeble steps. They had to descend the great staircase. . . . (Chap. XLIV, p. 421).

## III. The journey through winding passages to a room.

## XIII

He follow'd through a lowly arched way,  
. . . . .  
He found him in a little moonlight room,  
Pale, lattic'd, chill, and silent as a tomb.

## XXI

. . . With aged eyes aghast  
From fright of dim espial. Safe at last,  
Through many a dusky gallery, they gain  
The maiden's chamber, silken, hush'd, and chaste.

"I only want to go to my young lady's chamber, and I have only to go . . . along the vaulted passage and across the great hall and up the marble staircase, and along the north gallery and through the west wing of the castle, and I am in the corridor in a minute."  
". . . And what is to become of you if you meet any of those noble cavaliers on the way?" (Chap. XXXII, p. 310).

She descended the staircase, and opening a door in the wall . . . found herself in a small square room that formed part of the west turret of the castle. . . . Having left the turret and descended the narrow staircase, she found herself in a dusky passage (Chap. xxxvii, p. 381).

As she passed along the wide and empty galleries, dusky and silent, she felt forlorn and apprehensive. . . (p. 245).

A female servant came to show Emily to her chamber. Having passed up a large staircase, and through several galleries, they came to a flight of back stairs, which led into a short passage in a remote part of the chateau, and there the servant opened the door of a small chamber, which she said was ma'amselle Emily's (Chap. xi, p. 95).

The lattices were thrown back, and showed . . . the moonlight landscape (p. 121).

The couches and drapery of the lattices were of pale green silk, embroidered and fringed with green and gold (p. 140).

IV. Description of the lady's apartment and of her movements therein.

#### XXIV

A casement high and triple-arch'd there was,  
 All garlanded with carven imag'ries  
 Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot-grass,  
 And diamonded with panes of quaint device,  
 Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,  
 As are the tiger-moth's deep-damask'd wings;  
 And in the midst, 'mong thousand heraldries,  
 And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings,  
 A shielded scutcheon blush'd with blood of queens and kings.

#### XXV

Full on this casement shone the wintry moon,  
 And threw warm gules on Madeline's fair breast,  
 As down she knelt for heaven's grace and boon.

#### XXIX

Then by the bedside where the faded moon  
 Made a dim, silver twilight. . . .

## XXXIII

Awakening up, he took her hollow lute,—  
 Tumultuous,—and,—in chords that tenderest be,  
 He play'd an ancient ditty, long since mute,  
 In Provence call'd, "La belle dame sans mercy":

Upon his knees he sank, pale as smooth-sculptured stone.

The arches here opened to a lofty vault . . . and a painted window, stretching nearly from the pavement to the ceiling of the hall (Chap. XIX, p. 180).

His countenance became fixed, and, touched as it now was by the silver whiteness of the moonlight . . .

'by the blunted light

That the dim moon through painted casements lends'

*The Emigrants* (Chap. VI, p. 58).

In a large oriel window of painted glass, stood a table with a silver crucifix and a prayer-book open . . . she observed the lute . . . lying on a corner of the table, as if it had been carelessly placed there by the hand that had so often awakened it. . . With a hesitating hand Emily took it [the lute] up, and passed her fingers over the chords. They were out of tune, but uttered a deep and full sound. . . Oh! I had often listened to my lady, but never heard any thing so sweet as this: it made me cry almost to hear it. She had been at prayers, I fancy, for there was the book open on the table beside her (Chap. XLIV, p. 424).

The rays of the moon, strengthening as the shadows deepened, soon after threw a silvery gleam upon her countenance, which was partly shaded by a thin black veil, and touched it with inimitable softness. . . The last strain of distant music now died in air. . . The Count Morano, who sat next to Emily, . . . snatched up a lute, and struck the chords with the finger of harmony herself, while his voice—a fine tenor—accompanied them in a rondeau full of tender sadness (Chap. XVI, p. 145).

The form . . . advanced towards the bed. . . Emily gazed at him [Morano] for a moment, in speechless affright, while he, throwing himself on his knee at the bedside, besought her to fear nothing (Chap. XX, p. 207).

The description of the casement, of the falling of moonlight through stained glass, the picture of the praying

girl, and the music of the lute seem to be suggested to Keats by these quotations. Sweet strains of music are heard in many places in the prose romance. A mysterious and unearthly beauty attend it, and it is always the expression of love. Provencal tales and legends and landscapes are mentioned repeatedly in the story. And may it not be that the "open prayer-book" is the antecedent of the "clasp'd missal" that a few years ago was the subject of several notes as to the exact meaning of "clasp'd"? The juxtaposition of these various elements in both works is certainly very striking, and seems evidence not to be disregarded. One line—

And Madeline asleep in lap of legends old—

is very subtly related, possibly, to a verse quoted in an early chapter of the romance, about a landscape,

Beauty sleeping in the lap of horror (Chap. v, p. 45).

Keats has transfigured horror to finer meaning.

V. The effect upon the lady of the lover's supposed death.

#### XXXIV

Her eyes were open, but she still beheld,  
Now wide awake, the vision of her sleep:  
There was a painful change, that nigh expell'd  
The blisses of her dream so pure and deep;  
At which fair Madeline began to weep,  
And moan forth witless words with many a sigh;  
While still her gaze on Porphyro would keep;  
Who knelt, with joined hands and piteous eye,  
Fearing to move or speak, she look'd so dreamingly.

#### XXXV

"Ah, Porphyro!" said she, "but even now  
"Thy voice was at sweet tremble in mine ear,  
"Made tuneable with every sweetest vow;  
"And those sad eyes were spiritual and clear:

"How chang'd thou art! how pallid, chill, and drear!  
 "Give me that voice again, my Porphyro,  
 "Those looks immortal, those complainings dear!  
 "Oh leave me not in this eternal woe,  
 "For if thou diest, my Love, I know not where to go."

The various emotions that seized him . . . on beholding her pale and lifeless in his arms—may, perhaps, be imagined, though they could neither be then expressed, nor now described, any more than Emily's sensations, when at length she unclosed her eyes, and, looking up, again saw Valancourt. The intense anxiety with which he regarded her was instantly changed to an expression of mingled joy and tenderness, as his eye met hers, and he perceived that she was reviving. But he could only exclaim, Emily! as he silently watched her recovery, while she averted her eye, and feebly attempted to withdraw her hand; but in these the first moments which succeeded to the pangs his supposed death had occasioned her, she forgot every fault which had formerly claimed indignation; and beholding Valancourt such as he appeared when he won her early affection, she experienced emotions of only tenderness and joy (Chap. LIII, p. 495).

## VI. The lover's pleading.

### XXXVIII

"My Madeline; sweet dreamer! lovely bride!  
 "Say, may I be for aye thy vassal blest?  
 "Thy beauty's shield, heart-shap'd and vermeil dyed?  
 "Ah, silver shrine, here will I take my rest  
 "After so many hours of toil and quest,  
 "A famish'd pilgrim,—sav'd by miracle.  
 "Though I have found, I will not rob thy nest  
 "Saving of thy sweet self; if thou think'st well  
 "To trust, fair Madeline, to no rude infidel.

### XXXIX

"Hark! 'tis an elfin-storm from faery land,  
 "Of haggard seeming, but a boon indeed :  
 "Arise—arise! the morning is at hand;—  
 "The bloated wassailers will never heed:—  
 "Let us away, my love, with happy speed;  
 "There are no ears to hear, or eyes to see,—  
 "Drown'd all in Rhenish and the sleepy mead:  
 "Awake! arise! my love, and fearless be,  
 "For o'er the southern moors I have a home for thee."

Valancourt . . . lost the power, and almost the wish, of repressing his agitation; and in the intervals of convulsive sobs, he at one moment kissed away her tears; then told her, cruelly, that possibly she might never again weep for him; and then tried to speak more calmly, but only exclaimed, O Emily—my heart will break!—I cannot, cannot leave you! Now, I gaze upon that countenance, now I hold you in my arms!—a little while, and all this will appear a dream: I shall look, and cannot see you; shall try to recollect your features, and the impression will be fled from my imagination; to hear the tones of your voice, and even memory will be silent!—I cannot, cannot leave you. Why should we confide the happiness of our whole lives to the will of people who have no right to interrupt it, and, except giving you to me, have no power to promote it? O Emily, venture to trust your own heart—venture to be mine forever! His voice trembled, and he was silent. Emily continued to weep, and was silent also: when Valancourt proceeded to propose an immediate marriage, and that, at an early hour on the following morning, she should quit Madame Montoni's house, and be conducted by him to the church of the Augustines, where a friar should await to unite them (Chap. XIII, p. 123).

I came to solicit, to plead—to Emily. . . . Fly; then, fly from this gloomy prison, with a lover who adores you . . . before tomorrow's dawn, you shall be far on the way to Venice (Chap. xx, p. 208).

## VII. The storm.

### XXXVI

meantime the frost-wind blows  
Like Love's alarum pattering the sharp sleet  
Against the window-panes; St. Agnes' moon hath set.

### XXXVII

'Tis dark; quick pattereth the flaw-blown sleet:

'Tis dark: the iced gusts still rave and beat.

### XXXIX

"Hark! 'tis an elfin-storm from faery land,  
Of haggard seeming, but a boon indeed."

This storm that raves in *The Eve of St. Agnes* is paralleled in chapter LIII, where there are such descriptions of storm as "a chilling breeze, that sighed among the beech woods," leaves "circling in the blast," "the wind, that

groaned sullenly among the lofty branches above," "the pauses of the gusts," "it is a stormy night . . . and blows cold," "the pelting storm." "The soft note of an oboe or flute was heard mingling with the blast . . . the tender tones, as they swelled along the wind . . . came with a plain-tiveness that touched her heart" (p. 494). "Love's alarum"?

"Dear heart! dear heart! cried Theresa, how it rains! What a night to turn him out in! Why, it will give him his death! and it was but now you were crying, mademoiselle, because he was dead (p. 497).

### VIII. The departure.

She hurried at his words, beset with fears,  
For there were sleeping dragons all around,  
At glaring watch, perhaps, with ready spears—  
Down the wide stairs a darkling way they found.—  
In all the house was heard no human sound.  
A chain-droop'd lamp was flickering by each door;  
The arras rich with horseman, hawk, and hound,  
Flutter'd in the besieging wind's uproar;  
And the long carpets rose along the gusty floor.

#### XLI

They glide, like phantoms, into the wide hall;  
Like phantoms, to the iron porch, they glide;  
Where lay the Porter, in uneasy sprawl,  
With a huge empty flagon by his side:  
The wakeful bloodhound rose, and shook his hide,  
But his sagacious eye an inmate owns:  
By one, and one, the bolts full easy slide:—  
The chains lie silent on the footworn stones;—  
The key turns, and the door upon its hinges groans.

#### XLII

And they are gone: aye,—ages long ago  
These lovers fled away into the storm.

At length the clock struck twelve; she opened the door to listen if any noise was in the castle, and heard only distant sounds of riot and laughter, echoed feebly along the gallery. She guessed that the signor and his guests were at the banquet (Chap. xxxv, p. 354).

Emily, lighted only by the feeble rays which the lamp above threw between the arches of this extensive hall, endeavored to find her way to the staircase, now hid in obscurity . . . and she expected every instant to see the door of that room open, and Montoni and his companions issue forth (Chap. xxxiv, p. 341).

Silver tripods, depending from chains of the same metal, illumined the apartment (Chap. xv, p. 140).

Her melancholy was assisted by the hollow sighings of the wind along the corridor and around the castle . . . a loud gust, that swept through the corridor, and shook the doors and casements, alarmed her. . . . Her curiosity and her fears were again awakened. She took the lamp to the top of the steps, and stood hesitating whether to go down; but again the profound stillness and the gloom of the place awed her. . . . She now retired to her bed, leaving the lamp burning on the table; but its gloomy light, instead of dispelling her fear, assisted it; for, by its uncertain rays, she almost fancied she saw shapes flit past her curtains, and glide into the remote obscurity of her chamber (Chap. xix, p. 190).

They passed into the anteroom, where the baron, surprised to find all his pages asleep (p. 440).

We shall soon be beyond the walls, said Du Pont softly to Emily; support yourself a little longer, madam, and all will be well. . . . whose voices were heard also by Emily's favorite dog, that had followed her from the chamber, and now barked loudly (Chap. xxxvi, p. 358).

She heard . . . the heavy chain fall, and the bolts undraw of a small postern door (Chap. xxxiv, p. 340).

Of course passages like the eight cited above could thus be chosen from other works and placed together arbitrarily, yet however inconclusive this evidence may be, it seems at least interesting that all these elements exist in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.

These quotations do not exhaust the list of possible parallels, but they indicate what seems to be the general character of the relations between *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and *The Eve of St. Agnes*. The reader of the two works will find certain indefinable likenesses in spirit

and atmosphere, something that cannot be illustrated, but will be strongly felt. And, further, there are some instances of apparent kinship that perhaps are less important than those already given. For example: the old nurse in Keats says, "Well-a-well-a-day!" and Theresa says, "A-well-a-day" (p. 492). "The sound of merriment and chorus bland" in Keats, may be from "She heard distant sounds of merriment and laughter" (p. 305). Keats's: "By all the saints I swear," may follow Mrs. Radcliffe's: "You must promise me by all the saints" (p. 396). Porphyro at midnight "set a table." Ludovico, watching in the haunted apartment, at midnight, "drew a small table and a chair near the fire, took a bottle of wine and some cold provisions out of his basket and regaled himself" (p. 435).

If Keats did derive suggestions from *The Mysteries of Udolpho* he developed them with most distinctive imaginative power, creating a new medium of expression for old story. Everything he touches is in some way heightened to clearer, more vivid life. Passages there undoubtedly are, in *The Eve of St. Agnes*, perfervid and over-luxurious, but the poem as a whole is the work of a true poet. With an introduction that sets the tone of penitential religious devotion, changing from the old beadsman to the girl musing over secular traditions of saintly guardianship, the poem passes through tense emotional scenes to a conclusion strikingly effective. Keats sends the lovers forth into a world of seeming storm and chill, but the reader knows that they vanish into an Avalon as immediate and real as that to which Sir Launfal was carried by his fay.

The conclusions to be drawn are not that Keats was slavishly imitative, but, rather, intensely original. Whether an artist gain his suggestions by observation or

by reading, matters very little indeed. What matters is the use to which he puts these suggestions. Keats in a masterly way illustrates here the essential constructive power of the poet's imagination as described by Coleridge: "He diffuses a tone and spirit of unity, that blends, and as it were, *fuses*, each into each, by that synthetic and magical power, to which I would exclusively appropriate the name of Imagination." The extraordinary wealth of idea and of image possessed by Keats, his delicate and sensitive workmanship, his thoroughly assimilated knowledge of the Middle Ages make *The Eve of St. Agnes* a poetic tapestry wherein the richly-colored detail of old story is woven with fine threads into a texture of unified, enduring beauty.

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VI.—WHY DID GANELON HATE ROLAND?

In the words of Dante, "Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta"; he lost it thru the base treachery of his brother-in-law, Ganelon. Ganelon became a traitor, we have been told, first, because of bribes, and, second, because of his hatred of Roland. As Gaston Paris formulated it, "In the beginning, Ganelon was a traitor only because he was bought by the gold of the pagans; later on, they rendered the situation more interesting and at the same time increased the importance of Roland by adding the motive of the hatred of Ganelon against Roland."<sup>1</sup> Thus far, nearly all have been agreed; but when we go a step further and ask, What was the cause of this hatred, the answers vary: simply because the two men were step-father and step-son, says one; because Roland nominated Ganelon to a fearfully dangerous mission, says another. The second of these two reasons has the support of Ganelon's own statement at his trial, at least of his second statement, for he makes two, as will be recalled. His first statement, being

<sup>1</sup> *Extraits*, n. 17.

a riddle, has been generally left out of consideration: it is the purpose of this paper to advance the idea, based upon a new reading of line 3758, that the step-father motive, and the dangerous mission motive, were both secondary in the poet's mind, not primary; that for the poet the primary motive, the real spring of the action, was that Ganelon, being a covetous man and envious of Roland's greater wealth, had hated him on that account before ever Charles had reached the seventh year of the Spanish war. If this be the true spring and source of Ganelon's hatred, it need not be pointed out that bribe-taking would come naturally to a covetous nobleman, nor, in that case, that the two motives for the treason would fuse into one and the same.

According to this view, Ganelon was a traitor in the first instance because he was passionately jealous of Roland's greater wealth, and he accepted immense bribes if only, by any and all means, he might (as we say) "get even" with his step-son. That this long-standing jealousy would flame into anger when (v. 277) Roland used in public the word *parrastre*—which may have meant "my poor imitation of a father";—also when this same Roland, apparently in entire good faith, nominates his step-father to a dangerous mission, these later factors are both interesting and valuable as accessory: but they need not have been the main source and origin of the great quarrel, of this second "wrath of Achilles" whose fatal consequences have echoed so long and so far down the centuries.

Let us briefly examine this personage, Ganelon, as the poet presents him to us. He is first introduced as one of those present at a council of war, at Cordova; Charlemagne is considering the peace proposals of King Marsile, and Count Ganelon's first utterance is to strenuously oppose the advice given by Count Roland. Roland, with much heat, had urged that Marsile's offer should be re-

jected, and that Charles should vigorously prosecute the siege of Saragossa and avenge the former murder of two French ambassadors. Ganelon, then, in a fiery speech (vv. 220-29), refers to Roland as a *bricon* (which seems to mean "a worthless fellow"), again as a *fol*, and accuses his step-son of criminal indifference to dangers run by others than himself: Roland, says Ganelon, has given us counsel in the spirit of pride and haughtiness. Naimon, the Nestor of the epic, here intervenes; he agrees with Ganelon against Roland; the French approve Naimon's opinion, and it is decided to accept the overtures of Marsile.

But a second chance for a breach comes a little later, when, according to the custom of the times, a messenger is to be selected to take the reply back to the Spanish King and to receive the Spanish tribute: Naimon, Roland, Oliver and Turpin volunteer in turn, but all are objected to by Charles. Roland thereupon nominates "Ganelon, my step-father" (v. 277) and the French at once acclaim the nomination. This act of Roland's, for some reason, at once throws Ganelon into a rage, and high words follow: "Thou fool, why art thou so venomous? People know well enough that I am thy step-father, yet thou hast nominated me to go to Marsile! If God so grant that I ever return, I will set going such a great enmity against thee it will follow thee the rest of thy life."

Roland, who is perhaps surprised at this sudden anger of the older man, retorts: "Who is it now who is guilty of pride and foolishness? It is well known that I never pay attention to threats; but" (and here his tone becomes reasoning and explanatory, if not actually apologetic) "but, for such an embassy, a sage and prudent man should be selected; if Charles is willing, I am quite ready to go in your stead."

But, to our surprise, Ganelon is not mollified, he seems to be implacable: "I accept the dangerous mission, because Charles and his Franks have so ordered it; I have no choice; but I shall not abate a jot of my anger against you personally."

When he heard this, Roland broke out in laughter.

Whereupon, Ganelon is furious; he accuses Roland of a *fals jugement* (that is, of playing a legal trick on him) altho, to an impartial witness of the scene, it must have seemed strange that the noble Ganelon should have betrayed so profound an irritation, seeing that the nomination had been in the regular procedure, the selection had seemed reasonable to all the Franks, and Roland had offered to relieve him of the disagreeable duty. But Ganelon's anger possesses him: in spite of the Emperor's repeated protests, he formally defies not only Roland, but Oliver also, and the rest of the Twelve Peers—he announces a war "to the knife" against them all.

During his journey to the Spanish court, he nurses his wrath, but once there he is strictly loyal to his mission, for it should be remembered that he has not quarreled with Charlemagne—on the contrary, he boasts at Saragossa of his sincere devotion to the Emperor.<sup>2</sup> Reversing his former policy, he now wants the war to go on; but it must be a campaign whose main purpose is to destroy Roland. He must deliver his message and run the risks involved, else he cannot justify to the world his public display of anger against Roland. As the negotiations proceed, he skilfully inflames the Saracen King's mind against Roland

<sup>2</sup> Here I must needs follow the keen analysis of Bédier, who has placed us all in his debt by showing beyond doubt or cavil that there is order and good psychology in these scenes, once thought to be inconsistent, and once cited as evidence of the fusion of two redactions of different date. See *Les Légendes épiques*, III, pp. 410-27.

personally: he invents a legend that Roland is to have one-half of all Spain—

Molt i avrez orgoillos parçonier!

He even makes Roland responsible for the continuation of the Spanish war (vv. 544, 557); he will keep Charles out of Spain not by attacking Charles directly, but by removing Charles' "right arm" (v. 597). It is at this late stage, be it noted, that Ganelon is offered rich presents: there are ten mules laden with the gold of Araby, and he is promised the same magnificent gift each year in the future. These gifts evidently do not *cause* the treason; they are a reward for it; the treason had been determined during Ganelon's trip in company with Blancandrin, and at that time no gifts or bribes were even hinted at. The treason is foreshadowed at line 404, to be exact, but gifts are not mentioned before line 515, and they do not become prominent in the action until 620 ff.

On his return to the French army, Ganelon conceals his malice as well as his treachery. He is praised for his able discharge of the difficult errand; he bides his time; when in due course it is a question as to who shall command the exposed rearguard, he promptly answers with a parody of Roland's nomination: "Roland, this step-son of mine," or we may translate: "this poor imitation of a son that I have," and this nomination not being contradicted, the appointment is made. One wonders why Charlemagne himself does not object, but, as Bédier says, he cannot well do so, seeing that Ganelon has so faithfully and successfully accomplished the dangerous mission put upon him by Roland: his mouth is stopped. "Sir step-father," said Roland, "my affection for you should surely be great, for you have put upon me this dangerous duty; but let me tell you that Charles will have no cause to regret my appoint-

ment"; and Ganelon answers, ironically conceding this trifling matter to Roland's pride: "You tell the truth, I know that very well."

There is now no question of Ganelon until line 844, where the author (let us call him Turolodus, for the sake of peace) takes care to inform us:

The felon Guenes had treacherously wrought;  
From pagan king has had his rich reward:  
Silver and gold and veils and silken cloth,  
Camels, lions, with many a mule and horse.

(Moncrief's translation, 1919.)

We may infer that in the poet's mind Ganelon was covetous.

At vv. 1024-25, Oliver expresses suspicion of Ganelon, but assigns no motive. At v. 1147, Roland shares Oliver's suspicions, and says:

Gold hath he taken, much wealth is his to keep;  
King Marsilès hath bargained for us cheap,  
But with the sword he needs must take his purchase.

Again we may infer that, in Roland's mind, Ganelon was covetous.

There is nothing striking now until the trial scene. Charles makes a formal accusation before the plenary court, and his charge is "treason": He caused me to lose twenty thousand of my French, including my nephew, and Oliver—

And the Twelve Peers hath he betrayed *for wealth*.

This then is the current theory: Ganelon has betrayed in return for costly bribes; neither Charles, nor Oliver, nor Roland apparently has any other idea; they do not know, or at least they do not speak, of any hatred between the two men. But we note that Ganelon's greed, his thirst for riches is well known to them, and to French nobles of the

eleventh century greed for riches was enough to explain the crime in all its enormity.

We now turn to the important matter of Ganelon's formal defense when on trial for his life. He makes two speeches in defense, and these are not necessarily repetitions; in fact, it would be quite reasonable and even customary if the defendant shifted his ground on finding that his first defense met with no favor. In the first speech, unfortunately, the reading is corrupt, the line is a puzzle, and we shall therefore leave it aside for a moment. The second line of defense (v. 3771) is a counter-charge: "Roland hated me first; by nominating me to the Spanish mission he deliberately sought my death and my distress"; but while this accusation is also found in V<sup>4</sup> (vv. 5898-5900) and elsewhere, we have seen that it is plainly groundless, because Roland openly offered to go in Ganelon's place: Ganelon refused as any irritated and angry man would, being unwilling to be under any sort of obligation to his opponent. No, this cannot be the real reason for the hatred, and the real reason, in my opinion, is to be sought in the first speech, in a difficult line which must now be considered in detail.

Lines 3758-59 in the Oxford manuscript read:

Roll' me forfist en or & en aueir

Pur que io quis sa mort & sun destreit.

Gaston Paris<sup>3</sup> had good reason to be emphatic in his dissatisfaction with the first line as it stands: "Le vers est faux, le sens obscur, la construction louche, et à quoi peut bien se rapporter cette accusation singulière? Il n'y a là sans doute qu'une faute de copiste." The meter is indeed wrong, for there is one syllable too many, the sense is obscure, the construction is squint-eyed, and what can this

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, XI, 497; cf. II, 110.

strange accusation mean anyway? The great scholar's comment is somewhat querulous; he suspects that something of importance may be hidden here, not as in one of Dante's *versi strani* but because of a copyist's mere blunder or alteration. Is the line beyond emendation and recovery?

Léon Gautier, to go no further back, proceeds with a timidity which contrasts with his fits of boldness elsewhere; he lets the line stand entirely unchanged and is forced to elide *me* before a consonant, which of course is inadmissible. He translates: "D'or et d'argent Roland m'avait fait tort," which leaves us still in darkness. Theodor Müller, the "sage and prudent," did not venture to correct the line, and as he has no commentary, we do not know how he evaded the metric difficulty and the squint-eyed construction. Twenty years ago, Stengel restored the meter by replacing the word *Rollanz* by the pronoun *Cil* and keeping the pronoun (*me*); but again we do not know how he understood the line when thus emended. Tavernier, in one of his latest articles (*Zeitschrift f. roman. Phil.* xxxix) would change *en* or to *en cors*: "Roland had evil designs upon my life and property." But there is no warrant for *cors*, and we are no further along even if we should adopt this mysterious accusation.<sup>4</sup>

The pronoun *me* must certainly be eliminated, because of the meter. Instead of *forfist* I propose to read *sorfist*: *sorfaire* would be used here intransitively and would mean "to be overweening in," "to be arrogant, or intolerably boastful, about." It is a somewhat rare verb in Central French, but common in the West; the participle *sorfait*, applied to persons, is especially frequent, also *sorfaitos*;

<sup>4</sup>For the discussion up to 1905, see Brückner's *Das Verhältnis des frz. Rolandsliedes zur Turpinschen Chronik u. zum Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis*, pp. 94-102.

the English took over the noun *sorfait* and made much of the word: we have *surfeit*, also ME *surfeitous*, and *surfeiting*. Everard of Kirkham (thirteenth century) translating the *Distichs of Cato*, III. 19, warns his readers not to be *sorfeitos en parole*, where the Latin has: *Inter convivas fac sis sermone modestus*. Evidently, he who is *sorfeitos en parole* is *sermone immodestus*. Tobler has discussed the adjective *sorfait* in the *Vermischte Beiträge* (I, p. 133) as meaning "übermütig, anmassend," while the *Roman de Thèbes* uses the noun thus:

Mout hé, fait il, enrievreté

E sorfait en grant poësté. (vv. 8281-82).

"I despise," said he, "insolence and highhandedness in the use of great power." It is a sort of *desmesure* in riches that Ganelon complains of: the nephew of Charlemagne was unbearably superior in his wealth.<sup>5</sup>

As to how the wrong reading *me forfist* originated, more than one reasonable explanation may be suggested:

1. The confusion of (f) and the old-fashioned long (f) is, of course, frequent.

2. Without laborious search I have noted five or six instances in Old French manuscripts in which the common *forfaire* has been substituted for the rarer *sorfaire*; let us glance at these, for the matter is essential to the argument. Marie de France, *Fables*, p. 173: *sorfait* of the original has the two variants *forfait* and *mesfait*. Robert Grosseteste, *Chateau d'Amor* (thirteenth century) ed. Murray, 1918, line 970, *surfetus* "arrogant," variant in H *forfeitous*. Also line 1131 *Pur nos surfez*, variant in PE *forfetz*. In the *Enseignemenz* of Robert de Ho (ed. Miss Young, p. 82), line 1176 *grant sorfet*, the other MS.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Trevisa: "But he . . . overdede in godringe of money." Eng. 'overdo,' in this sense, may reproduce the French *sorfaire*.

has *grant forfait*. Paul Meyer, in his glossary to *Guillaume le Mareschal*, enters *sorfait* "excès, acte abusif" no less than eleven times, and adds: "souvent écrit *forfait* dans le manuscrit." Wendelin Foerster, in editing one of his last texts, the *Marvels of Rigomer*, line 16818, says: "*Sorfait* habe ich aus *forfait* gebessert, denn es ist wohl Uebermut, wenn er das tat, aber kein Verbrechen." So, I believe, here in the *Roland* we are dealing not with a breach of law but with a breach of ethics: Roland was arrogant as to his gold and his wealth, and Ganelon, the older man, had not been able to forgive it in him. The confusion between the two verbs was the easier because their spheres of connotation in part coincided: thus, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (ca. 1440) we have the entry, *surfetyn*, or *forfetyn yn trespace*, *forefacio*, *delinquo* (484.2). An excess easily runs over into a misdemeanor.

3. The reading *forfist* may be taken over from Thierry's words, line 3827:

Que que Rollanz (a) Guenelon forsfesist

words which, in that connection, are perfectly clear and idiomatic:

Whatever wrong Roland may have done to Ganelon

(Being in Charles' service should have been ample protection to Roland.)

All who have to do with text-criticism are familiar with cases in which a passage has been altered to assimilate it to a familiar line or expression elsewhere in the same text. E. Moore, in his *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia* (pp. xiii-xiv) has quite a list of instances: thus, *Inf.* ii, 86 *Dirotti brevemente* has been altered in some MSS. to *Dirotti molto breve* because of iii, 45, *Dicerolti molto breve*. In one case, says Moore, "the scribe in O naïvely admits having altered the text in *Purg.* xiv, 87, to adapt

it to *Purg.* xv, 45." There are several well-known cases of the same proceeding in the text of the New Testament.<sup>6</sup>

If, then, the confusion of the two verbs is probable from the point of view of paleography; if we find numerous cases where the common *forfaire* was substituted for the unusual *sorfaire*; if the scribe may easily have taken *forfist* from 3827, where the source of the trouble between Ganelon and Roland is likewise in question; and, finally, if the change gives us correct instead of incorrect meter, and excellent grammar instead of a squint-eyed construction, we have, I believe, a strong case for *sorfist* in Roland 3758. But all this is *provided* that the new meaning also suits the context, the general situation, and the psychology of the characters. Here, I am convinced, is an equally strong argument for the change: unless we suppose some previous irritation in Ganelon's mind, one perhaps of long standing, his sudden anger when spoken to in public by Roland must remain more or less of an enigma,<sup>7</sup> the other two motives seem insufficient; but once granted that Roland had been taking more than his share of booty and that he had been haughty and overbearing in doing so, in that case the anger of the older man, who is also a proud person of high rank, becomes quite intelligible. We should have one of those eternal frictions between youth and age, between experience and inexperience, between prudence and imprudence, which are as old as the race; situations often productive of quarrels and not seldom of tragedy. Does not the younger Achilles rage against the older Agamemnon: "My hands bear the brunt of furious war, but when the apportioning

<sup>6</sup> See Mitchell's *Critical Handbook of the New Testament* (1896), p. 119.

<sup>7</sup> Thus Bédier (III, 413) well says: "une haine obscure, ancienne, dont lui-même ne sait pas encore toute l'intensité, l'animé contre son fillâtre."

comes then is thy meed far ampler, and I betake myself to the ships with some small thing . . . nor am I minded here in dishonor to draw thee thy fill of riches and wealth " (*Iliad* I, 165-71). Was it not just such a jealousy between the younger and the older man that provoked the father of Chimène into striking Don Diègue?

On the other hand, it is Roland's *desmesure* which allows him to risk in the public assembly the ambiguous word *parrastre*, which might have meant, among the crowd, "my poor imitation of a father"; his excess of self-confidence enables him to laugh aloud at his formidable stepfather's threat. This is the same Roland who, later on, makes light of the triple warning of the more cautious Oliver and thereby works his own doom and that of the flower of Charlemagne's army.

The suddenness of Ganelon's anger at his nomination by Roland has in fact been a stumbling-block to critics from very early times. In our own day, the objection has been that Ganelon, upon hearing himself nominated, speaks too soon; he does not await Charles' confirmation, and hence, in common phrase, he cries before he is hurt. But this objection has been founded upon what seems to me the mistaken notion that in the *Chanson de Roland* nominations were necessarily made, or at least necessarily confirmed, by Charlemagne; a more attentive study, however, of the poem shows (at this time I am unable to judge to what extent this usage was that of ancient Germanic law) that the nomination was made by a powerful noble, and unless a more powerful noble proposed another candidate the first nomination prevailed, provided the general voice approved. Charles apparently had little or nothing to do with these selections, unless, like any other noble present, he objected, in which case no doubt no one would be found bold enough to challenge him. When Roland is

selected for the rearguard, the veteran Duke Naimon says (776-79): "Count Roland is very much disturbed: the rearguard has been adjudged to him, and you have no baron who can relieve him of the charge," that is, no one present who would dare to oppose a nomination made by so great a noble as Ganelon, brother-in-law of the emperor;<sup>8</sup> and we have seen above why Charles himself cannot object, much as he would like to. There is therefore no weight at all in the objection that Ganelon cries out before he is officially appointed: he *has* been officially appointed, and Bédier has only to point to the companion-scene (740 ff.) in which Roland likewise "speaks too soon," before Charles has confirmed the nomination.<sup>9</sup>

But even with this factor removed, some difficulty in accounting for Ganelon's immediate violence remains. Perhaps the best indication of this is that it seems to have shocked one of the earliest copyists of the poem and led him to transpose a certain number of laisses. In all the MSS. and versions of the Beta group (this would include not only V<sup>4</sup>, C and V<sup>7</sup>, but also the Norse and German versions) *laisse* XX was split into two parts, and the sequence (keeping the numbers as they occur in O) became XXa, XXIV, XXIII, XXb, XXI, XXII, XXV. The effect of the shift is to make Ganelon's anger gradual, not sudden. Theodor Müller, as is well known, adopted this Beta order in his edition, and he was followed by Gautier, Clédat, Stengel, and others. In 1909 Luquiens and in 1912 Bédier came forward to defend the order of O as it stands: Bédier declared O's order to be "more coherent, more logical, and more artistic."<sup>10</sup> Note that

<sup>8</sup> This was also the interpretation of Gaston Paris (*Romania* II, 109).

<sup>9</sup> *Les Légendes épiques*, III, 469.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, p. 462 ff.

Bédier defended the order in O even without the aid of the motive revealed in the new reading of Ganelon's first defense. As to the suddenness of Ganelon's anger, Bédier said, somewhat vaguely: "Ce geste (that of angrily throwing off his marten furs) est plein de sens, par sa soudaineté," but many other critics, beginning with Lanson and going back to the copyist first responsible for the transposed *laisses*, have taken the other view.

We may say, therefore, that the change from *forfist* of the MS. to *sorfist* has the great merit of uniting the two epic motives, bribes and personal hatred, into one. Ganelon, by reason of Roland's greater wealth, was already jealous of him; exasperated anew by being singled out for a dangerous mission by the person who had already irritated him; probably also suspecting that the emperor's haughty nephew was seeking to make him laughable by using the ambiguous word *parrastre*, Ganelon flames out in violent quarrel the moment Roland speaks; he vows Roland's destruction by fair means or foul, not neglecting, however, the *défi* in due form; having decided on this, he is not in the least averse to rich gifts which may enable him to surpass his step-son in magnificence and display. Covetousness, greed, *auri sacra fames*—the ancient sin, is thus the cause of Count Ganelon's epic wrath and tragic downfall; and it needs no general justification. In Dante's *Hell*, is not the crowd of money-lovers the largest crowd of all? In Virgil, too, it is the *maxima turba*. So in the *Nibelungenlied*, and if anyone should doubt the authenticity of greed and avarice, of envy of another's wealth, as motives for the high-born noble of about the year 1100, he has only to re-read the historians of the First Crusade; let him review the actions of Bohemond and his nephew Tancred, of Stephen of Blois and Raymond of Toulouse; let him notice how often and how bitterly these nobles

taunted each other with greed, or murmured at each other's wealth; let him notice the furious quarrels over booty and fiefs which threatened more than once to ruin the expedition which, by a sort of miracle, ended in a *Gerusalemme liberata*. Or, nearer at home, one has only to observe, in the pages of Thierry and of Freeman, the role that booty played in the Norman conquest of England.

It was Count Roland's misfortune, possessing as he did the great faults of his heroic virtues, it was his misfortune to stir up in an able, proud and covetous man the primal passions of envy, anger and malice; against the treason brought on by these he struggled heroically, but, as the poet describes to us, in vain. It is a moving spectacle, and the world has always thought so.

“What gifts hath Fate for all his chivalry?  
Even such as hearts heroic oftenest win;  
Honor, a friend, anguish, untimely death.”

T. ATKINSON JENKINS.

## VII.—THE DREAMS OF CHARLEMAGNE IN THE *CHANSON DE ROLAND*

The dreams of Charlemagne in *Rol.* 717-36 and 2525-69 have several times been the subject of critical investigations. Professor Rajna<sup>1</sup> sees in them a direct influence of the Old Teutonic epic; Wilhelm Tavernier,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, is inclined to consider at least one of them as the literary imitation of a dream occurring in the *Waltharius*. The fact that some of those dreams are animal dreams appeared also to him as a proof of Teutonic influences due perhaps to the Norman descent of the author.<sup>3</sup> It will, therefore, be the purpose of this paper to examine those dreams and to test the arguments put forward to prove their Teutonic character.

There are, in all, four dreams which form two groups. The first two take place the night before Charlemagne follows Ganelon's perfidious counsel, entrusting Roland and the twelve peers with the rear guard; the third and fourth fall immediately before the arrival of Baligant and his host. Dreams I and III are clearly warning dreams. Of the latter this is expressly stated by the poet, who has God send the angel Gabriel to the sleeping monarch to announce to him the impending danger. The same cannot

<sup>1</sup> *Le origini dell' epopea francese*, Firenze, 1884, pp. 449 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge zur Rolandsforschung* IV, Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit., XLII<sup>3</sup>, 1914, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge zur Rolandsforschung* I, Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit., XXXVI<sup>1</sup>, 1910, pp. 93 f. Richard Mentz, *Die Träume in den altfranzösischen Karls- und Artus-Epen*, Marburg, 1888, in Stengels Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen, LXXIII, did not examine the rich material he collected as to the origin of the animal dream in the French epic. Emil Benezé, *Das Traummotiv in der mittelhochdeutschen Dichtung bis 1250 und in alten deutschen Volksliedern*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1897, p. 31. appears to adhere to Professor Rajna's theory.

be said of Dream IV, as in that case it would have been useless to warn the emperor, the law of the *pleit* not allowing him to interfere with its legal proceedings. Dream IV is therefore merely a prophetic, not a warning dream. The interpretation of Dream II is doubtful. Professor Rajna <sup>4</sup> sees in the *veltze* of verse 730 Roland, in the two attacking animals probably Ganelon and Marsile. Mentz <sup>5</sup> thinks that the dream refers to the *pleit* of Ganelon, like Dream IV. If the latter opinion be true, Dream II would rank among the prophetic dreams.

The pairs of dreams which are united in groups do not, however, portend precisely the same events. Dream I merely warns Charles of Ganelon; Dream II evidently speaks of two enemies of the emperor. It also brings in a defender of the monarch and thus contains more matter than Dream I.

The two dreams of the second group portend two entirely different things: the first warns Charlemagne of the great danger threatening his army and forebodes his own single combat with Baligant; the second alludes to the events connected with Ganelon's *pleit*. Neither one of the two groups represents, then, parallel dreams in the strict sense of the term.

When considering the contents of the four dreams, we find that we must distinguish two classes, Dream I belonging to the first, the rest to the second. For Dream I is the only one which does not have recourse to allegorical symbolism, but presents the real event. The other three are allegorical dreams. Of the latter, II and IV have unity of action. Dream III lacks unity in that it portends two different things: first, the danger threatening the

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., p. 450.

<sup>5</sup>Op. cit., p. 96.

French army, second, Charlemagne's combat with Baligant.

In all three dreams based upon allegory, persons are represented by animals, a very specific animal standing for a definite personage. The only person not represented by an animal is the dreamer himself: Charlemagne, who fights the animals in Dreams II and III. The animals occurring are: boar (II), bear (IV), hound (II and IV), leopard (II and III), lion and a number of monsters (III). All three allegorical dreams are, then, animal dreams.

Let us try, from the data given above, to draw conclusions as to the origin of the dreams. When inserting them in his poem, the author of the *Roland* may have drawn on oral sources, the folkloristic background of his own people, or he may have had literary models, belonging to Old Teutonic epic literature, as Professor Rajna supposes, to classical Latin literature, or to the Old Testament. It will be our task to determine to which of those four sources Tuoldus was chiefly indebted for the construction of the dreams.

Dreams occur in the literature and folklore of all nations and in all times. The large majority of them are warning or prophetic in character, that is, they are sent by the deity either to forewarn the dreamer of some great danger or merely to inform him of some unavoidable future events. The dreams of Pharaoh, in *Genesis*,<sup>6</sup> of Cimon, in Plutarch,<sup>7</sup> and of Krimhild before Siegfried's death<sup>8</sup> are warning dreams; those of Pharaoh's butler and baker,<sup>9</sup> of King Astyages before Cyrus' birth,<sup>10</sup> and of

<sup>6</sup> XLI, 1-32.

<sup>7</sup> *Vit. paral., Cimon*, XVIII.

<sup>8</sup> *Der Nibelunge Not*, I, XVI, 922.

<sup>9</sup> *Gen.* XL, 5-20.

<sup>10</sup> Herodotus, *Hist.*, I, 107-8.

Krimhild before Siegfried's arrival in Worms<sup>11</sup> are merely prophetic. Both classes often merge imperceptibly into one another, so that it is sometimes impossible to conclude from the nature of a dream, as warning or prophetic, as to its Hebrew, Greco-Roman or Teutonic origin.

From what we have seen above it seems tolerably certain that the author of the *Roland* had in mind the phenomenon of parallel dreams, as it is also certain that he did not succeed perfectly in constructing them, the most decisive trait of parallel dreams, the portent of precisely the same event, being absent. But even if we assume that the author's model presented a perfect parallelism of dreams, this does not lead us very far; for parallel dreams, too, are the property of no particular race or period. The dreams of Pharaoh, of Astyages, and those contained in the Saga of Halfdan the Black<sup>12</sup> are all perfect parallel dreams.

The next distinguishing feature we have found to exist in the dreams of Charlemagne in the *Roland* is their allegorical character. Allegory occurs very frequently in dreams; for only in the minority of all cases do the gods consent to indicate the future by a dream of plain reality. This is likewise shown by the dreams quoted above. Also that animals should occur as symbols is not surprising; the kine of Pharaoh's dream are, as is well known, symbols of years. What may constitute a characteristic and decisive trait is that in the *Roland* personages are represented by beasts, that each of the latter represents a very specific personage whose character is identified with that of the beast, and that the allegorical symbolism is an exact reflection of the future, agreeing with it in the minutest details.

We possess a monograph on the dreams of the Old Norse

<sup>11</sup> *Der Nibelunge Not*, I, 13-7.

<sup>12</sup> *Halfdans S. Svarta*, cap. 6-7.

Saga literature,<sup>13</sup> the outstanding results of which may be summarized as follows:

1. The large majority of the dreams of the Old Norse sagas are allegorical animal dreams, the beasts representing personages whose character is in accordance with that generally attributed to the beast.

2. They are the direct consequence of Old Scandinavian fatalism, as they are sent to the hero in order that he may meet his fate in a dignified way, having had time to prepare himself, thanks to the dream.

3. They are exact reflections of reality, agreeing with the coming events even in the most insignificant details.

To begin with the second of these points, we find no traces of fatalism in the *Roland*, a fact which may be due to Christian influence or to the arrangement of the dreams; for it is not Roland or Ganelon who has those dreams, but Charlemagne, whose death is not impending. As for points 1 and 3, we have seen above how closely the dreams of the *Roland* resemble those of the sagas. The question arises: Is the detailed animal dream characteristic of Old Norse and Teutonic literature and folklore alone, or do we meet it elsewhere, above all, in the ancient writers and the Old Testament?

Upon examining the two most important Semitic works which were accessible to a mediæval poet: the Old Testament and Josephus, I found that the class of dreams under discussion does not occur in either of them.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm Henzen, *Ueber die Träume in der altnordischen Sagaliteratur*, Leipzig, 1890.

<sup>14</sup> The dreams in *Daniel*, cap. VII and cap. VIII, do not seem to belong to the class of detailed animal dreams in our sense of the term, in that the beasts do not signify definite living persons, but empires and dynasties, and in the case of the he-goat in cap. VIII an indefinite future king (Alexander the Great?). The beasts in *Revelation*, cap. IV and cap. XIII, appear to be symbols and alle-

The case is different as regards ancient Greek and Roman literature, where this class of dreams is found very frequently and in the most famous writers of antiquity. To prove this, I shall here discuss five dreams taken from Homer, Herodotus, Plutarch, and Pausanias.

Professor Rajna<sup>15</sup> was aware of the fact that in the *Odyssey*, XIX, 535 ff., Penelope dreams of an eagle killing her geese, which is meant to portend the death of the suitors.<sup>16</sup>

In Herodotus,<sup>17</sup> Agarista, mother of Pericles, when with child, dreams that she is delivered of a lion.

In Plutarch's *Vitae parallelae*,<sup>18</sup> Cimon dreams of a barking dog, which signifies his Median enemy.

In the first book of Pausanias' *Descriptiæ Graeciae*,<sup>19</sup> the author narrates that Socrates dreamt of a swan who flew into his bosom the night before Plato became his disciple.

In the fourth book of the same work,<sup>20</sup> a girl dreams that wolves bring a lion to her farm, the lion being bound and without claws. She loosens his bonds, finds his claws, gives them to him, and he then tears the wolves to pieces. Shortly afterwards, Aristomenes is brought to her farm in

gories rather than personifications of contemporary individuals. I do not know whether they have ever been interpreted in any such way during the middle ages. A further difference between the Semitic animal dreams and those under discussion is that the former do not show the beasts in a definite attitude toward the dreamer, an attitude of hostility, sympathy, etc., as is the case in many of the dreams of Aryan origin.

<sup>15</sup> Op. cit., p. 451.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also W. S. Messer, *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, New York, 1918, p. 30.

<sup>17</sup> Hist., VI, 131; cf. also Plutarch, *Vitae paral.*, *Pericles*, III.

<sup>18</sup> Op. cit., *Cimon*, XVIII.

<sup>19</sup> XXX, 30.

<sup>20</sup> XIX, 4.

fetters, whereupon she frees the hero, who soon destroys his enemies.<sup>21</sup>

In Latin writers we do not meet with so many examples of detailed animal dreams. Still, they are not entirely absent. Livy<sup>22</sup> recounts a dream which Hannibal had before invading Italy, showing a serpent which devastated the land about him. Ovid<sup>23</sup> distinguishes three different classes of dreams, one of which corresponds to the one under discussion, and which he calls by the Greek name Ἰκελος. Also the dream of Tarquinius Superbus, cited by Cicero from an old Roman play<sup>24</sup> may be mentioned in this connection, proving that the detailed animal dream was not unknown to ancient Italic folklore.

Wilhelm Tavernier<sup>25</sup> expressed the opinion that the animal dreams of the *Roland* do not find direct parallels in the Roman epic. Nor is it to be supposed that Turolodus imitated the dreams mentioned by Cicero and Livy. Although it is not impossible that some of the dreams found in Greek literature had penetrated into the Roman world of Western Europe and may thus have been known to a Mediæval poet through Latin translations or reworkings, it is improbable that any of them exercised a direct influence upon the French poem. The fact, however, that this class of dreams is met with in Greek and Latin literature shows that it is not peculiar to Teutonic folklore alone.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The list could be considerably extended. Let it suffice here to refer to the index of Messer, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>22</sup> *Hist.*, XXI, 22; cf. also Cicero, *De divinat.*, I, 24.

<sup>23</sup> *Metamorphoses*, XI, 592 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Op. cit., I, 22.

<sup>25</sup> *Beiträge zur Rolandsforschung*, IV, Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit., XLII, 1914, p. 64.

<sup>26</sup> Whether the detailed animal dream is peculiar to the Greek,

It is true, the total number of animal dreams mentioned by the writers of classical antiquity is much smaller than the number of those found in the literature of the middle ages. But it would be hazardous to conclude from that fact that the rôle of this class of dreams was of far smaller importance among the Greeks and Romans than among the Teutonic nations of Mediæval Europe. It is also dangerous to use the animal dreams of later *chansons de geste* in such an examination, at least before the influence of the *Roland* on the later epics will have been determined, an influence which seems to me to have been very great.

It follows, therefore, that it is unnecessary to hold Teutonic influences responsible for the occurrence of detailed animal dreams in a work of the Romance middle ages. The author of the *Roland* may have drawn on Gallo-Roman traditions. This does not exclude the possibility of his having used literary models. For Dream II, Tavernier's supposition of a direct influence of the *Waltharius* is very likely indeed; but such a theory would certainly prove nothing as regards the Teutonic origin of the Old French epic in general and the *Chanson de Roland* in particular.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

Italic and Teutonic branches of the Indo-European family or whether it is common to all of them, is a question which I do not feel competent yet to answer, as it would require a knowledge of the folklore not only of the Celts and Slavs, but of the Asiatic groups also.

## VIII.—CONTEMPORARY OPINION OF POE

### I

Although Poe is now all but universally acknowledged to be one of the three or four literary geniuses that America has produced, there was a period immediately following his death when few writers in America were willing to concede to him any extraordinary merit beyond that of an exceptionally gifted artist. It has sometimes been held that Poe was similarly neglected even before his death. Thus, so distinguished a scholar as Professor Sir Walter Raleigh, of Oxford, in a letter addressed to the celebrators of the Poe centenary at the University of Virginia (1909), makes the statement that Poe was "barely recognized while he lived."<sup>1</sup> Baudelaire, who did more than any other to light the flame of Poe's reputation abroad, believed that Poe was cruelly neglected by his fellow-countrymen,<sup>2</sup> and most other Frenchmen have, I believe, adopted much the same view. In America, too, there has long existed a tradition that Poe was but little appreciated during his lifetime,—a tradition that has flourished especially at the South, though it has not been confined to the South. On the other hand, some of the ablest of those who have made a special study of Poe have held that this tradition is without any substantial basis in fact.<sup>3</sup> The lamented Professor Charles F. Richardson, for instance, in one of the most sympathetic and discriminating essays that we have on the Southern

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of the Poe Centenary*, ed. Kent and Patton, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> See the essay with which he prefaces his first series of *Histoires Extraordinaires par Edgar Poe*.

<sup>3</sup> For echoes of this tradition see John R. Thompson in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, November, 1849 (xv, p. 694); J. M.

poet, asserts that it is "a serious mistake" to assume that Poe was unpopular in his own day.<sup>4</sup> And Professor W. P. Trent, a no less eminent authority on our literary history, has recorded the belief that "Poe is no exception to the rule that the writers who really count began by counting with their contemporaries."<sup>5</sup>

With a view to ascertaining the facts in the case—of discovering, if possible, just what the attitude of Poe's contemporaries toward him was—I have gathered together, in the course of several years' browsing in the periodicals of Poe's time, the principal comments on his work that I have there come across. I have also made note of such contemporary evidence as I could find in letters and other manuscript documents belonging to this period, and likewise of the chief critical judgments called out by Poe's death and by the publication of his collected works.<sup>6</sup> I have naturally confined myself largely to American periodicals,<sup>7</sup> but I have also taken account of the more significant

Daniel, *ibid.*, March, 1850 (xvi, p. 184); J. H. Hewitt, *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 41; C. L. Moore, *The Dial*, January 16, 1899 (xxvi, p. 40); and the *New York Times Review of Books*, August 11, 1918, p. 348 (an editorial in which the statement is made that Poe "fought a hopeless struggle against contemporary coldness and inappreciation").

<sup>4</sup> Poe's *Works*, ed. Richardson, I, p. xviii.

<sup>5</sup> *Longfellow and Other Essays*, p. 218. See also Macy, *The Spirit of American Literature*, p. 127, and Woodberry in the *Century Magazine*, October, 1894 (XLVIII, p. 866).

<sup>6</sup> *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. R. W. Griswold (New York, 1850, 1856).

<sup>7</sup> Among the American periodicals that I have examined are the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the *Richmond Enquirer* (1826-1828, 1835-1837), the *Richmond Whig* (1835-1837, 1848-1849), the *Richmond Examiner* (1849), the *Baltimore Minerva and Emerald* (1829-1830), the *Baltimore Republican* (1831-1835), the *Baltimore American* (1832-1837), the *Baltimore Patriot* (1832-1837), the *Baltimore Weekly Gazette* (1832-1834), the *Baltimore Young Men's*

among the contemporary foreign criticisms that have come under my notice.<sup>8</sup>

The conclusions which these contemporary judgments seem to warrant are as follows:

1. That as poet Poe was not held in very high esteem by his contemporaries, and that he was virtually ignored by them until after the publication of *The Raven* in 1845.

2. That as a writer of gruesome and fantastical tales he early achieved considerable local fame, and that before

*Paper* (1835), the *Baltimore American Museum*, the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* (1841-1846), *Atkinson's Philadelphia Casket* (1827-1840), the *Saturday Evening Post* (1829-1833, 1839-1840, 1850), the *Philadelphia Saturday Courier* (1831-1852), *Godey's Lady's Book*, the *American Monthly Review*, the *North American Magazine*, *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, *Graham's Magazine*, *Alexander's Weekly Messenger* (1837-1838), the *Philadelphia United States Gazette* (1839-1844), the *Dollar Newspaper*, the *Dollar Magazine* (1840-1841), the *Philadelphia Spirit of the Times* (1845-1847), *Peterson's National Magazine* (1845-1847, 1853), the *New York Mirror*, the *New York Review*, the *American Whig Review*, the *Democratic Review*, the *Columbian Magazine*, the *New World*, *Post's Union Magazine*, *Sartain's Union Magazine*, the *Home Journal* (1846-1860), the *Literary World* (1847-1853), the *Nineteenth Century* (1848-1849), *Snowden's Ladies' Companion*, the *Broadway Journal*, *Holden's Dollar Magazine* (1849), the *New York Tribune* (1845-1846, 1849-1850), the *Knickerbocker* (1827-1855), the *Brother Jonathan* (1842-1843), the *North American Review* (1827-1860), the *Pioneer*, the *New England Magazine*, the *New Englander*, the *Waverley Magazine* (1853), the *Boston Notion* (1843), the *Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette* (1827-1829), the *Pittsburgh Literary Examiner* (1839), the *Western Quarterly Review* (1849), and the *Washington National Intelligencer* (1845-1847).

<sup>8</sup> A thorough and altogether admirable study of Poe's reputation in France has been made by Professor G. D. Morris in his *Fenimore Cooper et Edgar Poe*, pp. 67-208 (Paris, 1912). A study of Poe's vogue in Great Britain has been promised by Professor Lewis Chase: see the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxxii, p. xxxi (March, 1917).

his death he had come to be generally recognized as one of the leading writers of short-stories in America.

3. That it was as critic that he was chiefly known in his day and time in America, though as a fearless and caustic and not always impartial critic rather than as a just and discriminating critic.

I have set forth below in detail the evidence on which these conclusions have been arrived at. I have quoted freely from the more important critical judgments, and have resorted to footnotes where it seemed inadvisable to quote at greater length. Here and there I have ventured to interpret the evidence, but in the main I have allowed the evidence collected to speak for itself.

## II

Poe's first two volumes of poetry, the editions of 1827 and 1829 <sup>1</sup>—his first publications of any sort, so far as is now known—appear to have fallen still-born from the press. There were, it seems, no reviews of the volume of 1827, the only public notice of the volume at the time being, apparently, the bare mention of the title in the monthly book-lists of two New England magazines <sup>2</sup> and in the "Catalogue of American Poetry" compiled by Kettell in his *Specimens of American Literature*.<sup>3</sup> And the only review that I have been able to find of the second of these volumes is the well-known advance notice published by John Neal in the *Boston Yankee* for December, 1829, a perfunctory notice based mainly on excerpts from *Al Aaraaf* and *Tamerlane*.<sup>4</sup> There were, however, two con-

<sup>1</sup> *Tamerlane and Other Poems*, Boston, 1827; *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems*, Baltimore, 1829.

<sup>2</sup> *United States Review and Literary Gazette*, August, 1827 (II, p. 379); *North American Review*, October, 1827 (xxv, p. 471).

<sup>3</sup> III, p. 405. Published at Boston in 1829.

<sup>4</sup> *Boston Yankee and Literary Gazette*, III, pp. 295-298.

temporary notices of *Fairy-Land*, one of the poems of the volume of 1829, which will serve to indicate the attitude of the press of the time toward Poe: in printing the poem in the *Yankee*, John Neal observes that, "if nonsense," it is at least "exquisite nonsense";<sup>5</sup> N. P. Willis, on the other hand, in the *American Monthly Magazine* for November, 1829, in editorially rejecting the poem for publication, describes it as "some sickly rhymes."<sup>6</sup>

Of Poe's third volume of verse, published in 1831 and containing among other things *Israfel*, *The City in the Sea*, and the early lyric *To Helen*, there was a brief notice in the *Philadelphia Casket* for May, 1831,<sup>7</sup> and a longer and more sympathetic notice, apparently by George P. Morris, in the *New York Mirror* of May 7, 1831, the reviewer observing that the language employed betrayed "poetic inspiration" and that some of the lyrics possessed "a plausible air of imagination," but that the volume exhibited a "general indefiniteness of ideas," a "prevailing obscurity," and an "occasional conflict of beauty and nonsense."<sup>8</sup>

In Cheever's *American Commonplace Book of Poetry* (1831) Poe's name does not appear among the three score poets there represented, and he was similarly ignored in several magazine articles on American poetry published in the thirties.<sup>9</sup> Here and there in the *Southern Literary*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> I, pp. 586-587. The volume of 1829 is said to have been reviewed by J. H. Hewitt in the *Baltimore Minerva and Emerald* (see Hewitt's *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 41), but I have been unable to find this notice in any issue of the *Emerald* for 1830.

<sup>7</sup> V, pp. 237-240.

<sup>8</sup> *New York Mirror*, VIII, pp. 349-350.

<sup>9</sup> See the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1835 (LXI, pp. 12-21); the *Southern Literary Messenger*, February, 1838 (II, p. 85); and the review of Cheever's book in the *North American Review*, October, 1831 (XXXIII, pp. 297-324).

*Messenger* during the period of Poe's connection with it (1835-1837), one stumbles upon some word of comment on stray poems of his published there; but these notices are invariably lacking in warmth; and it is plain that neither Thomas W. White<sup>10</sup> (the proprietor of the *Messenger*) nor any of his literary advisers, among whom he counted Beverley Tucker and John Pendleton Kennedy,<sup>11</sup> had any true conception of Poe's capabilities as a poet.

A similar neglect attended the poet through his first New York period (1837-1838) and his Philadelphia period (1838-1844). He was not mentioned by Keese in his *Poets of America* (1839), nor by Bryant in his *Selections from the American Poets* (1840); and Griswold in his voluminous anthology, *The Poets and Poetry of America* (1842), included only three of his poems, although he made room for upwards of a dozen from Pierpont and more than a score from Percival. In a review of Griswold's anthology by John Forster (biographer of Dickens) in 1844, Poe is held to possess genuine gifts as artist and something of spirituality, but to be too obviously imitative.<sup>12</sup> Henry B. Hirst, to be sure, in his sketch of Poe in the *Saturday Museum* of February 25, 1843, praises him at some length, declaring his poems to be "remarkable for vigor, terseness, brilliancy, and for their chaste and finished style"; but little importance attaches to a judgment proceeding from so undisguised a tool as Hirst was at this time.

<sup>10</sup> See the *Messenger* for April, 1835 (I, p. 460), December, 1835 (II, p. 1), September, 1839 (V, p. 708), January, 1840 (VI, p. 126), September, 1840 (VI, pp. 707-710), April, 1841 (VII, pp. 310-313), July, 1841 (VII, p. 592).

<sup>11</sup> For Kennedy's references to Poe, see Woodberry, *Life of Poe*, I, pp. 109-110, 141-142, 148-149, 151-156.

<sup>12</sup> *Foreign Quarterly Review*, January, 1844 (XXXII, pp. 321-322).

The first contemporary notice of any importance in which Poe is conceded to possess more than ordinary merit as poet was that of James Russell Lowell in *Graham's Magazine* for February, 1845<sup>13</sup> (published before January 20).<sup>14</sup> In a letter to Poe of May 8, 1843, Lowell had written: "Your early poems display a maturity which astonished me & I recollect no individual . . . whose early poems were anything like as good."<sup>15</sup> In his notice in *Graham's* he reiterates this judgment, and then goes on to praise Poe's lyrics for their melody, for their felicity of diction, and for the "fecundity of imagination" displayed by them, remarking of *The Haunted Palace* that he knew "no modern poet who might not have been justly proud of it"<sup>16</sup>

With the publication of *The Raven*, some ten days after the first publication of Lowell's article, Poe came to enjoy, for the nonce, a nation-wide notoriety. The poem was copied far and wide in the press of America, and was generously received in England. Mrs. Browning wrote from London in 1846 that it had "produced a sensation" in England.<sup>17</sup> Willis pronounced it, on its first publication, "the most effective single example of 'fugitive poetry' ever published" in America. Briggs, who was presently to turn against Poe, described it in the *Broadway Journal* of February 8, 1845, as "a piece of verse which the best of our poets could hardly wish to disown." A contributor to the New York *Tribune* of February 3, 1845—possibly Horace Greeley—declared that it would have "enriched *Blackwood*." And the writer of a brief

<sup>13</sup> *Graham's Magazine*, xxvii, pp. 49-53.

<sup>14</sup> On which date it was reprinted in the *Evening Mirror*.

<sup>15</sup> Woodberry, *Life of Poe*, II, p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> *Graham's Magazine*, xxvii, pp. 51, 52.

<sup>17</sup> *Virginia Poe*, xvii, p. 229.

sketch of Poe in the Philadelphia *Saturday Courier*, of July 25, 1846, remarked that "no American poem, for many years, had attracted, on both sides of the water, so much attention from the literary, critical, and general reader."

But *The Raven*, despite its extraordinary reception, was powerless to establish for Poe an enduring hold on the poetry-reading public of his time; for when it reappeared in the fall of 1845 as the title-piece in a collective edition of Poe's poetical works, the reviews of it were prevailingly unsympathetic. There was no notice of the volume in *Graham's*, or in the *Whig Review*, or in the *North American Review*, and the notices in the *Mirror* (November 29, 1845) and the *Democratic Review* (December, 1845) were brief. Margaret Fuller wrote in the *New York Tribune* (November 26, 1845) that *The Raven* was a "rare and finished specimen," but was apparently intended "chiefly to show the writer's artistic skill." Reviews in the *Knickerbocker* (January, 1846) and the London *Literary Gazette* (March 14, 1846) were wholly adverse, Lewis Gaylord Clark in the *Knickerbocker* savagely remarking of the poems contained in the volume that he saw "no reason why they might not have been written at the age of ten."<sup>18</sup>

During the remaining years of his life—1846 to 1849—Poe's reputation as poet underwent little change. *Ulalume*, like *The Raven*, went begging at first for a publisher;<sup>19</sup> an improved draft of *The Bells* was held in the editorial drawers of *Sartain's* for nine months before publication; and most of the rest of Poe's poems belonging to this period were sold to an obscure Boston weekly, *The Flag of Our*

<sup>18</sup> *Knickerbocker*, xxvii, p. 69.

<sup>19</sup> See Stoddard, *Poe's Works*, I, p. 150.

*Union*, with which the poet confessed to Willis he was ashamed to have any connection.<sup>20</sup> There was favorable mention of the poems in P. P. Cooke's continuation of Lowell's sketch in 1848;<sup>21</sup> Lowell himself, in the same year, although he had lost faith in Poe as a man, generously pronounced him, in that most famous of all contemporary judgments on Poe, to be "three fifths . . . genius"; Willis stood ready to puff any new poem as it appeared; and Griswold on publishing revised editions of his *Poets and Poetry of America* admitted a larger and larger number of his poems, until a total of fourteen was reached in the year of Poe's death. But the public, in so far as it was interested in Poe at this time, was mainly concerned with his prose writings and with certain regrettable lapses in his personal conduct that marked this period of his career.

During the decade immediately following the poet's death there were numberless articles in the American press dealing with his life and work, and there were articles also in a dozen of the English magazines. These differed widely in their appraisal of his work as poet, but they contained little whole-hearted commendation. "All his poetry . . . was mere machine work," wrote Briggs in *Holden's Review*.<sup>22</sup> Ripley, in the *New York Tribune*,<sup>23</sup> declared that the "peculiar characteristic of his poems was an extreme artificiality." Griswold, while praising the construction of his poems, objected that they evinced "little genuine feeling" and displayed "an absence of all impulse."<sup>24</sup> "He perpetually reminds us

<sup>20</sup> *Virginia Poe*, xvii, p. 351.

<sup>21</sup> See the *Southern Literary Messenger*, xiv, pp. 34-38.

<sup>22</sup> iv, p. 765 (December, 1849).

<sup>23</sup> January 17, 1850.

<sup>24</sup> *Poe's Works*, iii, p. xlviii.

of something we have read before," observed the writer of an extended notice in the *Edinburgh Review* in discussing his poems.<sup>25</sup> And Chivers, in 1853, ruthlessly charged Poe with having pilfered from his highly absurd jingles materials used in *The Raven* and other lyrics.<sup>26</sup> Daniel, the Richmond editor and diplomat, wrote in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, of March, 1850: "Among all his poems, there are only two or three which are not execrably bad."<sup>27</sup> "Few of his poems . . . will live with his land and language," declared Savage in the *Democratic Review* for February, 1851.<sup>28</sup> Stoddard wrote, in the *National Magazine* of April, 1853: "Save the 'Raven,' and one or two similar poems, the sooner the mass of [his poetry] dies the better for his reputation."<sup>29</sup>

Among the scattering notices commendatory of Poe as poet may be mentioned an article in Chambers's *Journal* (February 23, 1853), in which it is asserted that Poe was "unquestionably the most original imaginative writer America has produced," and that "There is not a line in all his poetry which suggests the idea of imitation"; a notice by Willis in the *Home Journal* (October 27, 1849), in which he declared that *The Bells*, together with *The Raven*, *Ulalume*, and *The Haunted Palace*, afforded "unquestionably titles to an enduring reputation";<sup>30</sup> a chapter by Powell in his *Living Authors of America* (p. 121), in which the opinion was expressed that "in a few years" Poe would be "considered one of America's best poets"; and an essay by Leigh Hunt in the *North British Review*

<sup>25</sup> CVII, p. 426 (April, 1858).

<sup>26</sup> *Waverley Magazine*, July 30, September 10, and October 1, 1853.

<sup>27</sup> XVI, p. 172.

<sup>28</sup> XXVII, p. 171.

<sup>29</sup> II, p. 199.

<sup>30</sup> See the article of T. O. Mabbott in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1920 (xxxv, p. 373).

(August, 1852), in which he gave it as his opinion that Poe was one of the four "most notable [poets] as yet produced by America."

But no one can read the contemporary judgments on Poe without being convinced that he had not, at the time of his death, established himself in the minds of his countrymen as a poet of extraordinary worth;<sup>31</sup> and it is equally plain that he had not attained any considerable vogue in foreign lands.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>The attitude of Poe's fellow-craftsmen in America appears to have been much the same as that of the reading public at large. Both Lowell and Willis, as we have seen, early accepted Poe as a poet of exceptional ability. Whittier, in later years, ungrudgingly conceded to him the gift of genius (see a letter of September 21, 1875, published in Gill's *Life of Poe*, p. 284). But Emerson was unable to see in Poe anything more than a facile rhymester, a "jingle man," and was careful to omit him from his *American Parnassus* (1874). Bryant excluded him, as we have seen, from his *Selections from the American Poets* (1840), and in his *Library of Poets and Song* (1871) admitted only four of his poems (*The Raven*, *Annabel Lee*, *The Bells*, and *For Annie*). Longfellow, while recognizing in him a man richly endowed both as poet and as prose writer (see the *Southern Literary Messenger*, xv, p. 696), thought of him, apparently, as a romancer first of all rather than as a poet (see a letter of his believed to have been addressed to Poe, quoted in part in Catalogue No. 27 of Robert H. Dodd, March, 1918, p. 8). Whitman, like Emerson, was disposed to think of Poe as a juggler of words and as overfond of the spectacular and the gruesome. Simms wrote to Chivers in 1852: "He was a man of curious genius, wild and erratic, but his genius was rather curious than valuable—bizarre, rather than great or healthful" (*Century Magazine*, LXV, p. 552); and George William Curtis wrote Mrs. Whitman in 1846: "I should much like to see anything really good of [Poe's]" (*Atlantic Monthly*, cxiv, p. 372).

Bryant, after Emerson, among all the American poets, appears to have had least admiration for Poe, being blinded, I suspect, by his belief that Poe was a bad man. To Miss S. S. Rice, of Baltimore, then engaged in an effort to raise funds for a memorial to Poe in that city, he wrote on November 6, 1865: "I am very unwilling to do anything which may seem disobliging, yet I cannot comply with

## III

As a writer of tales Poe fared a good deal better with his contemporaries than he did as a poet. The first of his tales to be published, so far as we know, were five stories submitted in competition for a prize offered by the Philadelphia *Saturday Courier* in 1831.<sup>1</sup> These were published anonymously, in the *Courier* for 1832, and apparently attracted little or no attention, the prize being awarded (as an ironical fate would have it) to Delia Bacon. He was more successful, however, in his competition for a prize offered in 1833 by the Baltimore *Saturday Visiter*, winning this prize and receiving at the same time the public commendation of the judges—John Pendleton Kennedy being one of their number—who in making their official report,<sup>2</sup> pronounced his tales to be “eminently dis-

the request in your note. . . . My difficulty arises from the personal character of Edgar A. Poe, of which I have in my time heard too much to be able to join in paying especial honor to his memory. Persons younger than myself who have heard less of the conduct to which I refer may take a different view of the matter, and, certainly, I do not intend to censure them for doing so. I think, however, that there should be some decided element of goodness in the character of those to whom a public monument directs the attention of the world” (Baltimore *Sun*, January 17, 1909).

<sup>28</sup> But see the article of A. Yarmolinsky in the New York *Bookman*, September, 1916 (XLIV, pp. 44 f.), in which we learn that translations of certain of Poe's writings appeared in Russian periodicals “as early at the late thirties.” For Poe's contemporary reputation in France, see G. D. Morris, *Fenimore Cooper et Edgar Poe*, pp. 80 ff., and for his vogue in Germany, F. Hippe, *Edgar Allan Poes Lyrik in Deutschland*, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Dial* for February 17, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Duly published in the *Visiter* of October 12, 1833 (see the article of Professor J. C. French, in *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1918 (XXXIII, pp. 260 f.)). See, also, the slightly garbled version of this in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, August, 1835 (I, p. 716).

tinguished by a wild, vigorous, and poetical imagination, a rich style, a fertile invention, and varied and curious learning," and to be "very creditable to the rising literature of our country." And after his assumption of an editorial position with the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1835, notices of his stories came thick and fast. In these notices—which were industriously collected by the proprietor of the *Messenger*, and published in appendixes to certain issues of the magazine<sup>3</sup>—there was liberal praise of his early work as a writer of stories. Praise was also forthcoming through the medium of personal letters. Kennedy wrote, in introducing Poe to White, that the "young fellow" was "highly imaginative" (though "a little given to the terrific").<sup>4</sup> Paulding wrote in 1836: "Mr. Poe [is] decidedly the best of all our young writers; I don't know but I might add all our old ones, with one or two exceptions."<sup>5</sup> And Beverley Tucker expressed the opinion as early as November, 1835, that Poe had "been already praised as much as was good for him."<sup>6</sup> Dispraise, such as there was, rested on the ground of his extravagance, the excess of the "unnatural and the horrible," of "German enchantment and supernatural imagery."

On the other hand, the publishers of the time, both now and later, were chary of bringing out any collection of Poe's tales, H. C. Carey (on behalf of Carey & Lea) explaining in a letter to Kennedy of November 26, 1834, that the demand for such "little things" was slight and the "produce" from them "small."<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the

<sup>3</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, pp. 133 ff., 341 ff., 517 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Woodberry, *Life of Poe*, I, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, p. 138.

<sup>6</sup> Woodberry, I, p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> *Sewanee Review*, April, 1917 (xxv, p. 197).

Harpers were prevailed upon in 1838 to publish his longer story, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, and the next year Carey & Lea brought out a two-volume collection of his stories, *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*.

*Pym* was but indifferently received, L. W. Clark, in the *Knickerbocker* for August, 1838,<sup>8</sup> complaining that the style was "loose and slipshod" and that the plot was "too liberally stuffed with 'horrid circumstance of blood and battle'"; while Burton, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1838, expressed regret at finding Poe's name "in connection with such a mass of ignorance and effrontery," and declared contemptuously that "a more impudent attempt at humbugging the public [had] never been exercised."<sup>9</sup>

But the *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, although the volumes had at first very small sale (less than 750 copies being disposed of during the first three years after publication),<sup>10</sup> appear to have been warmly received by the New York and Philadelphia papers.<sup>11</sup> Among the notices that appeared at this time was a highly complimentary review, by L. F. Tasistro, in the *New York Mirror*, which, inasmuch as it is one of the soundest contemporary judgments on Poe, may be quoted at some length.

"Had Mr. Poe written nothing else but 'Morella,' 'William Wilson,' 'The House of Usher,' and the 'MS. found in a Bottle,' he would deserve a high place among imaginative writers, for there is

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<sup>8</sup> XII, p. 167.

<sup>9</sup> III, p. 211. See also, for a notice in like vein, the *New York Mirror*, August 11, 1838.

<sup>10</sup> See the communication of Henry C. Lea to the *New York Nation*, December 9, 1880 (XXXI, p. 408).

<sup>11</sup> See the sheaf of complimentary notices collected at the back of the second volume of certain copies of the *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*; and see also a letter of Poe's of December 19, 1839 (Woodberry, I, p. 238).

fine poetic feeling, much brightness of fancy, an excellent taste, a ready eye for the picturesque, much quickness of observation, and great truth of sentiment and character in all of these works. But there is scarcely one of the tales published in the two volumes before us, in which we do not find the development of great intellectual capacity, with a power for vivid description, an opulence of imagination, a fecundity of invention, and a command over the elegances of diction which have seldom been displayed, even by writers who have acquired the greatest distinction in the republic of letters."<sup>12</sup>

The poet's heart was made glad, also, about this time by two complimentary letters from Washington Irving, to whom he had sent copies of some of his stories, Irving assuring him that the "graphic effect" of *The Fall of the House of Usher* was "powerful," and that *William Wilson* possessed a "singular and mysterious interest" that was "ably sustained throughout."<sup>13</sup>

Further impetus was given to the growth of Poe's fame as a romancer by his success in 1843 in winning, with his extraordinarily fine tale, *The Gold Bug*, a prize of a hundred dollars offered by the *Philadelphia Dollar Newspaper*. Of this tale Poe made the claim a year later that over 300,000 copies had been put in circulation.<sup>14</sup>

His reputation as a writer of stories was doubtless overshadowed, in a measure, in 1845 by the sensation caused by the publication of *The Raven*. To his friend, F. W. Thomas he wrote in May, 1845, with reference to the comparative popularity of *The Raven* and the *Gold Bug*, that "the bird beat the bug . . . all hollow."<sup>15</sup> He succeeded, nevertheless, in finding a publisher, in the

<sup>12</sup> *New York Mirror*, xvii, p. 215.

<sup>13</sup> See for citations from these the notices appended to the *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*. Cf. also a complimentary reference by Willis in his *Letters from Under a Bridge*, London, 1840, p. 121.

<sup>14</sup> Woodberry, II, p. 70. Whether Poe's statement is to be accepted at face value is questionable.

<sup>15</sup> Woodberry, II, p. 135.

summer of 1845, for a new edition of his tales. And this, too, was well received. The volume was reviewed at length in the *American Whig Review* of September, 1845, being there pronounced "one of the most original and peculiar ever published in the United States,"<sup>16</sup> and was warmly praised also in *Graham's Magazine* (September, 1845)<sup>17</sup> and by Thomas Dunn English in the *Aristidean*.<sup>18</sup> There were notices, also, in the foreign press—by Martin Farquhar Tupper in the London *Literary Gazette* of January 31, 1846; by E. D. Forgues in the *Revue des deux Mondes* of October 15, 1846<sup>19</sup>; and by an anonymous reviewer (hardly Christopher North) in *Blackwood's* for November, 1847<sup>20</sup>—each of which, though guarded in its praise of the volume as a whole, freely commended Poe's power of analysis.<sup>21</sup>

Among other contemporary judgments the most important is that of Lowell, who in his article in *Graham's* declared, with obvious reference to the tales, that Poe possessed "a faculty of vigorous yet minute analysis and a wonderful fecundity of imagination," together with a "highly finished, graceful and truly classical" style.<sup>22</sup> Important also is an article on the tale-writers of America by Rufus W. Griswold, in the Washington *National Intelligencer* of August, 30, 1845, in which Poe was given a place in the forefront of American tale-writers, and was held to possess "a great deal of imagination and fancy"

<sup>16</sup> II, pp. 306-309.

<sup>17</sup> XXVIII, p. 143.

<sup>18</sup> October, 1845 (I, pp. 316 ff.).

<sup>19</sup> XVI, pp. 341-366.

<sup>20</sup> LXII, pp. 582-587.

<sup>21</sup> There was a notice, also, prior to 1848, in the *Revue Française* (see the *Virginia Poe*, XVI, p. 145), an item which has apparently escaped Dr. Morris.

<sup>22</sup> *Graham's Magazine*, XXVII, pp. 51, 52.

and to be a "consummate artist." Griswold also wrote in praise of Poe in his *Prose Writers of America* (1847), declaring there his belief that it was as a writer of tales that Poe had "most reputation." Hawthorne, also, testified at this time to his belief in Poe's genius as a tale-writer, assuring him in a letter written in 1846 that he "could never fail to recognize [the] force and originality" of his stories.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, the *North American Review*, in noticing Simms's novels in 1846, incidentally refers to the 1845 volume of Poe's tales as "belonging to the forcible-feeble and the shallow-profound school," a judgment that was copied into the *Knickerbocker* with evident relish on the part of its editor.<sup>24</sup>

Most of the notices published after Poe's death spoke in praise of the tales. Henry B. Hirst in the *Saturday Courier* of October 20, 1849, declared that Poe was "unrivalled as a tale-writer." Savage in the *Democratic Review* ventured the prophecy that "as a prose writer he [would] go down to posterity with the full tide of his reputation."<sup>25</sup> Lewis Gaylord Clark, in spite of his inveterate enmity to Poe, admitted that he possessed exceptional "constructive faculty," "remarkable ingenuity," and "vivid imagination."<sup>26</sup> Others emphasized his originality.<sup>27</sup> Baudelaire in his famous sketch of 1856 dwelt on his gifts as artist, and in common with French critics of a later period made much of his powers of

<sup>23</sup> *Virginia Poe*, xvii, p. 233.

<sup>24</sup> *North American Review*, LXIII, p. 359 (October, 1846); *Knickerbocker*, xxviii, p. 452 (November, 1846).

<sup>25</sup> xxviii, p. 171 (February, 1851).

<sup>26</sup> *Knickerbocker*, xxxv, p. 163 (February, 1850).

<sup>27</sup> See Powell, *Living Authors of America*, p. 132; G. W. Peck, *American Whig Review*, xi, p. 307 (March, 1850); and Gilfillan, *A Third Gallery of Portraits*, pp. 380 ff.

analysis.<sup>28</sup> Stoddard in the *National Magazine* (March, 1853) spoke of him as a "profound artist," and expressed the opinion that *The Fall of the House of Usher* was "the most admirable thing of its kind in the whole range of English literature."<sup>29</sup> Powell,<sup>30</sup> who conceded to Poe the gift of genius,<sup>31</sup> expressed the belief that he would, after a few years, "chiefly be remembered for his tales."<sup>32</sup>

#### IV

But it was as critic, as I have said, that Poe was best known to his contemporaries. By this I do not mean that his book-reviews and other critical papers were felt to exceed in importance his poems or his tales: the consensus of

<sup>28</sup> *Histoires Extraordinaires par Edgar Poe*, pp. 28 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *National Magazine*, II, p. 198.

<sup>30</sup> *Living Authors of America*, p. 134.

<sup>31</sup> Lowell also had pronounced Poe a genius in his article in *Graham's* in 1845 (XXVII, p. 52), and this judgment remained unaltered in the revised form of his essay published in the Griswold edition of Poe's works (III, p. xii). Others who spoke of him as a genius were Ripley (the *New York Tribune* for January 17, 1850), Gilfillan (*A Third Gallery of Portraits*, p. 380), and Daniel (*Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI, p. 172). But it is fairly plain that no one of these, except possibly Lowell, employed the word "genius" with the meaning that we commonly attach to it to-day. Daniel, in his slashing way, while condemning Poe as a poet, assigns him the foremost place among American writers (*ibid.*, p. 178),—though he does not make it clear whether he bases this judgment on his tales or on his critical and philosophical writings: at one point (*ibid.*, p. 181) he asserts that *Eureka* was his "greatest work."

<sup>32</sup> Of adverse criticisms that were made at the time, Duyckinck and Daniel complained of the lack of reality in the tales and of Poe's "want of sympathy with the human kind"; Peck admitted that some of the tales were "too horrible"; Stoddard maintained that his tales were "by no means healthy." All who touched on the matter complained of Poe's lack of humor. And from Clark and Griswold there went up the old cry of plagiarism, notably in the case of *The Pit and the Pendulum*.

intelligent opinion would have given first place in the matter of actual worth to his tales. Nevertheless, it is clear from the contemporary references to Poe that it was as critic and book-reviewer that he was most widely known to his generation in America: the mention of his name brought to the minds of his fellow Americans of the thirties and forties of last century the idea, first of all, of book-reviewer and editor, rather than of tale-writer or of poet.

It does not affect the validity of this assertion to add that Poe was chiefly known as a fearless and caustic critic, rather than as a just and discriminating critic. Indeed, we shall find, I think, in the boldness and the occasional severity of his critical notices the secret of much of his contemporary vogue; for then, as now, it was the controversial and the spectacular that most readily caught the public fancy. And Poe's criticisms, though far more just than his contemporaries could have brought themselves to admit, were in no small degree controversial in nature—or, at best, calculated to arouse controversy—and were from the beginning more caustic, I imagine, than anything that had preceded them in American letters.

As in the case of his tales, it was during his connection with the *Southern Literary Messenger* (1835-37) that he first came into prominence as a critic. Where or when he had served his apprenticeship as a book reviewer, we shall probably never know. There is no tangible evidence that he had published anything in the way of criticism before 1835, save the "Letter to B—" in the *Poems* of 1831. But by the end of his first year with the *Messenger* he had won for that magazine a place among the leading American critical journals and had brought about an increase in its list of subscribers but little short of miracu-

lous.<sup>1</sup> His tales contributed in good part, no doubt, to this result, but it was his book-reviews and his scorching editorials that were mainly responsible; and it was these, even more than the tales, that attracted the newspaper critics of the time.<sup>2</sup>

His reputation as critic seems to have undergone some arrest in its development during his connection with *Burton's Magazine* in 1839-1840, owing as he would have had us believe, to the "milk-and-water" policy of its proprietor. But he won fresh laurels for himself while editor of *Graham's Magazine* (1841-42), writing now some of the ablest of his critiques and earning for himself the almost uniform commendation of the Philadelphia press. Graham, in announcing his accession to his editorial staff, spoke of him as "a stern, just, and impartial critic" who held "a pen second to none in the country";<sup>3</sup> Lowell wrote in praise of his critical work as early as 1842;<sup>4</sup> and Dr. J. Evans Snodgrass, a Baltimore editor of ability, declared in 1843 that his book-reviews were "unequalled in this country."<sup>5</sup>

As critic Poe also came prominently before the public in 1845 and 1846. During most of 1845 he was either assistant editor or editor of the *Broadway Journal*, and in that capacity wrote, weekly, critiques of the more important books appearing at that time. In the spring and sum-

<sup>1</sup> *Broadway Journal*, March 22, 1845 (I, p. 183); *Virginia Poe*, XII, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> See the lists of newspaper notices printed in the *Messenger* in 1836 (II, pp. 133 ff., 341 ff., 517 ff.), and see also the opening of his article on the poems of Drake and Halleck in the *Messenger* for April, 1836 (*Virginia Poe*, VIII, pp. 275 ff.) and his reply to his critics in the *Messenger* of July, 1836 (*ibid.*, VIII, pp. 333 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1841.

<sup>4</sup> Woodberry, I, p. 345.

<sup>5</sup> *Baltimore Saturday Visiter*, July 29, 1843.

mer of 1846 he published in *Godey's Lady's Book* his *Literati*. Of his reviews in the *Broadway Journal* some were very able; but in a number of his papers published there, notably the articles attacking Longfellow, and likewise in the *Literati*, he stooped to personalities of various sorts and displayed a spitefulness that cost him the esteem of some of his staunchest admirers and earned for him the disapproval of most of the influential men of the time. Indeed, the unhappy reputation that he made by these papers he found it impossible to live down during the few remaining years allotted to him.

After 1846 he wrote nothing of importance as critic save his *Poetic Principle*, itself a revision in part of work earlier done.

In the notices of Poe published during his lifetime the trait in his criticisms that was most dwelt on was his severity. Before the end of the first year on the *Messenger* he had been taken to task by one of the Richmond newspapers for his "regular cutting and slashing;"<sup>6</sup> and he had been attacked earlier in the year by the *New York Mirror*, in a satirical squib in which he figured as "Bulldog, the critic."<sup>7</sup> Burton reproached him in 1839 for the sharpness of his critical notices in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Snodgrass described him in 1842 as "provokingly hypercritical at times;"<sup>9</sup> and in a notice of the *Broadway Journal* in April, 1845, he remarked that it "would be more significant to call this the Broad-axe Journal."<sup>10</sup> George D. Prentice violently attacked the poet in 1843 in

<sup>6</sup> See Poe's letter to the Richmond *Compiler* of September 2, 1836; reprinted in the *Virginia Poe*, VIII, pp. xii-xv.

<sup>7</sup> *New York Mirror*, April 9, 1836 (XIII, pp. 324-325).

<sup>8</sup> Woodberry, I, p. 241.

<sup>9</sup> *Baltimore Saturday Visiter*, April 2, 1842.

<sup>10</sup> *Baltimore Saturday Visiter*, April 26, 1845.

consequences of his contemptuous references to Carlyle.<sup>11</sup> And Clark, who had been "used up" in the *Literati*, kept up a continual fire at him for a year or more after these papers began to appear. In the *Knickerbocker* of May, 1846, he speaks of Poe as "*The Literary Snob* continually obtruding himself upon public notice; to-day, in the gutter, to-morrow in some milliner's magazine; but in all places, and at all times magnificently snobbish and dirty."<sup>12</sup>

Lowell suggested in his sketch in *Graham's* that Poe sometimes mistook "his phial of prussic acid for his inkstand;"<sup>13</sup> and he rebuked him in his *Fable for Critics* for throwing mudballs at Longfellow. The *Brook Farm Harbinger* in 1845 lamented the fact that Poe had taken to a sort of "blackguard warfare."<sup>14</sup> A contributor to the *Talisman and Odd Fellow's Magazine* in September, 1846,<sup>15</sup> dubbed him "the tomahawk man" and "the Comanche of literature"; and the Philadelphia editor, Du Solle, remarked in 1847 that "If Mr. P. had not been gifted with considerable gall, he would have been devoured long ago by the host of enemies his genius has created."<sup>16</sup> In *Holden's Magazine* for January, 1849 (then edited by C. F. Briggs), Poe is ridiculed in the following doggerel lines:

With tomahawk upraised for deadly blow,  
Behold our literary Mohawk, Poe!  
Sworn tyrant he o'er all who sin in verse—  
His own the standard, damns he all that's worse;  
And surely not for this shall he be blamed—  
For worse then his deserves that it be damned!

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<sup>11</sup> See the *Knickerbocker*, October, 1843 (xxii, p. 392).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii, p. 461.

<sup>13</sup> *Graham's Magazine*, xxvii, pp. 49-50.

<sup>14</sup> *The Harbinger*, December 6, 1845, p. 410.

<sup>15</sup> Vol. i, p. 105.

<sup>16</sup> *Philadelphia Spirit of the Times*, January 8, 1847.

Who can so well detect the plagiary's flaw?  
 "Set thief to catch thief," is an ancient saw:  
 Who can so scourge a fool to shreds and slivers?  
 Promoted slaves oft make the best slave drivers!  
 Iambic Poe! of tyro bards the terror—  
*Ego* is he—the world his pocket-mirror! <sup>17</sup>

The articles published shortly after Poe's death also made much of his defects as critic. The trait now most stressed was not his causticity, I think, but his disposition to allow his prejudices and personal likes and dislikes to color his critical decisions. Among the first to make this complaint against him was his early friend, John Neal.<sup>18</sup> Griswold declared in his Memoir that "his unsupported assertions and opinions were so apt to be influenced by friendship or enmity, by the desire to please or the fear to offend . . . that they should be received in all cases with distrust of their fairness,"<sup>19</sup> an opinion which was echoed by Clark in the *Knickerbocker* for October, 1850.<sup>20</sup> Even Graham admitted that Poe's "outcry" against Longfellow was prejudiced and unjust.<sup>21</sup> A contributor to the *North American Review* expressed the opinion that Poe was intensely prejudiced "against all literature emanating from New England."<sup>22</sup> Evert A. Duyckinck, in 1850, publicly lodged the charge of venality against Poe, declaring that he "was at the very centre of his soul a literary attorney, and

<sup>17</sup> *Holden's Magazine*, III, p. 22; from a poem entitled "A Mirror for Authors" and dealing, somewhat in the manner of the *Fable for Critics*, with the chief American poets of the time. In two further stanzas Poe's fondness for analysis and his habit of remarketing his wares, are held up to ridicule.

<sup>18</sup> In a letter to Mrs. Mary Gove-Nichols, November 30, 1846, now among the Griswold Papers in the Boston Public Library.

<sup>19</sup> Poe's *Works*, III, p. xlix.

<sup>20</sup> XXXVI, p. 372.

<sup>21</sup> *Graham's Magazine*, February, 1854 (XLIV, p. 221).

<sup>22</sup> LXXXIII, p. 442 (October, 1856).

pleaded according to his fee." <sup>23</sup> Mrs. Gove-Nichols, also, in her novel, *Mary Lyndon*, while apologizing for the poet's weaknesses, admitted that he "sometimes sold favorable opinions, that were not opinions, but shams;" <sup>24</sup> and Clark, in the *Knickerbocker*, characterized him sneeringly as a "jaded hack who runs a broken pace for common hire." <sup>25</sup> Others complained of the over-minuteness of his criticisms, and in particular, his fondness for "verbal fault-finding." <sup>26</sup>

Among those who wrote in praise of his work as a critic were Lowell, Horace Greeley, and Richard Henry Stoddard. Lowell expressed the opinion in 1845 that Poe was "at once the most discriminating, philosophical, and fearless critic upon imaginative works . . . in America." <sup>27</sup> Greeley after hearing his lecture on the American poets, in February, 1845, praised him, in the columns of the *Tribune*, dwelling upon his candor and his acuteness, and pronouncing him a "critic of genius and established reputation." <sup>28</sup> Stoddard declared in 1853 that "No other modern, save Tennyson, [was] so versed in the philosophy of criticism." <sup>29</sup> And Willis praised him enthusiastically in the *Mirror* in 1845 and again in the *Home Journal* at the time of his death. <sup>30</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Literary World*, September 21, 1850.

<sup>24</sup> *Mary Lyndon*, p. 340.

<sup>25</sup> *Knickerbocker*, xxviii, p. 368.

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, Griswold in the *New York Tribune*, October 9, 1849.

<sup>27</sup> *Graham's Magazine*, xxvii, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> *New York Tribune*, March 1, 1845.

<sup>29</sup> *National Magazine*, ii, pp. 198-199.

<sup>30</sup> *Weekly Mirror*, February 17, 1845; *Home Journal*, October 20, 1849.—John M. Daniel, in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, xvi, p. 183, while condemning his poems save for *The Raven*, wrote: "As a critic we prefer what remains of Edgar Poe to anything after Hazlitt."

## V

It appears, then, that the tradition that Poe was neglected by his contemporaries is both true and false. That no one in his time believed him the genius that he is now generally reckoned to be is fairly evident. And it is perfectly plain that he was not esteemed in his life-time at his true worth as a poet, although there was one transcendent year—that of the publication of *The Raven* (1845)—during which he was widely praised. But it is also plain that he early came to be favorably known as editor and critic; it is probable, indeed, that his gifts as critic were more generally recognized during his life-time than they are to-day. And as a writer of tales, although he was slower in gaining the approval of his contemporaries, it seems clear that he achieved fairly widespread recognition before he had reached the age of thirty-five. That he did not win a larger following among his contemporaries is traceable to various causes, not the least among which was his own personal conduct,—in particular, his weakness for drink and his harshness as critic,—which, however illogically, many Americans of his time found it impossible to ignore when they came to pass judgment on his accomplishments as a writer.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

## IX.—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE *BEOWULF* CODEX

The Old English ms. volume, Cotton Vitellius A XV, in which the unique copy of *Beowulf* is preserved, consists of two separate codices which have been bound together since the time of Sir Robert Cotton to make the present volume. The first, in two main hands of the twelfth century, contains four articles: *Flowers from St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, translated by King Alfred, fol. 4a; *Gospel of Nicodemus*, fol. 60a; *Dialogue between Solomon and Saturn*, fol. 84b; and a fragment of eleven lines concerning martyrs, fol. 93b. The second codex, likewise in two hands, but of considerably earlier date, consists of five articles: A fragment of the *Life of St. Christopher*, imperfect at the beginning, fol. 94a; *Wonders of the East*, fol. 98b; *Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle*, fol. 107a; *Beowulf*, fol. 132a; and *Judith*, a fragment, fols. 202a-209b.

The first three tracts of this second codex, those which immediately precede the *Beowulf* epic, are clearly the work of a single scribe. Furthermore, and what is of greater interest, the script in which they are written is none other than the well-known first-hand of *Beowulf*. It has for some time been recognized that *Judith* and the second portion of *Beowulf* are written in the same hand, but until quite recently no notice has been taken of the fact that the first 1939 lines of *Beowulf* and the three articles immediately preceding the epic in the Cottonian codex are unquestionably the work of a single scribe. Prof. Sedgefield is the first to note<sup>1</sup> the identity of the

<sup>1</sup> *Beowulf*, 2nd ed., Manchester, 1913, p. xiv.

hand of *Alexander's Letter* and the first hand of *Beowulf*. Mr. Kenneth Sisam is the first to point out<sup>2</sup> that this identity extends also to the hand of both the *St. Christopher* fragment and the *Wonders of the East*, and that certain conclusions depend upon this fact.

This discovery of the identity of the scripts necessitates an important correction in certain accepted theories regarding the two *Beowulf* scribes. It is commonly held with ten Brink that "der zweite Schreiber des Beowulfs hat sich treuer an seine Vorlage gehalten als der erste," this conclusion being principally deduced from a comparison of the use of *io* and *eo* in the two parts of *Beowulf* and in *Judith*, which, it will be remembered, was written by the second *Beowulf* scribe. Too much reliance, however, must not be placed on such argument as ten Brink in this case adduces. A caution which Skeat once recommended in a similar type of criticism seems applicable here. The scribe of the Lindisfarne *St. John* begins, oddly enough, at chap. xx, verse 23, to write *gi* in place of the prefix *ge* which previously he had been consistently using—a phenomenon which in large measure parallels the interchange of *io* and *eo* in *Beowulf*. Of this Skeat remarks:<sup>3</sup> "it is a peculiarly interesting point, as shewing that changes of spelling took place in the practice of the same scribe at different times of his life,"<sup>4</sup> a hypothesis which opens out somewhat startling views, and shews the danger, and even the absurdity, of carrying out criticism, as obtained from internal evidence, in too rigid and narrow a manner." After this example of the Lindisfarne scribe,

<sup>2</sup> *Mod. Lang. Review*, xi, 335.

<sup>3</sup> Gospel of *St. John*, p. x.

<sup>4</sup> This implies, of course, no interruption in the scribe's work; but simply, as Skeat points out, that his orthography was in a transitional state.

who shall say that the second *Beowulf* scribe's confusion of *io* and *eo* is due rather to his faulty transcription of the *io* in his original, as ten Brink would have us believe, than to an uncertainty in his own mind of the correct mode of spelling? Of course, ten Brink's assumption is well within the realm of scribal possibility: the rarity of the *io*-spellings in the first part of *Beowulf* and the comparative frequency of such spellings in the second portion, is, indeed, indicative of some dissimilarity between the two scribes. Ten Brink, basing his view upon the absence of *io*-spellings from the 350 lines of the *Judith* fragment, comes to the conclusion that this dissimilarity is one simply of scribal accuracy, the second scribe being a more accurate, or, perhaps it were better to say, a less inaccurate, transcriber than the first. To maintain this contention, however, ten Brink is compelled to assume an earlier text with uniform *io*-spellings which served as the original of the extant copy of *Beowulf*. The more natural explanation of the *io*-spellings as an orthographic peculiarity of the second *Beowulf* scribe, is discarded by ten Brink in favor of his ingenious assumption of an *io*-original. And this, solely because *Judith*, with *eo*-spellings only, and part of *Beowulf*, with both *eo*- and *io*-spellings, were written by one and the same scribe.

Turning from the discussion of the relative accuracy of the two *Beowulf* scribes in the light of such a detail of internal evidence as ten Brink has pointed out, let us consider this relative scribal accuracy in the light of the evidence for the first time here presented. We have now for comparative purposes not only the *Judith* fragment but also — and in this we are more fortunate than ten Brink — the three texts immediately preceding *Beowulf*. A comparison of these three texts one with another and

each with the first 1939 lines of *Beowulf*, makes it clear, contrary to ten Brink's opinion, that the care and accuracy of the scribe is of a high order of merit.

It is not the purpose of this discussion to deal elaborately with the *Beowulf* problems that arise in connection with these three texts. Such a study would be a dissertation in itself, and must be reserved for another time and place. But the imputation of inaccuracy to our scribe can not, in face of his textual evidence, go unchallenged. Attention may be called, for example, to his consistent spelling *mit ty* or *myt ty* in one of his transcriptions (the *Christophorus* fragment), while in another (*Alexander's Letter*) he is equally consistent in his use of the form *mid þy*. Or, again, it may be observed that in one place he writes the various forms of the verb *cuman* preferably with the interpolated *w*, as in *cwom*, fol. 112b, l. 8; while elsewhere, as in *com*, fol. 96, l. 5, he omits the *w*. These, and other similar details which will come to the notice of the reader of the texts, are the result of no capricious use now and then of various forms of the same word. The confinement of one form to one place, and its variant to another, is scarcely favorable to ten Brink's theory. Details such as these, however, need hardly be discussed when the character of each text as a whole is taken into consideration. It seems highly improbable that the preservation of the plain West-Saxon of the *Christophorus* fragment and of the less simple language of *Alexander's Letter* with its Kentish and Anglian elements, could be the result of scribal carelessness. If anything, such differences between the texts indicate a commendable accuracy of transcription. Is it scribal faultiness, it may well be asked, which in the same hand produces two tracts each of which seems to independent critics to have different

linguistic color? Braun, for example, locates *Alexander's Letter* on the Kentish border and rejects the possibility of an Anglian original.<sup>5</sup> Knappe, on the other hand, considers the immediately preceding piece, the *Wonders of the East*, as a West-Saxon reproduction of an Anglian version.<sup>6</sup>

Scribal inaccuracy might have been expected so to obliterate the distinctive features of the two pieces as to make such divergent opinions as those just quoted impossible. A scribe who preserves intact the linguistic peculiarities of three texts can scarcely be expected to substitute his own dialectal forms for the spellings before him in a fourth text. Still less probable will this appear when the resultant theory is as complicated as the one proposed by ten Brink. Scribe number two, he claims, was more accurate than his predecessor. The second half of *Beowulf* is therefore a truer copy than the first. The *io*-spellings of the second portion represent, accordingly, *io*-spellings in the original. The use of the diphthong *io*, however, is no criterion of dialect in itself. But the citation of a dozen Kentish forms from the text points to the *io* as a Kentish diphthong. "Erwägt man, dass die angeführten Formen—mit einer einzigen unerheblichen Ausnahme—sich alle nur in dem zweiten Teil des Beówulfs finden, wo auch die zahlreichen *ió* statt *eó* vorkommen, so wird man der Annahme, dass die Cottonhandschrift auf ein kentisches Manuskript zurückgehe, eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht absprechen können."<sup>7</sup> But it is probable, ten Brink hastens to add, "Dass das kentische Manuskript nicht die unmittelbare Vorlage der Cottonhandschrift bildete, son-

<sup>5</sup> *Lautehre d. as. Version d. "Ep. Alex."* p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Wunder des Ostens*, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> *Beowulf: Quel. u. Forsch.*, LXII, 240. Cf. P. G. Thomas, *Mod. Lang. Review*, I, 207.

dern dass letztere zunächst auf einer älteren westsächsischen Handschrift beruhte." <sup>8</sup> And finally, the following paragraph begins with the sentence: "Die Urhandschrift unseres Beowulfs war aber jedesfalls wohl eine mercische." Mercian, West-Saxon, Kentish, three dialects in all, are thus summoned to the aid of ten Brink's theory. Significant indeed is the concluding statement: "Man möge von den in diesem Kapitel angestellten Untersuchungen halten was man wolle"—a sentence which the presumptuous critic of a ten Brink eagerly seizes upon and cites, rather for self-justification than for unbecoming ridicule.

Now, to the theory of ten Brink, as outlined above, two objections may be raised. In the first place, it is based upon too weak a foundation, the evidence of the *Judith* fragment being insignificant in comparison with the evidence of the three prose tracts; and, in the second place, it rejects a simple, common-sense explanation only to accept a complex solution which is by no means entirely satisfactory. Additional objections, moreover, which on no account may be dismissed as negligible, are offered by the scribal usages in the text of *Beowulf* itself. These, in part at least, will presently be analysed.

Before proceeding to this analysis, however, it seems advisable somewhat to elaborate our objection to ten Brink's use of the *Judith* fragment in his estimation of the *Beowulf* scribes. In the first place, the total absence of *io*-spellings from the 350 lines of *Judith* is not necessarily indicative, as ten Brink claims, of careful scribal transcription. In fact, it is not at all unreasonable in such an instance as this to assume an elimination of all original *io*-spellings, if any there were, by a scribe to whom the

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 241.

*eo*-forms were the norm. This, indeed, is precisely the assumption made by ten Brink to account for the relatively rare occurrence of *io*-forms in the first portion of *Beowulf*. At all events, it is no more reasonable to come to one of these two conclusions, merely from the absence of a particular spelling, than to another. Taken together with the scribal peculiarities of the second part of *Beowulf*, it may however be urged, ten Brink's interpretation of the *Judith* spellings is quite acceptable. Indeed, were there no further textual comparison possible, his theory might have remained unchallenged. It so happens, however, that precisely those conditions which ten Brink advances in support of the accuracy of the second *Beowulf* scribe, are duplicated in the work of scribe number one. The *Christophorus* fragment, copied, it will be remembered, by him who transcribed the first 1939 lines of *Beowulf*, is, like *Judith*, characterized by the total absence of *io*-forms. Obviously, then, any argument in favor of the accuracy of the second scribe which ten Brink develops from the consistent use of *eo*-spellings in *Judith*, may with equal propriety be derived from the evidence of the *Christophorus* fragment in support of the accuracy of the first scribe. Such being the case, it is difficult to see how ten Brink's deduction can longer be accepted. The *Judith* evidence alone is certainly insufficient to establish the relative accuracy of the two scribes.

In a discussion elsewhere to appear of the varying dialectal characteristics of our three texts,<sup>9</sup> still further indication of the comparative reliability of the two scribes will be arrived at by analysis of materials unused by ten Brink. If, however, our evidence be now limited to such as ten Brink himself might have used—such, that is, which the

<sup>9</sup> Now in preparation for the E. E. T. S.

text of *Beowulf* itself provides—the conclusions will again be favorable to the contention herein sustained. The usage of the two *Beowulf* scribes in regard to the *io*-spellings, presented below for the sake of clearness in tabular form, was apparently unworthy of detailed analysis in ten Brink's opinion. Denoting by A, as is customary, that part of *Beowulf* which is preserved in the handwriting of the first scribe (ll. 1-1939), and by B the remainder of the text, we find the number of times by actual count that an *eo*- or an *io*-spelling occurs in either division is as follows:

|   | ěo  | ěo  | Total eo | io | io | Total io |
|---|-----|-----|----------|----|----|----------|
| A | 479 | 329 | 808      | 5  | 6  | 11       |
| B | 247 | 249 | 496      | 88 | 27 | 115      |

Three of these totals differ from those given by P. G. Thomas,<sup>10</sup> but, owing to his failure to indicate on what text he based his count, the discrepancies can not be here accounted for. Inasmuch as the present examination is concerned solely with the usages of the scribes themselves, as shown by their own handwriting, our count is made from the Autotypes of Zupitza, and designedly avoids the emendations of various editors.

From this table several conclusions may be drawn. The most apparent fact is the well-known infrequency of the *io*-forms in A, and their relatively extensive use in B. Of this there can be, of course, not the slightest doubt; nor does this in any material degree affect the bearing of the figures on our argument. What we would demonstrate is not that A and B show no characteristic differences, but

<sup>10</sup> *Mod. Lang. Review*, I, 203: "... up to the point where the first hand ceases to appear ... there are but 11 examples of *io* as against 786 of *ěo*. From this point to the end ... there are 117 examples of *io* as against 482 of *ěo*. The total number of *ěo* forms in *Beowulf* is thus 1268, of *io* 128." Prof. Klaeber tells me his count tallies with that in the above table.

that these differences, in view of the figures given, cannot be used in support of ten Brink's contention. The eleven instances of *io*-forms in A are the following:<sup>11</sup> *scionon*, 303; *hīo*, 455, 623; *gewiofu*, 697; *wundorsīona*, 995; *friofuwære*, 1096; *hiora*, 1166; *giogoð*, 1190; *iogoþe*, 1674; *nīowan*, 1789; *hīo*, 1929. In an attempt to minimize the importance of these eleven words, ten Brink dismisses<sup>12</sup> the *io*-spelling of *giogoð* as "diakritisches Zeichen nach einem Palatal und vor o;" and maintains that *friofuwære* "beweist natürlich nichts, da hier *i* und nicht *e* zu Grunde liegt."<sup>13</sup> Inasmuch, however, as the spelling *geogof* occurs six times in A and once (2512) in B; and as various forms of *freofu* are written with *eo* three times in A (188, 522, 1707) and twice (1942, 2959) in B; it is apparent that for our present purpose the words must be taken precisely as they come, with the scribes alone responsible for their spellings. Eleven, then, is the number of times the first scribe must be held accountable for *io*-forms, whether he copied them accurately from his original, whether lapsing occasionally into his accustomed manner he carelessly inserted them, or whether his orthography is due to a combination of these two possibilities. To no one cause can definitely be attributed either these eleven *io*-forms in A or the hundred-and-fifteen in B. It is only by corroborative evidence that a prejudice can be established in favor of one cause or another. If, as ten Brink would have us believe, the scribe of B can be shown

<sup>11</sup> Line references, throughout this discussion, are given as in Cook's *Concordance to Beowulf*.

<sup>12</sup> *Beowulf, Untersuchungen*, p. 238, note 1.

<sup>13</sup> Sievers, likewise, (*Zschr. f. Deutsche Phil.*, xxi, 358) refers *gewiofu*,—"bei dem ersten Schreiber, der *io* nur als *u*-umlaut von *i*, nicht auch von *e* kennt",—to *gewif*. Here, however, as shown by the presence of *geogof* and *freofu*, the question is one, not of phonology, but simply of scribal usage.

on other grounds to be more reliable than his predecessor, then the presumption that the *io*-forms are not "vom zweiten Schreiber in den Text eingeführt" may reasonably be made.

Such proof, however, is not forthcoming. The evidence, indeed, seems all to point the other way. The proportion of *eo*-forms, for instance, in both A and B is against ten Brink's contention. In A, there are 1939 lines, containing 808 *eo*-forms,—something less than 42 per cent. The proportion of *eo*-forms in the 1243 lines of B is practically the same,—a little over 39 per cent. This being the case, does it not seem less sound to credit B with fidelity to an original in which *io*-forms were the norm than to attribute the *io*-spellings, in large part at least, to the scribe's own orthographic idiosyncrasy? That this characteristic should disappear in *Judith*, is no insuperable difficulty. The absence of *io*-forms from this fragment may, as already pointed out, indicate either extremely careless reduction of all spellings to the scribal norm, or, on the other hand, it may be due to exactitude of transcription of an unusual order. The latter may quite possibly be the case. In *Beowulf*, it might be suggested, the second scribe was merely finishing up another man's work, and may well have been careless about it; while in *Judith*, a poem to be entirely transcribed by him, he may equally well have determined to proceed with all the care that good craftsmanship demands.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, v, 44, Davidson tries to establish the inaccuracy of the scribe in both *Beowulf* B and *Judith*. His argument in opposition to ten Brink, based, as it is, on the scribe's use of þ and ð, is by no means so cogent as the analysis of the *eo*- and *io*-forms, but is given here as of supplementary value. The second scribe, he claims, is inaccurate not only in his insertion of *io*-forms into *Beowulf* B, but also in his reduction of nearly every þ to ð. The word *sippan*, for instance, variously spelt in A, occurs 18 times in

Less speculative deductions than this, however, may be made from the internal evidence of the last 1243 lines of *Beowulf*. If, with ten Brink, we choose not to question the accuracy of the second scribe, and if, likewise with him, we postulate an original manuscript characterized by *io*-spellings, how then are we to account for the numerous instances in B where *eo*- and *io*-forms of the same word occur side by side, with the former spellings not only often predominant but in some cases used exclusively? Assuredly it is not to scribal accuracy that so uncertain a usage may be attributed. The transcriber who writes three *io*- and fifteen *eo*-spellings of the common word *beorh*, in copying a manuscript in which the *io*-form was used, has little claim to be recognized as accurate. Throughout his text, as the following table will show, our scribe is guilty of just such uncertainties of spelling as are seen in the case of *beorh*. For purposes of condensation, com-

B, where it is invariably written *syððan*. Furthermore, says Davidson, "An examination of Cook's edition of 'Judith,' . . . fails to reveal a single þ and but one medial—6pre 109—in the 350 lines." "That this evident levelling of þ and ð to ð in B is the work of the scribe and not due to original differences in the text is . . . reasonably certain. . . . Indeed, the use of medial and final þ in B is so infrequent and of such a nature that it impresses one as an oversight in the copying of a manuscript in which þ was present."

In *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXI, 103, this usage of ð is noted by T. G. Foster, who unhesitatingly accepts ten Brink's theory; but the accuracy of the second scribe is rendered questionable by the "remarkable" "mixture of forms" which Foster himself cites from *Judith*.

Before ten Brink had advanced his theory, Hornburg had said of the second scribe (*Archiv f. n. Sprachen*, LXXII, 384): "Eigentümlich ist demselben die ziemlich konsequente Setzung des io für eo und iö für eö; eigentümlich ist ihm ferner die Form telge für talige v. 2068, madelade [MS. mabelade] v. 2426, morna v. 2451, siex v. 2905, u. s. w. Wir sehen aus diesen Bemerkungen dass sich der zweite Abschreiber mit einer gewissen Selbständigkeit bewegt. Daraus folgt, dass er Verfasser etlicher Abschnitte im Gedichte sein kann."

pounds are indicated in our table by a dash either before or after the part of the word under consideration; and, where the citations would be too numerous, only the number of occurrences is recorded.

| <i>eo</i> -forms in B | Line | Total | <i>io</i> -forms in B | Line | Total |
|-----------------------|------|-------|-----------------------|------|-------|
| beorg(e) (es)         | 3164 | 15    | biorges               | 3066 | 3     |
|                       | 2529 |       | biorgas               | 2272 |       |
|                       | 2546 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2559 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2842 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 3143 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2304 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2322 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2524 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2580 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2755 |       |                       |      |       |
| beorh                 | 2241 |       | biorh                 | 2807 |       |
|                       | 2299 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 3097 |       |                       |      |       |
| -beorh                | 2213 |       |                       |      |       |
| Bēowulf(e) (es)       | 2510 | 3     | Biowulf(e) (es)       |      | 14    |
|                       | 2207 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 1971 |       |                       |      |       |
| Egþēowes              |      | 5     | Egþīo(w) es           |      | 2     |
| Eofores               | 2486 | 1     | īofore                | 2992 | 2     |
|                       |      |       |                       | 2997 |       |
| eom                   | 2527 | 1     |                       |      |       |
| eorl                  | 16 x | 23    |                       |      |       |
| eorl-                 | 7 x  |       |                       |      |       |
| eorþ-                 | 20 x | 20    |                       |      |       |
| ēow(ic) (etc)         | 7 x  | 7     |                       |      |       |
| fēond-                | 4 x  | 4     | fīonda                | 2671 | 1     |
| fēores (um)           | 2 x  | 22    |                       |      |       |
| feorh-                | 19 x |       |                       |      |       |
| -fēore                | 2664 |       |                       |      |       |
| frēond-               | 2393 | 3     |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2377 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2069 |       |                       |      |       |
| freoþu-               | 1942 | 2     | frioþu-               | 2282 | 1     |
|                       | 2959 |       |                       |      |       |
| -bēodan               | 3110 | 1     | bīodan                | 2898 | 1     |
| -ēode (on)            | 8 x  | 8     | -īode                 | 2200 | 1     |
| -hēold                | 16 x | 16    | hīold                 | 1954 | 1     |
| geogop                | 2512 | 2     | gioguðe               | 2113 | 2     |
| geogop-               | 2664 |       | giogoðe               | 2426 |       |
| gēomor                | 2100 | 8     | gīomor                | 3150 | 4     |
|                       | 2419 |       |                       |      |       |
|                       | 2632 |       |                       |      |       |

|                      |                                      |    |                    |                                      |   |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|----|--------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| gēomor-<br>-gēomor   | 3 x<br>2239<br>2950                  |    | gīomor-<br>-gīomor | 2267<br>2408<br>2894                 |   |
| geond<br>geond-      | 3 x<br>2017<br>3087                  | 5  | giond-             | 2771                                 | 1 |
| gēong                | 2019<br>2756<br>3125                 | 3  | gīong              | 2214<br>2409<br>2715                 | 3 |
| geong                | 10 x                                 | 10 | giong              | 2446                                 | 1 |
|                      |                                      |    | hīo                | 8 x                                  | 8 |
|                      |                                      |    | hiora              | 2599                                 | 1 |
| heoro-               | 2720                                 | 1  | hioro-             | 2358<br>2539<br>2781                 | 3 |
| -dēor                | 2107<br>2183<br>3169                 | 3  | dīor<br>-dīor      | 2090<br>3111                         | 2 |
| lēod-                | 36 x                                 | 36 |                    |                                      |   |
| lēof-<br>-lēofe      | 16 x<br>2863                         | 17 |                    |                                      |   |
| menigeo              | 2143                                 | 1  |                    |                                      |   |
| nēos(i)an            | 2074                                 | 1  | nīos(i)an          | 2366<br>2388<br>2671<br>3045<br>2486 | 5 |
|                      |                                      |    | nīosaþ             |                                      |   |
| Ongenþeo(w) (es)     | 3 x                                  | 3  | Ongenþio(w)es      | 5 x                                  | 5 |
| sēoc                 | 2254<br>2740<br>2904                 | 3  | -sīocne<br>-sīocum | 2787<br>2754                         | 2 |
| Swēona               | 2472<br>2958<br>3001<br>2922         | 4  | Swīo-              | 2383<br>2495                         | 2 |
| Swēo-                |                                      |    |                    |                                      |   |
| þēod (etc)<br>-þēode | 7 x<br>2204<br>2922                  | 9  | þīod<br>þīod-      | 2219<br>2579                         | 2 |
| þēoden (etc)         | 17 x                                 | 17 | þīoden             | 3 x                                  | 3 |
| beorn (etc)          | 2121<br>2148<br>2220<br>2260<br>2433 | 5  | biorn<br>biorna    | 2559<br>2404                         | 2 |
| bēore                | 2041                                 | 1  | bīor-              | 2635                                 | 1 |
| dēop                 | 2549                                 | 1  | dīope              | 3069                                 | 1 |
| dēore                | 2236<br>2254                         | 2  | dīore              | 1949                                 | 1 |

|            |      |    |               |      |    |
|------------|------|----|---------------|------|----|
| -drēorigne | 2720 | 1  | -drīore       | 2693 | 1  |
| -sweord-   | 19 x | 19 |               |      |    |
| geofum     | 1958 | 2  | giofan (inf.) | 2972 | 1  |
| -geofa     | 2900 |    |               |      |    |
| sēo        | 3 x  | 3  | sīo           | 16 x | 16 |
| brēo       | 2298 | 1  | brīo          | 2174 | 1  |

The capricious usage shown by our table is by no means confined to a variation between *eo-* and *io-*forms. The scribe's accuracy is such, for example, that after writing *mergen* twice (2103, 2124) he can vary his forms at will as follows: *morna*, 2450; *morgne*, 2484; *morgenlongne*, 2894; *mergenne*, 2939; *morgenceald*, 3022. Similarly, to give but one more out of many possible examples, and to cite a word certainly familiar to any scribe, *meaht(e)(on)*, occurring fifteen times in B, is six times spelt *mihhte(on)*. Few instances indeed can be noted in B where scribal accuracy is manifested by a consistent use of one spelling. Of *io-*forms occurring exclusively and more than once in B, only the words *hīo* (8 times), *bīo(þ)* (2063, 2747), and *Hior(o)te* (1990, 2099) may be found.<sup>15</sup>

In exoneration of the scribe whose accuracy is here called in question, it may perhaps be urged that the citations just given are at widely separated intervals in the text, and that no scribe, however careful, can in such instances be expected to spell with a modern uniformity. Such an expectation, admittedly, could be evidence only of unfamiliarity with manuscripts and their orthographic irregularities. It is, however, not at all unreasonable to expect that a scribe who, as in the present instance, is credited with faithful transcription of an original characterized by *io-*forms, should give greater evidence of accuracy than can be deduced from the above table. At

<sup>15</sup> Consistent use of *io*-spellings is indicative of accuracy only when the scribe's original is assumed, as by ten Brink, to be one in which *io*-forms predominate.

the very least, it would seem fair to demand, so careful a scribe as ten Brink presents for our consideration should be consistent in his usage within the individual lines. If, in copying a text with *io*-spellings, he carefully preserve one correct form, certainly his reliability is not established by his failure in the selfsame line of verse to preserve another similarly correct form. Verse 2258, for instance,—*geswylce seo herepad sio æt hilde gebad*,—is but one out of thirty examples in B<sup>16</sup> of both *io*- and *eo*-forms within a single line. Furthermore, the instances where *io*- and *eo*-forms occur so closely as in two consecutive lines of B, is no less than forty-seven—a singularly large number for a scribe whose preservation of original *io*-spellings is alleged as his chief characteristic.

If yet further evidence be required, the capricious interchange of *io* and *eo* in the spelling of proper nouns in B may be cited. The first occurrence of the hero's name in the handwriting of the second scribe is at line 1971, where it is spelled *Beowulfes*. A few lines further on, on the verso of the same folio, the spelling *Biowulf* occurs twice, lines 1987 and 1999. These are followed, line 2194, by another *io*-form, *Biowulfes*; and this, at so short an interval as thirteen lines, by the *eo*-form, *Beowulfe* (2207). The four subsequent spellings of the name (ll. 2324, 2359, 2381, 2425) are all written with *io*; then, at line 2510, comes the other form, *Beowulf*, after which the *io*-spelling is used, seven times, to the end. The same uncertainty as to form is shown by the scribe in his spelling of other proper nouns. The following three examples, given in the order of their appearance in the text, sufficiently illustrate this.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. ll. 1946, 1987, 2018, 2127, 2174, 2219, 2336, 2367, 2408, 2425, 2486, 2559, 2599, 2663, 2681, 2693, 2710, 2842, 2883, 2892, 2913, 2931, 2951, 2961, 2972, 2999, 3142, 3150, 3169.

|                |                  |                |
|----------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1999 Ecgðioes  | 1968 Ongenþeoes  | 2383 Swiorice  |
| 2177 Ecgðeowes | 2387 Ongenðioes  | 2472 Sweona    |
| 2367 Ecgðeowes | 2475 Ongenðeowes | 2495 Swiorice  |
| 2398 Ecgðiowes | 2486 Ongenþeow   | 2922 Sweoþeode |
| 2425 Ecgðeowes | 2924 Ongenðio    | 2958 Sweona    |
| 2587 Ecgðeowes | 2951 Ongenþio    | 3001 Sweona    |
|                | 2961 Ongenðiow   |                |
|                | 2986 Ongenðio    |                |

Thus, from the evidence of the text itself, it is seen that a careful transcription of an original manuscript characterized by *io*-spellings can hardly be attributed to the second *Beowulf* scribe. If, indeed, such an original lay before him, the scribe's text is inaccurately copied. If, however, as we are inclined to believe, the prototype of our *Beowulf* text was not one in which *io*-spellings were predominant, then to the second scribe's orthographic prejudices must the *io*-forms in B be referred.

In one point, however, ten Brink's position is undeniably correct, and that point is that Cotton, Vitellius A XV, is not the original *Beowulf* text, but a transcription of an earlier copy. This is shown, if by nothing else, by the dissimilarity of the four pieces in the hand of the first *Beowulf* scribe. Obviously, when two texts such as the *St. Christopher* fragment and *Alexander's Letter* are markedly different in linguistic features, and are written by a single scribe, that scribe is not composing but simply copying. And the improbability of the scribe's having copied out three pieces and then having proceeded to write an epic of his own, is so great as to be unworthy of serious consideration. That there existed an earlier copy of *Beowulf* than that in the Cotton manuscript, may, therefore, be unhesitatingly accepted.

That this copy, however, was one in which *io*-spellings were consistently used, has yet to be demonstrated. In fact, according to Möller,<sup>17</sup> ten Brink's position in regard

<sup>17</sup> *Englische Studien*, XIII, 314. Cf. T. G. Foster, *Quellen und For-*

to this point is entirely wrong. From an analysis of the use of *o* and *a* before nasals, supplemented by other linguistic considerations, Möller arrives at the conclusion that lines 1945-3183 of *Beowulf* are quite independent in origin from the preceding verses. This conclusion, owing to the type of data on which it is founded, can not be accepted and made use of without a certain degree of caution; nor can that particular point of the epic where, according to Möller, a junction of parts has apparently been effected, be definitely located at a specific verse. Möller's criticism of ten Brink, sicklied o'er, as it is, with a determined but unconvincing attempt to establish the originally strophic form of the *Beowulf* epic, is valuable, not so much for its advocacy of the *Strophentheorie*, as for the support it gives to ten Brink's hypothesis that *Beowulf* is a *Gesammtredaction* made from two distinct versions of the *Beowulf* story. Accepting this part of the theory, Möller challenges ten Brink's conclusions, and pronounces the assumption of a Kentish redaction of *Beowulf* to be as unnecessary as failure to attribute the *io*-forms to the second scribe is unreasonable. The arbitrariness with which division of the epic is necessarily made in an investigation of this kind, together with the limitations inherent in the method, lessen to some extent the significance of the conclusions. The results of Möller's analysis are none the less of value; and, if taken for what they are worth, are of no little interest in the controversy as to the relative reliability of the scribes of *Beowulf*. The lines 1945-3183, set apart by Möller as of independent origin, are, it will be observed, curiously coincident with the transcription made by the second scribe. Five lines

*schungen*, LXXI, 51 ff. Foster's dismissal of Möller's conclusion on the ground of "unsettled orthography" is an unwarrantable evasion of the argument.

only from the preceding portion of the poem are in his hand. The practical identity, fortuitous no doubt, of *Beowulf* B and Möller's final independent section, has its own significance,—particularly when considered in conjunction with his theory as to the component parts of the epic. When these were put together, Möller's evidence would seem to show, to form the *Gesammtredaction*,—the basis, apparently, of the surviving text,—the characteristics of the originally independent parts were largely preserved. Thus, from line 1943 to the end, certain peculiarities, such as the frequently occurring *io*-diphthong, mark the text. From this fact, however, if Möller's conclusions have any weight, it is impossible to establish anything at all concerning the preceding lines of the poem. Neither the character of the original text of lines 1-1944 nor the nature of the first *Beowulf* scribe's transcription can be judged in the light of data found in the second portion. Ten Brink's assumption, accordingly, of an *io*-original unfaithfully copied by the first scribe, is, for this further reason, seen to be untenable. For the second scribe, and for him only, an *io*-original might with some justification be predicated. Möller's deductions, however, eliminate any resultant estimation of the characteristics of scribe number one.

Furthermore, that the original of our sole remaining copy of *Beowulf* was, as ten Brink claims, but one of several earlier copies in various dialects, seems again, in the light of Möller's examination, a needless hypothesis.<sup>18</sup> Möller, dating both the *Gesammtredaction* and the two versions from which it was made, in the tenth century, practically eliminates the possibility that still other later

<sup>18</sup> This statement, of course, is not intended to rule out an Anglian copy.

copies served as originals from which the two *Beowulf* scribes made their transcription. Ten Brink's assumption of more than one such original was, moreover, necessitated by his faith in the accuracy of the second scribe. From the evidence already presented, that to the scribe himself rather than to a hypothetical original must be attributed those characteristics of *Beowulf* B which led ten Brink into his complicated theory, it is clear that postulation of a Kentish *Beowulf*-version is no longer satisfactory. This, from the preceding argument; this, too, from Möller's investigation. The two conclusions corroborate each other. Between the *Gesammtredaction*, then, and the version in MS. Cotton Vitellius A XV, there is no ground to assume any intermediate copies.

Summing up the evidence of the preceding pages, we can come to but one conclusion. The scribe of A gives conclusive textual proof of his accuracy. The second scribe, on more than one ground, gives equally certain proof of his unreliability. The evidence of scribal accuracy drawn from *Judith* is counteracted by the opposing evidence of the *Christophorus* fragment. In the place of an hypothesis so complex as to compel immediate skepticism, can be substituted a simple, straight-forward, common-sense explanation. In view of all these points, that judgment which ten Brink passed upon the first 1939 lines of *Beowulf* must necessarily be abandoned; and, of the two portions of the ancient epic, that part which is written in the hand of the initial scribe must indeed be considered the more faithful reproduction of the original copy.

STANLEY I. RYPINS.

## X.—CHAUCER'S TALE OF IRELAND

There seem many strong reasons for deeming the unhappy love-story in Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite* the invention of the poet's own day and hour. Unlike its seventy-line prelude of Theseus and Ipolita and desolate Thebes, which as everybody knows, is a blending of Statius and Boccaccio—anticipating the riper treatment of the same theme in the beginning of *The Knight's Tale*—the story owes nothing to any known source. Indeed Chaucer implicitly disclaims any originals of his narrative, even when explicitly professing them, for, "when speaking of his finding an old story in Latin, he is actually translating from an Italian poem which treats of a story not found in Latin,"<sup>1</sup> and his solemn appeal to the misty authority of that *nominis umbra*, "Corinne," of whom more anon, seems devised to blur the credulous reader's vision. Moreover, he runs directly counter to a dominant motive of the *Teseide*, the unswerving loyalty of that paragon among lovers, the Theban Arcite, by making him, in this little poem, the weakest of philanderers. For that violent reversal of character<sup>2</sup> there must have been indeed some strong provocation from without, but certainly not from any books that we know. The precedent, too, of *The Complaint of Mars* suggests strongly some contemporary court-scandal, cloaked in the protecting garb of the antique. Our poem rises far above the conventional "complaint" in its *leitmotif*—a distinctive situation, concrete and per-

<sup>1</sup> Skeat, *Complete Works of Chaucer*, I, 530.

<sup>2</sup> Lydgate doubtless felt deeply the embarrassment of the double identity of this Chaucerian figure, when, in his *Complaint of the Black Knight*, 368, 379, he cites Arcite both among true knights and false.

sonal, unfolded with an abiding sense of reality and in the glow of a righteous indignation.

Others have felt strongly the force of arguments so immediately obvious. To Root<sup>3</sup> "it is not impossible that Chaucer may have intended to celebrate some love story of the English court, and that, being busy with the *Teseide*, he chose to shadow forth his real personages under names borrowed from the court of Theseus, inventing the name 'Corinne' to increase the obscurity of his allegory." To Bilderbeck,<sup>4</sup> "the peculiar way in which the story is dovetailed into the Theseus legend, Chaucer's mystification as to a Latin original, from which he professes to have derived his story, and the tone of sarcasm which seems to characterize certain passages in the poem afford ground for the suspicion that the work may have had some references to recent incidents in real life." So far, so good! But when Bilderbeck finds the poem's motive in the notorious infidelity of Robert de Vere to his wife, Philippa de Coucy, we are unconvinced, not so much because (as Tatlock<sup>5</sup> objects) Chaucer's indebtedness to the Earl of Oxford and the date of the nobleman's liaison with Launcecrone, 1387, are stumbling blocks in the way of acceptance, but because there are no strong grounds for finding our key to the problem here rather than in any other court intrigue of the time. The final identification of Chaucer's story with any contemporary example of man's inhumanity to woman must be an irresistible conclusion, not an irresponsible conjecture.

Now, what is the disguised purpose of Chaucer? Like Shakspeare's John of Gaunt, he delighted to play nicely with

<sup>3</sup> *Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 68. Ten Brink, too, assumes "some drama in real life" (*Eng. Lit.*, II, 190).

<sup>4</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1896, I, 301.

<sup>5</sup> *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, pp. 83 f.

names, with "Mauny" ("wicked nest"), with "Vache" ("beste"), with "Lancaster of Richmond" ("long castle on a rich hill"). Is there double meaning in the names of our poem—in "the Queen of Ermony," in "Anelida," in "Arcite"? Could these, by any chance, apply to men and women whom Chaucer knew? What English significance can lie in "Ermony," the romance-name of Armenia, which, by the way, seems sadly out of place in this ostensibly Theban galley?<sup>6</sup> Let us mark that "Ermony" (or "Ermonia") is not only "Armenia," but a variant of "Ormonde," the title of the great Irish house of Butler. In 1327 young James le Botiller, whose family had been established in Ireland under Henry II, in the person of Theobald Walter, the King's butler or cup-bearer, married King Edward III's cousin, Eleanor, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, High Constable of England, and received, in the succeeding year, the title of Earl of Ormonde with a grant of the liberties and other royal privileges in Tipperary including the rights of a palatine in that country. As Gilbert says,<sup>7</sup> "The name of 'Ermon,' 'Ormon,' 'Ormonde' or 'Ormounde,' intended to represent the Gaelic *Urmhumhain* or Eastern Munster, was applied to lands in the north of Tipperary." "Comes Ermonie (Ormonie)" is the official title of the Ormonde earls in the chronicles and documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Annals of the Monastery of St. Mary, Dublin,<sup>8</sup> record

<sup>6</sup> Koeppel is naturally surprised at the inclusion of a "Queen of Ermony" among the "noble folk" of Thebes; and suggests (*Englische Studien*, xx, 157) the unhappy emendation, "Emony," *Haemonia* or *Thessaly*.

<sup>7</sup> *History of the Viceroy of Ireland*, 1865, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey (Rolls Ser.)*, edited by Gilbert, II, 285.

under 1382: "Dominus Jacobus le Botiller, Comes Ermonie, miles strenuus et egregius in armis, quem nunquam hostis vicit, die Sancti Luce Evangeliste (Oct. 18, 1382) in castro suo de Croktoffe multis dolentibus obiit." In the Patent and Close Rolls of Ireland of the time of the Edwards, Richard and Henries,<sup>9</sup> the abbreviation of the Latin title occurs no less than one hundred times, forty times as "Com' Ermon'," sixty times as "Com' Ormon'." Royal grants to the family employ the "Ermonie" form of the name.<sup>10</sup> The third Earl, who is the chief subject of our story, repeatedly endorses petitions as "Comes Ermonie, Justiciarius Hibernie."<sup>11</sup> It seems in every way fitting then that the Countess of Ormonde or Ermon ("Comtissa Ermonie")<sup>12</sup> should be romanticized as "the Quene of Ermony"—particularly when we remember the royal blood and the royal privileges of this race of viceroys,<sup>13</sup> whose name in certain parts of Ireland

<sup>9</sup> *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, 1828.

<sup>10</sup> See Carte's citation (*Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Introduction, I, lxix, lxxiv) of a grant of 3 Richard II to "James le Botiller, Earl of Ermon," and one of 8 Henry IV "at the request of the late Earl of Ermon." The English Patent Rolls employ not infrequently the "Ermon" form (see particularly 1377-1381).

<sup>11</sup> See *King's Council in Ireland*, 16 Richard II (*Rolls Ser.*), edited by Graves, pp. 40, 45, 49, 224.

<sup>12</sup> It is of interest that the Digby MS. of *Anelida and Arcite* uses this same Latin form, "Explicit lamentatio Annelide Regine Ermonie."

<sup>13</sup> Graves, *King's Council in Ireland*, xii, cites as a specimen of the palatinate jurisdiction employed by the Earl of Ormonde in the Tipperary district, a "Pardon," which follows almost verbatim the royal instruments of the same nature: "Jacobus le Botiller, Comes Ermonie, Dominus Libertatis Typpareriensis, omnibus baillivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem! Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali pardonavimus Roberto Prendergast de Novo Castro sectam pacis, et." And Wylie in his admirable

was more potent than the King's own. And if Chaucer's "Ermony" led men's thoughts astray from Ormonde to Armenia,<sup>14</sup> as it well might do at a time when the King of that Eastern land was visiting England,<sup>14a</sup> that was a prime move in our poet's baffling game.

So much for "Ermony." Now, what of "Anelida"? Etymology has climbed dizzier heights than its wont in the suggestion of Henry Bradshaw,<sup>15</sup> who this time missed his guess, that Anelida is identical with Anahita (Anaitis), the ancient goddess of Persia and Armenia. Schick's citation<sup>16</sup> from the *Intelligenza* of the lovers, "La bella Analida e lo bono Ivano" seems to him to point to some Round Table romance of Iwain for the origin of the name "Anelida." A deep plunge downward into the world of real life and of Chaucer makes us pleasantly aware that "Anelida" or "Annelida" is a happy play upon the name of Anne Welle, who was the young Countesse of Ormonde, when our poem was in the shaping.<sup>16a</sup> Anne Welle

chapter on the third Earl (*History of England under Henry the Fourth*, chap. xlv, II, 126 f.), shows that he exerted sovereign rights, sometimes in defiance of the King.

<sup>14</sup> Chaucer's use of the ambiguous "Ermony" for the Ormonde title (*Comtissa Ermonie*) is exactly paralleled by Spenser, who takes the name "Roffy" ("Roffin") from the *Eclogues* of Marot, where it stands for Pierre Roffet, and applies it in his *Calendar* (September, 179, 201, 203) to the Bishop of Rochester (*Episcopus Roffinensis*). Mark in a later day the popular adaptation of the romantic "Malbrouk" of old song, "Malbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre," to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

<sup>14a</sup> The King of Armenia was in England as Richard's guest for two months after Christmas, 1385 (see *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 543, and Malverne's *Cont. of Polychronicon*, IX, 79)—a date, which, as we shall see, is very close to the time of our poem.

<sup>15</sup> See Crowell, "Chaucer's 'Queen Anelida,'" *Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, 1892, p. 615.

<sup>16</sup> *Temple of Glas*, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser., LX, p. cxx.

<sup>16a</sup> "Anelida" as a word-play upon "Anne Welle" recalls the

or Anelida was the daughter of John, Lord Welle(s), the head of a great Lincolnshire family, which had held its lands of Welle and Alford and many other manors since the Conquest, and its barony since 1299.<sup>17</sup> Anne's father married in extreme youth a girl of royal blood, daughter of John, Lord Mowbray, and granddaughter of Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, sole heir of Thomas Plantagenet, the son of Edward I.—a descent not unworthy of a "Queen of Ermony." We first meet Anne as the wife of Ormonde in an Aylesbury deed of June 17, 1386 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*). She could not then have been more than sixteen, for her father,<sup>18</sup>—himself born of an eighteen-year

familiar "Philisides" for "Phili(p) Sid(ney) and "Art(h)egal" for "Arthur Grey." And who was Spenser's "Rosalinde?" Chaucer's "fair Anelida" (*Anelida and Arcite*, 139, 167) suggests that he was indebted to the romantic name ("la bella Analida"), which so admirably suited his enigmatic purpose. Tradition and word-play seem to contend in the two spellings, "Anelida" and "Annelida" of Chaucer's scribes and followers—a variation which probably goes back to Chaucer himself. I have discovered that Chaucer elsewhere uses the same device with even larger significance, but that is another story, which awaits the telling.

<sup>17</sup> For an account of the family and barony of Welle or Welles—Chaucer's day prefers the first spelling, as ours the second—see Massingberd, *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. VI (1900-1901), Dugdale, *Baronage*, II, 10, and Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, s. v. "Welles." Anne's nephew, Lionel, Lord Welle, was appointed Viceroy of Ireland in 1438, perhaps on account of his kinship with the Ormondes.

<sup>18</sup> On May 6, 1373, John, Lord Welle, proves his age and has seisin of his land, and the King takes his homage and fealty (*Cal. Close Rolls*). He had evidently attained his majority within a year. He was a "bonny fighter" in both public and private warfare. He served in both the French and the Scottish wars (Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. by Kervyn, VIII, 280, IX, 31). He was just under forty in 1390, when he ran a-tilt on London Bridge with Lindsay, Lord Crawford, for the honor of England against Scotland and was unhorsed after a gallant breaking of lances (John of Malverne, *Cont. of Polychronicon*, IX, 235; Holinshed's *Scotland*, (wrongly under 1398),

old father—was only eighteen or nineteen in 1370, and she was his second daughter.<sup>19</sup> She might have been less than sixteen in 1386, as in that day girls of twelve and boys of fourteen, particularly of the highest class, were frequently mated, and as no children came to her until four or five years later,<sup>20</sup> but we must remember that Chaucer is picturing Anelida not as a child but as a young woman.<sup>21</sup> For strong reasons that I shall give later, I am inclined to believe that she was married a year or two before 1386 and that Ormonde played her false within a year of the wedding. Even had she married in her cradle, she could not have become the Countess of Ormonde ("the Queen of Ermony") before October 16, 1382, when her young husband came into his title—hence a *terminus a quo* for our poem.

Anne Welle, Comtissa Ermonie, is Anelida, Queen of Ermony. But why should Chaucer give the name of Arcite to the man who had "wedded her heart to him with a ring," her lord, the young Earl of Ormonde? And the

Wyntoun, *Cronykill*, Bk. ix, ch. xi (1390), Stow's *Survey of London*, used by Kervyn, xxiii, 282, Wylie, *Hist. of Henry IV*, II, 62-63, etc.) He is frequently Commissioner for the Lindsay region of Lincolnshire, and is summoned to Parliament until his death in 1421.

<sup>19</sup> Her elder sister, Margery, married first John de Huntingfield and second, Lord Scrope of Masham (*Test, Eboracensia*, Surtees Soc., 1836, I, 385, II, 184). Margery died in 1422.

<sup>20</sup> Anne's eldest son, James, the fourth Earl of Ormonde, was born in 1390-1391, for he came of age in 13 Henry IV, 1411-1412 (Graves, *King's Council in Ireland*, pp. xxix, 281).

<sup>21</sup> The "twenty yeer of elde" of the heroine of *Anelida and Arcite* (l. 78) causes little difficulty, as a middle-aged bard, like a middle-aged professor, makes small distinction between sixteen and twenty. In those days girls matured early. On the other hand, Froissart tells us that Blanche of Lancaster was but twenty-two ("environ de vingt-deux ans"), when she was really twenty-eight (*Poesies*, Scheler, II, 8).

answer is simple. Because censure of an earl must be covert, no name that the poet could find anywhere, searched he ever so widely, would at once better conceal and reveal a nobleman of royal blood who was a d'Arcy on his mother's side. "Anelida" for Anne Welle and "Arcite" for d'Arcy!<sup>21a</sup> As everybody acquainted with the Irish peerage perfectly well remembered, the second Earl of Ormonde, known as "the noble earl" on account of his kingly strain, had been intrusted in early youth to the wardship of a man of great wisdom and valor, Sir John d'Arcy, five times lord justice of Ireland, who had wedded the young man to his daughter, Elizabeth, "a very honorable and wise lady."<sup>22</sup> This second Earl was justiciar to Chaucer's patron, Prince Lionel, when he was in Ireland as conqueror and ruler just about the time of the third Earl's birth (1362)—of which Lionel and his Irish residence

<sup>21a</sup> Chaucer's sly indication of Ormonde by a disguised form of the maternal d'Arcy will not seem forced to him who remembers that the mother's name of a man of rank was usually as well known as the father's, and indeed was not infrequently assumed for the sake of property or title (as by Froissart's Viscount D'Acy, sometimes called d'Aunay, *Chroniques*, x, 118, or by the Lusignans, who became d'Angles). Chaucer's "Arcite" for d'Arcy is as good word-play as the popular puns on King Richard's Ministers, Bush(ey), Bag(ot) and Green(e) (*Political Poems*, i, 363), and is much better than Gower's "Nova Villa Macedo" for Alexander de Neville, "Tribulus" for Brembel, and "hirundo" for Arundel (*Tripartite Chronicle*, i, 103, 154, 215), or than Skelton's "maris lupus" ("sea-wolf" or "wolf-sea") for Wolsey. Froissart's "(d')art" for the last syllable of his name, -art, offers a suggestive parallel (*L'Espinette Amoureuse*, 3380-3381):—"Je hantoie la tempree et tart Dont frois, dont chauds, navres d'un dart."

<sup>22</sup> See Carte, *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, lxix, Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, iv, 8-9, Gilbert, *Viceroy of Ireland*, chap. vi, *D. N. B.*, s. v. James Butler. Elizabeth d'Arcy was still alive at the time of *Anelida* and *Arcite*, having married shortly after her first husband's death Sir Robert Herford (*Cal. Close Rolls*, July 24, 1384).

much more anon. James, the third Earl, was a minor at his father's death, October 18, 1382, as appears from a record in the Escheator's account of 19 Richard II. (Carte), but he must have been of age a year later, when the King sends a mandate to Philip de Courtenay to permit his kinsman, James Boteller, son and heir of the late Earl of Ormonde to come to England to do homage in person for his lands.<sup>23</sup> Certainly he was twenty-one by 1384 when he was appointed deputy to this same lord lieutenant. He was much in England in his young manhood,<sup>24</sup> and had thus ample opportunity of meeting at court the young daughter of Lord Welle, or at least her father. In his early twenties he wins the good will and bounty of Richard by his "good service in Ireland."<sup>25</sup> and receives from the King on November 9, 1385, the belt of knighthood.<sup>26</sup>

Is there any proof that the third Earl gave his wife such "unkind cause for grief" as his name-fellow, Arcite, in our poem? There are against him two pieces of evidence more potent than any pages in Froissart or in Walsingham; and these are his two illegitimate sons<sup>27</sup> both born in the early or middle eighties of the fourteenth century, when Chaucer was writing *Anelida*. The first of these was Thomas le Botiller, the "Baccagh" or "Lame," a notable person in the Ireland of 1406 to 1419. When on January 2 of the earlier year, the King granted to him, then a brother of the military order of Hospitallers at Kil-

<sup>23</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Nov. 16, 1383.

<sup>24</sup> See *Cal. Pat. Rolls* for the presentation of three men successively (Jan. 20, 1383, Mar. 18, 1383, June 23, 1384) to the church of Retherfield Pippard in Oxon., by reason of their custody of the land and heir of James, late Earl of Ormonde.

<sup>25</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, March 10, 1385.

<sup>26</sup> Malverne, *Cont. of Polychronicon*, ix, 70.

<sup>27</sup> See Carte, *Life of Duke of Ormonde*, lxxiii.

mainham, pardon for all former breaches of the peace, he must have been at least twenty-one. By May 1, 1408 he had become Prior of Kilmainham, and had already won so high a reputation that he was soon appointed deputy by Thomas of Lancaster during that prince's absence in England.<sup>28</sup> His later career was glorious, for he was a strong man, like all of the Butler blood. Thomas could hardly have been born after 1384 or 1385. The other natural son, who bore his father's name, James le Botiller, was appointed by the King on February 15, 1408,<sup>29</sup> a member of a commission to investigate sedition in Kilkenny, Waterford and Tipperary—a post which suggests full age. The year 1386 would seem to be the latest possible date of the birth of James, who became the ancestor of the Lords of Cahir (Carte). It is possible that both of these bastards were born before Ormonde's marriage to Anne Welle—which was some time before June 1386—but it is not probable, for, in such case, they, being men of weight with large family influence, would have come earlier into public notice. But whatever be the dates of their birth, their very existence sustains our Ormonde identification. We are merely seeking an exposition of James Butler the third Earl's life which will harmonize facts, as far as we know them, with Chaucer's story of Arcite's liaison. Had he resembled his father, "the chaste Earl," *Anelida and Arcite* could never have been written of him. The

<sup>28</sup> *Rot. Claus. Hiberniae*, Jan. 2, 1406; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, May 1, 1408; Gilbert, *Viceroy of Ireland*, 300-301, 309-310. When Wylie tells us (*Hist. of Henry IV*, chap. xlv, II, 136) that the Prior had already served for four or five years with a great company of horse and foot in Cork, Tipperary and Kilkenny, he is confounding him with his father's brother, who was also Thomas Butler (*Graves, King's Council in Ireland*, pp. 20, 109, 210, 220).

<sup>29</sup> *Rot. Pat. Hiberniae*.

love-story of the third Earl of Ormonde's youth is unpleasant, but surely not uncommon in its period. A young noble of great gifts and high promise marries, in his early twenties, a girl some eight years his junior and does not keep his square, finding his pleasure in that irresponsible East of the social world where bairns are unlawfully got. This was the domestic crisis which moved Chaucer to a pitch of moral indignation, strange to his genial nature. He admits that Arcite, like Elizabeth d'Arcy's son, was "yong and therwithal a lusty knight," but he wrathfully blames and makes the youth's lady blame his doubleness and subtlety in love, and finally reveals him degraded by base servility to a wilful and unworthy woman.

Chaucer again returns to the charge in the falcon's story of "The Squire's Tale." Skeat has noted that "the character of Arcite is precisely that of the false tercelet in Part II of "The Squire's Tale," and Anelida is like the falcon in the same."<sup>30</sup> The parallel passages are many,<sup>31</sup> and the poet evidently wrote the second poem with the first before him. The speaking bird of folk-tales may be, as Clouston says, "essentially Asiatic,"<sup>32</sup> but this particu-

<sup>30</sup> *Complete Works of Chaucer*, I, 534. So also Wells, *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, 631, and Langhans, *Anglia*, XLIV, 1920, 244.

<sup>31</sup> Skeat remarks that "the whole of the passage in 'The Squire's Tale,' 548 f., is a recast of Chaucer's earlier poem of *Anelida*," where Lamech is introduced just in the same way (l. 150). The courtly convention of the lover serving long for his lady is emphasized in both (*Anelida*, 99, F. 523). In both the lover obeys at first the lady's will (*Anelida*, 119, F. 569), but afterwards errs through "new-fangelnesse" (*Anelida*, 141, F. 610). In both green is the color of inconstancy (*Anelida*, 146, F. 644), and the recreant male is a thief (*Anelida*, 161, F. 537). In both there is much sorrow over the deserted one (*Anelida*, 162, F. 462-463), who suffers the pangs of hell (*Anelida*, 166, F. 448), and weeps, wails and swoons (*Anelida*, 169, F. 412, 417, 430, 631).

<sup>32</sup> Compare Farnham's suggestive articles on *The Parlement of*

lar bird does not come out of India or out of Iran, but out of Erin in its flight from the helmet of the Butlers, being the crest of both their Irish houses of Ormonde and Mountgarrett, and even now a supporter of their arms.<sup>33</sup> But the bird is not only a falcon, but a "faucon peregryn of fremde land" (F. 421-422). Now what is the significance of this breed? The author of "The Book of St. Albans,"<sup>33a</sup> Dame Juliana Berners or another, who knew well both heraldry and falconry, remarks that "a tercel gentle is for a prince, a falcon of the rock for a duke, and a falcon peregrine, that is for an earl." So in *The Parlement of Foules* the tercel eagles are royal (cf. lines 340-341, "The gentil faucon that with his feet distreyneth the Kinges hond), and the "tercelet of the falcon"—that is, the male of the peregrine—is the spokesman of the English nobility (l. 529), whose representative title was then that of earl, as dukes were royal and marquises were rare. All this is very much to the point, since we now know that the Earl and Countess of Ormonde inspired the *Anelida* and *Arcite* prototype of the falcon's story. And the love-tale of the birds, like that of the noble pair,

*Foules*, P. M. L. A., xxxii (1917), 492 f.; *Univ. of Wisconsin Studies*, 1918, 340 f.

<sup>33</sup> Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. iv, s. v. "Mountgarret"; Burke, *Peerage of Great Britain*, s. v. "Ormonde"; Carte, *Life of Duke of Ormonde*, p. xxv. The nobles of the late fourteenth century are frequently indicated in contemporary verse by their badges, supporters or crests. In "King Richard's Ministers," in "Richard the Redeles," in Gower's "Tripartite Chronicle" (all of them printed by Wright in *Political Poems*, I, 363-454) the Duke of Lancaster and his son Henry are Eagles, the Duke of Gloucester is the Swan, the Earl of Oxford the Boar, the Earl of Warwick the Bear, the Earl of Arundel the Horse, and the Percies and Nevilles Geese and Peacocks. So in later ages Anne Boleyn is the White Falcon; and Lady Douglas Howard is the White Lioness (*Daphnaida*).

<sup>33a</sup> Reprint of 1496 edition, C, V.

of which more anon, concludes with complete reconciliation. Chaucer promises to narrate (F. 654-657):

How that this faucon gat hir love ageyn  
 Repentant, as the storie telleth us,  
 By mediacioun of Cambalus,  
 The kinges sone, of which I yow tolde.<sup>20b</sup>

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<sup>20b</sup> One who feels in Part II of "The Squire's Tale" the presence of historical allegory finds his thoughts turned by this mention of the "mediation of Cambalus the King's son" to the Earl of Cambridge, the son of King Edward (*D. N. B. s. v.* Edmund Langley). Besides the aptness of word-play, the identification has not a little in its favor, as this prince knew Ormonde, receiving ducal honors on the very November day of 1385 on which the Irish Earl was knighted (Malverne, *Polychronicon*, ix, 70). Moreover he was well qualified both by temper and experiences to be a mediator between wife and false husband. A man of gentle nature, he keenly resented Robert de Vere's infidelity to his niece, Philippa de Coucy, at this very period, and he himself had suffered from a wife's unfaith,—the probable theme of *The Complaint of Mars*. That, when "The Squire's Tale" was in the making, he had been for several years Duke of York is not a strong objection to this equation of names, as Edmund retained with the greater title the lesser by which he had been long known. On September 29, 1386, payments out of the customs were made to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Buckingham and Essex and to Edmund, Duke of York and Earl of Cambridge (*Life Records of Chaucer*, iv, 263). It is a far more potent objection—which to some will seem final—that the name "Cambalus" or "Cambalo" is conferred, independently of the falcon's plight, upon "the kinges sone" in Part I (F. 31), which is sheer romance; and that his kinspeople, Cambuskan and Canace and Algarsife, have no allegorical significance. Yet ten lines after our passage (F. 667) Chaucer so confuses the identity of Cambalo that he makes him, as Skeat says in his note, "quite a different person from the Cambalus in F. 656 (called Cambalo in F. 31). He is Canace's lover, who is to fight in the lists against her brothers, Cambalo and Algarsife, and win her." So Protean a personality may well serve the ends of allegory. My conclusion of the whole matter is that, while the identification of Cambalus and Cambridge is not improbable, it is not demonstrable by a mass of accumulative evidence like the equations of *Anelida* and *Arcite*. It is sheer co-

However particular interpretations of *The Parlement of Foules* may vary,<sup>33c</sup> scholars, with few exceptions, concur in the belief that the chief birds of the poem are allegorical representatives of great ones of the earth in their hour of young love. Hence our inference that Canace's falcon disguises, and at times very thinly (F. 542, 558, etc.), a woman of high birth and rank, castle-bred ("fostered in a roche of marbul gray"), who suffered much from the doubleness and feigning of a false lover,<sup>33d</sup> is entirely in accord with other workings of Chaucer's fancy. Like every great artist, the poet lifts his theme of love forsworn out of the depths of one man's untruth to the shaky pinnacles of world-old and world-wide deception of trusting womanhood, yet his starting-point is Arcite's or d'Arcy's perjured self. He may well have been thinking of Ormonde's splendid youth, when he pictures (F. 622-623) the tercelet as

gentil born and fresh and gay  
And goodly for to seen and humble and free.

Chaucer, after his desultory wont, left the story of *Anelida and Arcite* incomplete. Life finished the tale very happily. Whatever the lapses of youth, the third Earl wore his manhood hale and green. By 1387, when he was

incidence doubtless that Cambridge was the keeper of the royal falcons—"The Kyng then made the Duke of Yorke mayster of the mewhouse and his haukes fayre" (Harding's *Chronicle*)—and was therefore well fitted to compose their domestic differences.

<sup>33c</sup> See Miss Rickert, "A New Interpretation of *The Parlement of Foules*," *Modern Philology*, May, 1920.

<sup>33d</sup> Skeat recognizes the humanity of the story, though not its allegorical import, in his note to F. 499:—"The numerous expressions in this narrative certainly show that the falcon was really a princess (cf. F. 559), who had been changed into a falcon for a time, as is so common in the Arabian Tales. Thus in line 500, the roche or rock may be taken to signify a palace, and the tercelet (line 504) to be a prince. This gives the whole story a human interest."

twenty-four or five, he seemed quite ready to "range himself" in the then approved fashion. On April 4 of that year<sup>34</sup> a license was granted to the King's kinsman, James, Earl of Ormonde, to found a house of Friars Minor in Aylesbury, Bucks, and to alienate to them in mort-main ten acres of land there.<sup>35</sup> Over two hundred years later, Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormonde, Elizabeth's Earl and Leicester's rival, atoned for the sins of his younger time (he also left two illegitimate children) by founding, in his last will, the Hospital of Our Blessed Saviour of Kilkenny.<sup>36</sup> Was not his predecessor, the third Earl, by his Aylesbury foundation, likewise making amends for slips in sensual mire? "This faucon gat hir love ageyn repentant." Our Ormonde also began to build earthly mansions. He reared the castle of Danesfort and, by building and making the castle of Gowran his usual residence, was commonly called the Earl of Gowran; finally, in September, 1392, he concluded the purchase of the great castle of Kilkenny, which, afterwards became the chief seat of the family (the "brave mansione" of Spenser's sonnet to the Elizabethan Ormonde). The homing instinct, unsuspected in the roving Arcite, was now strong within him, and Anelida at last came into her kingdom. His heirs were born: James, the future Earl, in 1390-1391, as we have seen; and, some three or four years later, Richard (ancestor of the eighth Earl of Or-

<sup>34</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*.

<sup>35</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 1509, mentions the foundation—"Aylesbury, a house of Grey Friars at South end of the town, founded by James, Earl of Ormonde, in 1387—their revenues were valued at 3 £, 2s, 5d, only, in the reign of Henry VIII." For further description of the house, see Leland, *Itinerary*, iv, 129, and for discussion of an effigy found there see *Archaeologia* L, 84, and Lysons, *Account of Parishes in Middlesex*, 1800, i, 502.

<sup>36</sup> See Carte, Introduction, cxviii.

monde), sponsored by the King himself, when he visited Ireland in 1394. Our Earl became—all this seems too good to be true—a model unto fathers. A nobleman of great accomplishments, master of several languages, he “took great care with the education of his sons, so that his successor was not only a man of good parts, but (which was rare in noblemen at that time) possessor of a great deal of learning” (Carte). He was twice Lord Justice of Ireland (1392, 1404) and, in 1403, Constable of the kingdom—in every way the strongest man in the country, “head of the chivalry of Erin,” the Irish annalists call him.<sup>37</sup> Froissart gleans from his Irish acquaintance, Henry Cristède,<sup>38</sup> a circumstantial account of the Earl of Ormonde’s good offices in bringing to King Richard at Dublin, March 24, 1395, four Irish kings, who performed their vigils in Christ Church and were the next day knighted by the king and sat at his table. The third Earl died in his early forties on September 7, 1405 “post multos egregios labores pro defensione legii populi Hibernie,”<sup>39</sup> crowned with wealth and honors—a man whose last state was better than his first. Anne Welle or Anelida was only thirty-five or so, when her husband died—if, indeed she survived him. Of her later life we can only make pleasant guesses, and trust that God gave her, too, a fair ending.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Graves, *King's Council in Ireland*, *passim*, Wylie, II, 126 f.

<sup>38</sup> *Chroniques*, ed. by Kervyn, xv, 177 f.

<sup>39</sup> *Chartularies of St. Mary's*, II, 326.

<sup>40</sup> The contemporary values of *Anelida and Arcite* seem to have passed unnoticed in the next century. Shirley, in his wonted ignorance (according to Manly, *Modern Philology*, XI, 226, he never possesses an authoritative tradition), misses completely the hidden meaning of the poem, when he calls it in his headings both of Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20, and of BM Addit, 16165, “The Complaint of Anelida Queen of Cartage,” and adds in the first MS, that it was “Englised by Geoffrey Chaucer” (Hammond, 356-

Now, in the light of our identification of Anelida and her false knight, let us analyze her story. At the outset it is necessary to remark that two elements temper Chaucer's realism in his version of a contemporary love-tale: needful circumspection and the all-powerful literary tradition of courtly love. As I have already suggested, a poet's censure of a great nobleman must be covert, particularly if the poet is writing in the fourteenth century. He must not shout out from the housetops that James Butler, third Earl of Ormonde, has been untrue to his wife, born Anne Welle, but he must say all this subtly, concealing as well as revealing. Chaucer must be able to allege an alibi, if taxed too persistently by Ormonde's friends, and hence, as everyone will admit, he treads most meticulously on delicate and dangerous ground. Both discretion and courtly conventions forbade much emphasis on the marriage relation of the lovers; but that Anelida was a wife was conveyed in her title of Queen (71, 147, 351), in the comparison (81-82) of her steadfastness to that of those stately matrons, Penelope and Lucretia, to whom no maiden would be likened, in the plighting of troth with her lover and the taking of him as her knight (223-228) and in the 'wedding of her heart to him with a ring' (131). By

357). The copyist's "Hermony" of Harl, 7333, and the colophon, "Hermenye" in both Phillipps 8299 and Pepys 2006, disguise the word-play. In *The Complaint of the Black Knight*, Lydgate does not recognize the false Arcite as more modern than the true. The authoress (if the writer be woman) of *The Assembly of Ladies* is writing either during the Wars of the Roses, when the name of Robert de Welle(s), the Lincolnshire captain, was resounding through England (*Camden Miscellany*, I, 20) or a generation later, when the last of the Welles, now a Viscount, was half-uncle to King Henry VII. But she has doubtless no suspicion that "Anelida the Queen," whom she cites (ll. 465-466), was a lady of that ancient English family. It does not appear that the poem has been read aright since Chaucer's own day.

each and all of these means the marriage relation of the Duke and the Duchess of Lancaster had been suggested in *The Book of the Duchesse*.<sup>40a</sup> Chaucer did not call the false husband, "the King of Ermony," for three sufficient reasons: it was not the part of prudence to point the finger of reproach too markedly at the powerful Earl of

<sup>40a</sup> In *The Book of the Duchesse* the lady is, in her death, the lost "fers" or queen (655, 669, 681, 741), she is as good as Penelope or as the noble wife, Lucretia (1080)—the wifely paragons of the *Roman de la Rose* (8694)—she exchanges vows with her lover and receives him as her knight (1178-1224) and she gives him a ring (1271); yet throughout, in accord with romantic conventions, the words "marriage" and "husband" are never used. As Anelida is "the lady" of Arcite (100, 228, 251), so the fair "Whyte" is "the lady" of the bereaved knight (478, 483, 859, 949, 967, 1055, 1089, 1110, 1179, 1225, 1269). Francis Thynne, with an ignorance of medieval conventions perhaps pardonable in 1599, suggested in his *Animadversions* (Chaucer Soc. 1876, p. 30) that "Whyte" was not the Duchess, but "a Miss Whyte, one of the Duke's paramours." Only the uninitiated of our time will similarly plead that Anelida and Arcite are not a married pair. There are many other striking parallels in the stories of the two wives. The fairness of each is compared to the brightness of the sun (*Anelida*, 73; *Duchesse*, 821). In each case Nature rejoices in the beauty of her handiwork (*Anelida*, 80; *Duchesse*, 908, 1195). Both women surpass all others in "trouthe" (*Anelida*, 75-76, *Duchesse*, 999). The knight in black serves long for his lady (*Duchesse*, 1095, 1145, 1200), and Arcite "had ful mikel besynesse, er that he mighte his lady winne" (*Anelida*, 99-100). Each will die if his love is rejected (*Anelida*, 101, *Duchesse*, 1265). Many of these things are, of course, the veriest commonplaces of courtly love (see Dodd, *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, pp. 107-118). Both love-stories are dowered with the romantic setting of a far-off and glamorous world: the *Duchesse* with that of the mythical Octovien, Emperor of Rome; the *Anelida* with that of the equally mythical Theseus and Ipolita. Moreover the contemporary identification of the lovers and their titles is indicated in both by very skilful word-play: "a long castle (Lancaster) with walls white (Blanche), by St. John! (John) on a rich hill (Richmond)"; and Anelida (Anne Welle), Queen of Ermony (Countess of Ermon or Ormonde), and Arcite (the Earl of d'Arcy blood).

Ormonde; it was not in accord with the erotic code, which here served the poet's literary purpose, to present protagonists as man and wife <sup>40b</sup>—save, as we have seen, by implication; and it was not possible to resist the lure of a name (most opportunely provided by the *Teseide*) which would link, however loosely, his story of unhappy love with Boccaccio's mighty personages of fable, "the Theban knight Arcite," for this name became a capital device for indicating the Irish-born nobleman of d'Arcy stock accurately but not too committally. Why should Boccaccio's pattern of lovers, Arcite, later exalted by Chaucer himself in *The Knight's Tale*, be pictured as false, save that the poet needed the name for just such word-play as this? The introduction of Anelida as "Queen of Ermony" at the very beginning of her story (71-72), which is laid in Thebes (she is "in that toun dwellinge"), is closely in accord with the facts of Anne Welle's life, as this Lincolnshire woman was already Countess of Ormonde, when she first came to the English pale of Ireland (which I shall later identify with Thebes). What else could or would Chaucer call her? Neither the postponement of Arcite's full-length appearance until two stanzas later, nor the summary of his wooing warrants the inference that the lady was "Queen of Ermony" before Arcite met her, for, if we substitute the real names for the romantic, we learn merely that the Earl had "ful mikel besynesse" before he won his Countess, like the lover in *The Book of the*

<sup>40b</sup> The medieval poet employs the formulas of courtly love, illicit in its origin and often in its nomenclature, even when portraying fidelity to marriage vows or assailing an unfaithful husband. The Victorian laureate, on the other hand, speaks the language of the domestic sanctities, even in the wildwood of classical mythology. Tennyson's mountain nymph, Oenone, once beloved of Paris, cries "Husband," as she leaps upon the funeral pile.

*Duchesse* and like the tercelet of *The Squire's Tale* who served many a year for his peregrine falcon.<sup>40c</sup> Chaucer yields more to the pressure of fact and clings closer to actual conditions than most courtly poets would in an imaginative treatment of a like situation. Dodd is altogether just in declaring <sup>40d</sup> that "the elaborate stanzaic devices (of the 'Complaint') produce an effect of artificiality which the sentiments, ideas and language serve only to strengthen," and he is equally right in adding that "in the narrative, on the other hand, there is abundant vitality and spirit." Chaucer is presumably close to real life in the pleasing picture of Anelida's full confidence in Arcite, which she prettily displays by showing all her letters to him; in the relentless exposure of Arcite's feigned jealousy and his treacherous charges of his lady's falseness; and particularly in the vivid portrayal of the high-handedness of "the new lady"—the kite of the falcon's story. In *Anelida and Arcite* romance and reality amply reinforce each other; and both the circumspection of Chaucer the man and the conventions of Chaucer the artist fail to distort or discolor the facts as we know them.

Now what was Chaucer's purpose in linking his story of an Irish earl's disloyalty to his countess with such far-off persons and places as Theseus and Ipolita and Scythia and Thebes, with all which they have historically as little to do as Shakspere's "rude mechanicals" of Athens with the same heroes? Surely not all this pother for the mere sake of the Arcite word-play! Was it for mystification only that Chaucer engrafted upon the blended growths of the *Thebais* and the *Teseide* such an excrescence as this bit

<sup>40c</sup> *The Squire's Tale*, F. 524 f. This length of service is doubtless a concession to time-honored convention (*supra*), as Anne Welle's extreme youth forbids belief in very long wooing.

<sup>40d</sup> Dodd, *Courtly Love*, p. 107.

of scandal from the contemporary high-life of Ireland? That would be very poor art, unless the poet succeeded in harmonizing his very borrowings with the life and environment of his chief figures. And I think that he did succeed. The introductory portion of his narrative (ll. 22-70), which owes many of its lines to Statius and Boccaccio, is capable of interpretation in terms of Irish history, without in the least forcing the text or wresting the words and names from their true calling. And Chaucer, as he wrought, taking this bit from the Latin; that from the Italian, and adding here and there lines of his own, was, we may be sure, cunningly aware of every modern implication.

The story thus begins:

"Whan Theseus with werres longe and grete  
The aspre folk of Cithe had overcome,"

What is Scythia ("Cithe"), and who is Theseus? To the man of the Middle Ages Ireland was Scythian in its origin and Scythian in its manners. In the eighth century, Bede<sup>41</sup> and Nennius<sup>42</sup> and their contemporaries regard it as "Scotia," the island of the Scots, who are men of Scythian descent. The early Irish chroniclers, from the ninth century, stoutly allege a Scythian source for their race.<sup>42a</sup> In the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>43</sup> notes two Scythian settlements of Ireland, that of Nemedus and his progeny, who inhabited it for over two hun-

<sup>41</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 1.

<sup>42</sup> *History of the Britons*, sect. 15.

<sup>42a</sup> Among the references usually cited in this connection are the *Leabhar Gabhála* of *The Book of Leinster*, *The Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. by Donovan, 1851), *The General History of Ireland* by Keating, and the *Genealogies* of MacFirbis. See *Chronicon Scotorum* ("Chronicles of the Irish"), *Rolls Ser.*, p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> *Topographia Hiberniae*, dist. III, sects. 1-6.

dred years until their race was overcome by Giants, and that of Dela and his sons, who possessed the whole land, of which the youngest Slanius finally obtained the mastery, and one Spanish settlement, that of Milesius. Edmund Spenser, in his *View of the State of Ireland*, indignantly denies any Spanish strain in Irish blood, and argues at great length that the Irish are truly Scythian in their mantles, their war-cries, their vows and oaths, their arms, their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of feasting.<sup>44</sup> And in Chaucer's day these later Scythians or "wild Irish" were "aspre folk." Henry Cristède's wonderful narrative of the Ireland of Richard II.'s time, which Froissart has incorporated in his *Chronicles*, is thus rendered by Berners:<sup>45</sup> "Ireland is one of the yvell countreis of the world to make warre upon or to bring under subjection, for it is closed strongly and wydely with high forests and great waters and marshes and places uninhabitable. It is herde to entre to do them of the countrey any dommage, nor ye shall se no town nor persone to speke withal, for the men drawe to the woodes and dwell in caves and small cotages under trees and among busshes and hedges like wylde savage beasts. . . . They be herde people and of rude engyn and wytte and of divers frequentations and usages, they sette nothing by jolite nor fresshe apparell, nor by nobleness, for though their realm be sovereignly governed by kynges, wherof they have plentie, yet they will take no knowledge of gentylness, but will continue in their rudenesse, as they are brought up."<sup>45a</sup>

<sup>44</sup> See Elton, *Origins of English History*, pp. 154, 169, etc.

<sup>45</sup> See Kervyn's ed. xv, 169, and Berner's trsl. ch. ccii.

<sup>45a</sup> For other accounts of "The wilde Irish" see "Libel of English Policy," 1437 (*Political Poems*, II, 185). Borde's "Introduction of Knowledge," 1542, p. 132, and Stanyhurst in Holinshed, chap. viii.

And Theseus? We must seek the man, who not only conquered Scythia, but who married the Scythian Queen. If the "Queen of Ermony" is the Countess of Ormonde, the "Queen of Scythia" is Elizabeth de Burgh, in her own right Countess of Ulster and Lady of Connaught (the Scottish or Scythian lands of the North), whom Chaucer served in his younger time.<sup>45b</sup> She had inherited her titles in her babyhood, when her father, Earl William, was murdered in 1333. The authority of England was almost totally repudiated in Connaught, and very little of her vast heritage was in Elizabeth's hands.<sup>46</sup> King Edward III made the heiress his ward and affianced her to his third son, Prince Lionel, who assumed her titles several years before the marriage of the boy of fourteen and the woman of twenty-one in 1352. Nine years later in 1361 Lionel was sent by his father with a very strong army to Ireland—not only to win his wife's lost possessions back again, but to defend all the lands of English proprietors against the enemy. "Our Irish dominions," wrote the King, "have been reduced to such utter devastation, ruin and misery that they may be totally lost, if our subjects there are not immediately succored."<sup>47</sup> Lionel's wife, the Countess of Ulster, lands with him on September 15,

<sup>45b</sup> That Ulster is preëminently the Scythian province, Spenser's words show (*View of State of Ireland*): "Surely the Scythians, at such time as the Northerne Nations overflowed all Christendome, came downe to the sea-coast, where inquiring for other countries abroad, and getting intelligence of this countrey of Ireland, finding shipping convenient, passed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called Ulster, which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the land, as their numbers increased, named it all of themselves Scuttenland, which more briefly is called Scutland, or Scotland." All this is very much to our purpose.

<sup>46</sup> Gilbert's *Viceroy's of Ireland*, p. 215.

<sup>47</sup> Rymer's *Foedera*, March 15, 1361.

1361.<sup>48</sup> Ipolita rides with Theseus. And Lionel of England, to become a twelvemonth later Duke of Clarence, was an heroic figure, in his semblance a worthy modern counterpart of Theseus, likewise prince and duke. Harding tells us in his Chronicle:

In all the world was then no prince him lyke  
Of hie stature and of all semelynesse;  
Above all men within his hole kyngrike  
By the shulders he might be seen doutlesse;  
As a mayde in halle of gentilesse,  
And in all other places sonne to rethorike,  
And in the felde a lyon Marmorike.\*

Chaucer pictures Theseus honored for his victories over the Scythians, "with his triumph and laurer-crowned thus," "in all the floure of fortunes yevinge." The sober annalist of St. Mary's writes of Lionel's victories over the "wild Irish" in 1361 and 1362: "Leonellus redegit totum populum tam de Anglia, quam de Hibernia in unum, et bene prosperatur et fecit plura bella circumquaque cum Hibernicis cum adjutorio Dei et populi Hibernie." Far less success than this on the part of a prince will feed the enthusiasm of a poet of the court looking back through the years on the valor of young royalty. But Lionel's triumph was only temporary. He withdrew from Ireland in 1367, having failed to regain his wife's lands.

Although Statius, whom Chaucer is following just here,

\* *Chartularies of St. Mary's*, II, 395, A. D., 1361:—"Leonellus, Comes Ultonie, jure hereditario uxoris sue et filius Domini Regis Anglie, venit in Hiberniam, Tenens-locum Domini Regis Anglie, et applicuit apud Dublin in octava die Beate Virginis Nativitatis, ducens secum uxorem suam, Elizabetham, filiam et heredem Domini Willelmi de Burgo, Comitis Ultonie."

\* This passage in Harding is quoted, with much other information about Lionel in Professor Cook's valuable monograph, "The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron," *Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, Dec., 1916. See also *D. N. B. s. v.* "Lionel."

does not mention Emily, the English poet takes the younger lady out of the *Teseide*, and puts her with her sister, Ipolita, in Theseus' golden chariot of victory. Why? Not, I think, because she is needed for the story of Anelida, in which she plays no part, but rather it would seem, because the Countess of Ulster's younger sister was among the great nobles summoned to Ireland in Lionel's train. Who was this sister? Elizabeth was her father's sole daughter and heir. But, after his early death in 1333, her mother Matilda or Maud Plantagenet had married Ralph Ufford, Viceroy of Ireland (1344-1346), and had borne to him a daughter, to whom she had given her own name. Before May 1, 1358, Maud Ufford married Thomas de Vere, eighth Earl of Oxford—her name appears with his in a deed of that date (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*). Among the proprietors of Irish lands summoned by royal command to attend Lionel in his expedition of 1361 are the Earl and Countess of Oxford.<sup>50</sup> On February 10, 1362, they are again ordered by the King to be in Ireland within a fortnight of Easter. In lines that are his own Chaucer pictures this notable gathering (ll. 34-35):

Many a bright helm and many a spere and targe,  
 Many a fresh knight and many a blisful route.  
 On hors, on fote, in al the felde aboute

"Emily" <sup>51</sup> may well have ridden in her sister's com-

<sup>50</sup> This is Edward's summons to his nobles (*Foedera*, March 15, 1361): "Ordinavimus quod Leonellus, comes Ultonie, filius noster carissimus cum ingenti exercitu ad terram pradietam (Hiberniam) cum omni festinatione transmitteretur. Et quod omnes magnates et alii de dicto regno nostro terras in dicta terra Hiberniae habentes quanto potentius poterunt in comitiva dicti filii nostri profiscerentur, vel si debiles in corpore existant loco eorum alios sufficientes ibidem mittant."

<sup>51</sup> A woman of character, this Maud Ufford or de Vere, well worthy to foreshadow Emily. In 1386, when her son, Richard's favorite,

pany. To that sister, Chaucer's first patroness, the Countess of Ulster, the poet pays a splendid compliment, for which his original gives no warrant (40-42):

Al the ground aboute hir char she spradde  
With brightnesse of the beautee in hir face,  
Fulfilde of largesse and of alle grace.

Elizabeth or "Ipolita" shared the seeming triumphs of only the first two years of her husband's campaign in Ireland, as she died in 1363, four years before Lionel left that unhappy country, vowing never to return.

But what, may be asked, has Lionel's expedition of 1361 to do with a love story of some twenty-five years afterward? Just as much or just as little as Theseus and Ipolita and Emily in the poem have to do with Anelida and Arcite, who may very well be the creatures of another generation. After Theseus and his troop have ridden finally out of the story (45-46), the reader hears of long and bloody wars between Thebes and Greece (50-75). Not until these are over, do the lovers appear. Chaucer revives youthful memories of Ireland and its wars—either hearsay or, as I think, actual observation in the train of Lionel and his Countess—before passing to the contemporary scandal of the great Irish house of Ormonde. Henry Cristède, Froissart's acquaintance, tells in a few pages<sup>52</sup> a story already quoted of Ireland that blends the recollections of his youth, when he rode by the side of the

Robert de Vere (1362-1392), the notorious Duke of Ireland, abandoned his wife, Isabella de Coucy, the Countess of Oxford "took the Duchess to her and kept her still in her estate, and such as owed the lady any good will gave her great thanks therefore." (Froissart, XII, 328.) After Richard's death she was arrested and imprisoned for spreading the report that the King was still alive (Walsingham, II, 262). "Emily" died on January 25, 1413 (*Eulogium Historiae*).

<sup>52</sup> *Chroniques*, xv, 168-178.

second Earl of Ormonde before Lionel came to the country in 1361, with his account of the third Earl's good offices as a peacemaker between Richard and four Irish kings thirty-five years later. So Chaucer, great story-teller that he is, creates for those who can read between the lines an Irish atmosphere before telling an Irish story.

There is yet more to note. We are twice reminded that Arcite is a "Theban knight" (ll. 85, 210).<sup>52a</sup> And Theban, as opposed to Scythian or "wild Irish," must mean, as Ormonde is one, the Englishman by blood, descendant of the Anglo-Norman settlers of two centuries before, the de Burghs, the Fitz-Geralds, the Fitz-Maurices, the Fitz-Walters or Butlers. As Gilbert says,<sup>53</sup> "The feuds in the colony between the English by birth (Chaucer's 'people of Greece') and the English by blood ('people of Thebes') reached such an alarming height that Edward ordered the Viceroy and Chancellor to interfere in composing those dissensions, and to punish with fine and imprisonment of two years all English subjects, born in England or Ireland, who, within his Irish territories, should use contumelious language to one another or engage in quarrels or strife among themselves." William de Burgh (Theban), father of Chaucer's Countess, was slain by the Mandevilles, and his own kinsmen became an Irish sept under the name of MacWilliam. John de Bermingham, Earl of Louth (Theban), was murdered by Gernors, Cusacks, Evarards and other English settlers (Grecians). The mutinous de Berminghams (Thebans),

<sup>52a</sup> It is possible that Chaucer, in calling Ormonde a "Theban knight" is recalling the knighthood conferred upon the Earl in November, 1385, but it is much more probable that he is merely using the phrase in accord with courtly convention, as in *The Book of the Duchesse* (*supra*).

<sup>53</sup> *Viceroy of Ireland*, p. 221.

becoming a sept under the name of MacPheorais, sought to eject the King's Chief Barón and later to hold to ransom the English Chancellor (men of Greece). The Le Poers (Thebans) joining their naval forces to those of such "Scythians" as the O'Driscolls, sailed against Waterford and slew the Sheriff, the Master of the Hospital of St. John, and many citizens and merchants of importance, and "hewed and cut to pieces" the body of the Mayor. Even Thebans like the Ormondes and the Desmonds were constantly at feud.

Mars, which that through his furious course of yre  
The olde wrath of Juno to fulfille,  
Hath set the peples hertes bothe on fyre  
Of Thebes and Grece, everich other to kille  
With bloody speres, ne rested never stille,  
But throng now her now ther, among hem bothe,  
That everich other slough, so wer they wrothe.

The mouth-filling Greek and Theban names that follow in the poem may easily be matched with those of Anglo-Norman warriors of Ireland who engaged in fratricidal strife. The last act of Lionel's administration was the enactment, by the colonial parliament during the first week of Lent, 1367, of the famous statute of Kilkenny, designed to heal the difference between the English born in England and the English born in Ireland, and to prohibit intercourse and intermarriage between the English and the Irish.<sup>54</sup>

During the term of Lionel's successor as Viceroy, Gerald, fourth Earl of Desmond, a Theban of strong character and wide influence, who may possibly be "the olde Creon,"<sup>54a</sup> a statute was enacted at Guilford in 1368,

<sup>54</sup> *Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland*, ed. by Berry, I, 430.

<sup>54a</sup> I do not wish to press this identification, but Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, was the only ruling spirit who fills the gap between

ordering that "all persons of whatsoever state or degree who claimed to have any lordships, lands, or other possessions in Ireland should, without excuse or delay, go and dwell there before Easter, 1369, with their families and establishments and with men-at-arms and other soldiery, according to the extent of their estates." This enactment, or some similar one equally drastic,—which dealt to "absentee landlordism" a blow, from which it may not have recovered at the date of *Anelida and Arcite*—must have been in Chaucer's thought, when he thus departed widely from his original, the *Teseide* (64-70):

And whan the olde Creon gan espye  
How that the blood roial was broght adoun,  
He held the cite by his tirannye,  
And did the gentils of that regioun  
To ben his frendes, and dwellen in the toun.  
So what for love of him, and what for awe,  
The noble folk wer to the toun y-drawe,

"The cite" or "the toun" (Thebes) is evidently the English pale.

As we have seen, the names upon which Chaucer plays so artfully, "Ermony," and "Anelida," and "Arcite," point so directly to "Ormonde" ("Ermonia") and "Anne Welle" and "d'Arey," that, with dates and circumstances duly adhering, the conclusion is irresistible that the poet, in the stanzas of his own invention, is dealing with the married unhappiness of the Irish Butlers. It is, perhaps, more difficult to demonstrate that the prelude of his story, which is largely a medley of borrowings from Statius and Boccaccio, is part and parcel of the historical allegory of

the generations. His influence was felt both in Lionel's time and in the days of Anne Welle's coming to Ireland. He was Viceroy in 1367; in 1381 he was appointed to repress the malice of the rebels in Munster; and again in 1386 he acted in Munster as Deputy of the Viceroy. He was an hereditary enemy of the Butlers.

Ireland and one of its noble families; but the identification of "Scythia" with Ireland, of "Ipolita, the Queen of Scythia" with "Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster," of her husband, "Duke Theseus of Athens" with the royal Duke of Clarence, of "her young sister, Emily," with Maud Ufford, of contending Thebans and Grecians with the English born in Ireland and those born in England ever engaged in bloody feuds, seems to make assurance more than doubly sure. Add to these resemblances Chaucer's additions to his sources: his vivid picture of the knightly troop of Theseus, the counterpart of the brilliant company that attended Lionel; the noble tribute to Ipolita, which we read as the poet's compliment to his own liege lady, Elizabeth; and finally, the compulsion that brought "the noble folk" to Thebes duplicated by the statutes or decrees that summoned the Irish landowners to their homes. Is there any room left for doubt?

Let us remember that, of all the "Theban" or Anglo-Irish families, none were closer to Lionel and his lady than their cousins, the Ormondes, the second Earl James and his Countess who was born a d'Arcy. This Earl was Lord Justice of Ireland, 1359-1361, and, when Lionel came in the latter year, he fought bravely under his banner against the rebels in Ulster, Leinster and Munster. When the Duke was absent in England from April to December of 1364, Ormonde was his Lord Deputy. The books of Carte and Graves and Gilbert are full of these things. Moreover, we find in the *Foedera* King Edward III granting, on March 1, 1363, his cousin, the second Earl's mother, Eleanor, who had married after her second lord's death Sir Thomas Dagforth, two hundred pounds for her husband's labors and expenses in the Irish wars, especially from the coming of the King's very dear son, Lionel. Every member of Lionel's household must have

known all these Ormondes well, and as still a member of that household after his French wars, I am disposed to reckon Geoffrey Chaucer, on account of his comprehensive knowledge of Lionel in Ireland and of Irish conditions at this time. As we have no knowledge of Chaucer's movements for six years after October 1360, our inference that he returned to the service of the Countess of Ulster and remained with her until her death in Ireland in 1363—and perhaps with her husband longer—has nothing against it.<sup>55</sup> It is interesting to recall that, in 1362 or 1363, was born to the Ormondes that heir whom Chaucer may have known in his cradle and whom he stigmatizes over twenty years later as “the false Arcite.”

Chaucer completes the preliminary mystification of giving a semblance of antiquity to “the heir of his invention” by alleging as his authority one “Corinne,” “First folow I Stace, and after him Corinne.” Now there is no reason to suppose that Corinne is Corinnus or Corippus or Colonna or Ovid, disguised under his lady's name, or anybody else than Corinna, a poetess of Pindar's time and country. If Chaucer could not have gotten the name from the *Silvae* of Statius (v, iii, 156), on account of the rarity of that work in the fourteenth century,<sup>56</sup> he could certainly have derived it from Propertius, II, iii, 21, as he derived his “Lollius” from Horace, of whom he elsewhere

<sup>55</sup> Professor Cook, in his monograph, “The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight” (*Conn. Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 1916, pp. 179-181), discusses in some detail Lionel's stay in Ireland, and conjectures that Chaucer was in his service during the whole six years of his rule. He finds “corroboration of this surmise” in Chaucer's oft-quoted account of an Irish wicker house in *The House of Fame*, 1936 f. *Anelida and Arcite* furnishes much more potent evidence in favor of Chaucer's Irish residence.

<sup>56</sup> See E. F. Shannon, “The Source of Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*” (*P. M. L. A.*, XXVIII, 465).

shows little or no knowledge. Propertius, whose non-appearance in the Middle Ages no one will plead, as his works existed in several manuscripts,<sup>57</sup> had written:

Et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae  
Carmina quae quivis, non putat aequa suis.<sup>58</sup>

That Corinna was an old poetess, Chaucer may thus have known, but how was he aware that she was a Theban who had celebrated the Seven against Thebes? Did he hit this bull's eye by accident? If so, it is an amazing coincidence that he should have selected from the obscure names of antiquity the very author most suitable to his device of a pretended Theban story. For my part, I am inclined to scout the idea of a happy accident and to believe that somewhere, somehow, Chaucer had found Corinna associated with Thebes and its legends. In any case "Corinne" is a mere blind to cover his own imaginings.<sup>59</sup>

When we turn from *Anelida and Arcite* (22-46) to *The Knight's Tale*, "al the love of Palamon and Arcyte of Thebes," we find that the poet has freed his story (see A. 859-874, 964-981) from all Irish implications through additions and omissions, many of them effected by the abandonment of Statius for Boccaccio. Theseus is now

<sup>57</sup> The Codices Neapolitanus and Vossianus, and Petrarch's famous manuscript, which Coluccio Salutato copied, all antedate Chaucer (see Butler's edition of Propertius, 1905, Introduction, and Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 6).

<sup>58</sup> Had Shannon known of this passage from Propertius, he would have made no claims for Ovid, the author of the *Amores*, sometimes known as "Corinna," for the very starting point of his argument is the assumption that Chaucer could never have heard of the old poetess.

<sup>59</sup> Though Chaucer is voicing something so real as Anne Welle's passion for Ormonde, it is very possible that he employed the *Heroides* of Ovid here and there in *Anelida*, as Mr. Shannon believes. All our thoughts have stirred dead bosoms.

"the greatest conqueror under the sun," an honor that it would have been absurd to claim for Lionel; he wars against "the regne of Femenye," the land of the Amazons, not merely against its synonym, Scythia, the Ireland of the *Anelida*; he marches against Creon and the Thebans, against whom Theseus wages no war in the earlier poem, because he is there Lionel and they Englishmen of old Anglo-Norman stock; and, above all, Theseus and Ipolita and Emily are now closely associated with Arcite, as they could not be in the romance of *Anelida*, where their prototypes were beings of different generations.<sup>59a</sup> Moreover we no longer meet in the Canterbury story the vivid description of the Duke's knightly company, "Many a fresh knight and many a blisful route," because Chaucer is no longer thinking of the great levy of the English landholders of Ireland; nor the stately compliment to Ipolita, because Ipolita is no longer Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster; <sup>60</sup> nor the fourteen-line sketch of the long and bloody feud between Thebes and Greece, because the poet's mind

<sup>59a</sup> The complete dissociation of the first group of characters, Theseus, Ipolita and Emily, from the second, Anelida and Arcite, negatives Heath's unfortunate suggestion (*Globe Edition*, xxxviii) that "Chaucer, doubtless, intended to reintroduce Theseus, with whom the poem opens, as the avenger of Anelida." This dissociation constitutes convincing evidence of the priority of *Anelida and Arcite*. Having once brought together the heroic figures in the intimate relation of *The Knight's Tale*, no artist could or would have wrenched them as far asunder as they are in the smaller poem.

<sup>60</sup> Ipolita possibly becomes again the Countess of Ulster for one brief moment in *The Knight's Tale*, when Chaucer, forsaking Boccaccio, mentions (l. 26) "the tempest at hir hoomcominge." If that storm was ever brewed in England, it raged after the wedding of Elizabeth and Lionel thirty years before the landing of Anne of Bohemia, with which it has been associated (Lowes, *Modern Language Notes*, xix, 240-242). Anne had nought in common with the Scythian queen. Curry just now suggests (*M. L. N.*, May, 1921) that "tempest" renders the *clamor* of Statius.

is no longer intent on the clash between "Englishmen by blood" and "Englishmen by birth;" nor Creon's gathering of "the noble folk" in the town, because statutes assembling the English proprietors of Ireland are no longer in Chaucer's thought. A comparison between the earlier and later poems thus emphasizes the distinctly allegorical character of *Anelida and Arcite* and its rich suggestions of contemporary life.

The discovery of the persons and the circumstances that prompted the composition of *Anelida and Arcite* has a large bearing upon Chaucer's chronology and development. Few will deny the conclusiveness of Tatlock's argument<sup>61</sup> that *Anelida and Arcite* must have been written before "The Knight's Tale," both because Chaucer would not have debased Arcite of the Canterbury story, who embodies a high ideal and whom he sketches with strong liking, and because the break in the description at the end of the *Anelida* shows that he meant to use Mars' Temple in the later and greater work. But, as we have seen, the *Anelida* is based upon an incident of the middle eighties. Anne Welle could not have become Countess of Ermon or Ormonde ("Queen of Ermony") before October, 1382, when the third Earl succeeded to the title, nor can it be actually proved that she was "Queen" before June, 1386, when we first meet together "the Earl of Ormonde and Anne, his wife." Since Chaucer is not writing of a child, but of a young woman, she probably did not gain her title by marriage before 1384 at the earliest. As her husband's infidelities and the births of his base-born children may very well belong to the middle eighties, I am inclined to place our poem about 1385, or indeed in 1386—in any

<sup>61</sup> *Development of Chaucer's Works*, pp. 83 f. Tatlock runs directly counter to Ten Brink's contentions (*Studien*, 39, *Eng. Lit.*, II, 190).

case immediately before "The Knight's Tale," which is the "Palamon and Arcite" of the *Legend* Prologue, "only slightly, if at all revised." Hence there is every reason for stoutly denying to "The Knight's Tale," in its earliest form, a date as early as 1382. I should place it with Tatlock in 1385—or rather in 1386.

It may be objected that the date, 1386, for *Anelida and Arcite* and for the first version of "The Knight's Tale" is the very year assumed for the earlier Prologue of the *Legend*, which, from its mention of "al the love of Palamon and Arcite," obviously follows our poems; and that we are therefore crowding all these compositions into too small a space of time. Twofold answer is ready. First, that, if the very real dates of Anne Welle and her husband do not coincide with a "Chaucerian Chronology," about which no two people agree,<sup>62</sup> let us use this new light to

<sup>62</sup> Langhans, the writer of a very recent article on *Anelida and Arcite* in *Anglia*, XLIV, 1920, 226-244, dates the poem in 1373-1374, "just before the Parlement of Foules (1374)," on the basis of a "chronology" supposedly long since extinct. Furnivall places it in 1375-1376, Pollard in 1380, Lowes in the early eighties, Koch in 1383, Tatlock in 1384-1385, Skeat 1384 (1385?), Ten Brink after 1390. Obviously the bugbear of "Chaucerian Chronology" is not a very formidable spectre. The year 1386, as the date of *Anelida*, seems to satisfy the two conditions of our problem, one of which has hitherto been entirely unknown, and the other misapplied: the Ormondes' early misadventure in marriage, and the indirect allusion to the poem in the *Legend* Prologue. Though, as we have already remarked, accurate knowledge of a very young noblewoman's years is not to be expected of a poet in his middle or late forties, *Anelida's* age, "twenty yeer of elde," might suggest a later date for the poem than 1386, when Anne Welle could not have been more than sixteen. But much, if any, later it cannot be. Ormonde and his wife were certainly reconciled by 1389-1390, as their heir was born the next year. Then it seems natural to trace to a liaison that won so wide a notoriety as to gain a court-poet's rebuke the birth of one, if not both, of the Earl's natural children, who, to judge from the dates

reshape the chronology, even though we shatter many assumptions. And secondly, that the writer will soon present newly discovered reasons for believing that the first version of the *Legend Prologue* was written after 1386—which date has value in this connection only as a possible starting-point—indeed after 1387, the year of Philippa Chaucer's death.

In *Anelida and Arcite*, uneven and fragmentary though it is, we come very close to Chaucer—as close as anywhere else in his poetry. We see him not only browsing among “olde bokes,” stories of Theseus and Thebes, but watching and recording, like the note-taking chiel that he was, the lives and loves of a man and a woman in his own red-blooded day and hour. Where, save here and in the falcon's story of “The Squire's Tale,” can we share his very real indignation, as he scourges a false lover not of an old fable of Greece, but of a modern family of Ireland—probably well known to him since his early manhood twenty years before—a child of the Ormondes whom the young squire of its royal cousins may have dandled in its infancy? Where else is Chaucer so vocal with the big bow-wow thing of his day as in this cryptic but vivid narration of English wars in Ireland—the glare and glitter of the levies and triumphs—and of the long and bloody feuds between the old Anglo-Norman settlers and the newcomers of English birth? And where, though his very words are borrowed and his meaning is cloaked, does he seem more a part of what he has met? And where else does he invoke in the

of their manhood, must have been in the world by 1385 or 1386; hence even 1387, the year in which Ormonde founds his Aylesbury house of Friars, perhaps as a penance for his sin, seems a bit too late. The *Legend Prologue*, the first version of which is a *terminus ad quem* of *Anelida*, is probably a product of the latest eighties; but more of that elsewhere.

depths of his middle age the brilliant figures who were very near to his daily life when all his world was young—Lionel, a very Theseus in his lordly grace, Elizabeth de Burgh spreading about Ipolita's golden car the brightness of her beauty, and Maud Ufford as Emily in the sheen of her youth? And all of this, and with it so much of the poet himself, readers for five hundred years have missed.

FREDERICK TUPPER.

## XI.—*ATHELSTON*, A WESTMINSTER LEGEND

*Athelston* is one of the most vigorous and independent of Middle English romances, yet it is one about which least is known. Various writers have commented on this "strange neglect," but in the years since 1829 when Hartshorne first published the text in his *Ancient Metrical Tales*,<sup>1</sup> it has only twice been made the subject of serious study. Zupitza's edition in *Englische Studien* XIII-XIV (1889-1890) was primarily textual in character and devoted less than two pages to questions of origin. In *Englische Studien* xxxvi (1906), Prof. Gerould discussed "Social and Historical Reminiscences in . . . *Athelston*." Frankly accepting Zupitza's brief conjectures as to the original personages and events of the story, he concerned himself with the study of sworn brotherhood, a custom prominently referred to in the romance, and with the interesting possibility that the characterization of king and bishop in the romance had been influenced by the vivid personalities of Henry II and Thomas Becket. Certainly their memory was as living for the fourteenth century as it had been for the twelfth since it was continually renewed by the pilgrim hosts at Becket's shrine. A story which had to tell of the quarrel between a king and a churchman might well borrow something from the traditional violence of King Henry and the fearless courage of Becket, but such influence in *Athelston*, if it existed at all, must have affected simply the characteriza-

<sup>1</sup> The poem was also printed by Th. Wright, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, 1845, II, 85 ff., and by Lord Francis Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, London, 1907, p. 525 ff., a text unlisted by Wells, *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, 1916, p. 766. It was translated by Dr. Edith Rickert, *Romances of Friendship*, London, 1908.

tion of the two dominant personalities; in other respects, in motive, detail and incident, there is no real correspondence between history and the romance. In a story so closely knit as *Athelston* it is unprofitable to believe that it had absorbed unrelated incidents or that it had varied very much from whatever was its basic type. From the false accusation brought by the king's friend against his sworn brother, through the king's quarrel with the archbishop who hurries to the defense of the king's sister and her husband, to the great climax when the accused pass through the ordeal by fire, the story pursues an almost inevitable course which allows for hardly one of the haphazard accretions usual in mediæval romance.

This unity of *Athelston* is not only a matter of structure but of important details. The 812 lines of the poem include no foreign names of place or person. Seven characters have names, *Athelston*,<sup>2</sup> which is used for the name of the king and also for a messenger, his sister

<sup>2</sup> There were three Anglo-Saxon kings of this name. Aethelstan I (839-852), an obscure king of East Anglia and Kent of whom the chroniclers tell little more than his name (cf. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, Lond. 1913, p. 396, and Hervey, *op. cit.* p. xviii ff.); the Danish prince Guthrum who was conquered (878) by King Alfred and who received at his baptism the name Aethelstan (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle); and Aethelstan III, the famous victor of Brunanburgh (937). Of him, according to William of Malmesbury, songs and stories were long current. The attempt made by Hervey to identify the *Athelston* of the romance with the first of these kings is wholly unconvincing. For it no better reasons are given than that the Kentish coloring of the romance points to the history of a Kentish king, and that the mention of St. Edmund places the story in the ninth, not the tenth century. Since it can be shown that the whole poem was based on a story invariably ascribed to the eleventh century, it is impossible to regard the historical names used as anything more than deliberate disguises. Further comment on the use of the names *Athelston* and *Alryke* is given below.

Edyve<sup>3</sup> (Odyff), his three sworn brothers, Egelan(d), Wymound, Alryke,<sup>4</sup> his nephew and successor, Saint Edmund,<sup>5</sup> and each of these names appears in Anglo-Saxon usage. In this the story differs notably from other romances even of the so-called "Matter of England" group, for in them there is a well-known mixture of names of Anglo-Saxon, Danish and French origin.<sup>6</sup> In *Horn* and *Havelok*, in *Beves of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwick*, even when the action is supposed to be taking place in England, there is little or nothing of that concrete realism which localizes *Athelston* in London, which mentions the palace and church of Westminster, Charing Cross, Flete Street, and the Elms, the old place of execution at Smithfield, or describes with gusto the wild horse-killing rides from London bridge to the castle of Stane, from there to Steppyngebourne (Sittingbourne?), from Osprynge to the Blee and on to Dover. Finally, there is in *Athelston*

<sup>3</sup> Eadgyth, sister of Aethelstan III, married Otto the Great, son of Henry the Fowler. Nothing save the name connects this lady with the romance. In this, although the story of her ordeal is referable to an altogether different personage, it is not impossible that some suggestion for the special sanctity of the heroine came from the likeness of her name to that of Saint Edith, a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon saint who was still greatly venerated in the fourteenth century. Cf. *Handlyng Synne*, l. 9227, and Gerould, *Saints Legends*, 1916, Index. It was also the name of the wife of Edward the Confessor. See below, note 12.

<sup>4</sup> For these and the other names mentioned, see W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, Cambridge, 1897, and *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles*, Cambridge, 1899.

<sup>5</sup> A full account of Saint Edmund is given in the *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, but see also C. Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History*, London, 1915, Index.

<sup>6</sup> For *Horn*, see Schofield, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XVIII; Heuser, *Anglia*, XXXI, 105; for *Beves*, Stimmung, *Der agn. Boeve*, 1899; Deutschbein, *Sagengeschichte Englands*, 1906, p. 201; for *Guy*, Deutschbein, p. 214 ff.

nothing which suggests that overlay of French chivalry which is apparent in each of the romances named. Though all these are more or less thoroughly popularized, each one bears witness to more courtly antecedents, the nature of which can still to some extent be studied in extant French versions of these romances. *Athelston* shows no sign of ever having passed through the hands of French storytellers. It mentions neither love nor fighting; its real hero is a churchman and its great episode is a religious ordeal. As a matter of fact, it is a religious legend differing wholly in purpose and incident from the ordinary Anglo-French romance.

The realization that *Athelston* is too short and too unified to be regarded as a composite, that it is too completely English to admit the possibility of French influence, and that it is religious rather than romantic in character, makes it necessary at the outset to reject Zupitza's conjectures as to the origin of the romance. Misled by the use of the historical names of King Athelstan (925-940), his sister Edith and his brother and successor Edmund (940-946), Zupitza tried to find the germ of the story in legends about Athelstan.<sup>7</sup> Though some of those told by William of Malmesbury had a certain analogy with the romance in so far as all tales making use of false friends, false accusations and royal favoritism are alike, not one gave the slightest clue to the extraordinary importance of the Church in *Athelston*, nor to the leading part played by a woman, nor to the climactic

<sup>7</sup> The "Brother help Brother" story told by William of Malmesbury in connection with Aethelstan and the false cup-bearer, might have led Zupitza to the true source of the romance had he followed the tale through the chronicles. In the *Annales de Wintonia* (Rolls Series, p. 25) it is shifted from Æthelstan to Edward the Confessor and Earl Godwin, and immediately follows the legend of Queen Emma.

scene of the romance, the ordeal by fire. All these, however, appear in the famous Winchester legend of Queen Emma<sup>8</sup> and the Ploughshares, and it was this story, unquestionably, which for reasons that are not far to seek, was shrewdly adapted for London use and interests. Two brief outlines will make clear the fundamental agreement of legend and romance.

In 1042 Emma, once known as the Flower of Normandy and the widow successively of the English king, Athelred the Redeless (978-1016) and of the Danish conqueror, Canute, was living at Winchester. She was possessed of great treasures many of which she gave to the great church of Saint Swithin whose bishop Alwyn was her most familiar friend. To her English sons, by Athelred, Alfred and Edward, later known as the Confessor, she had given little or nothing, all her favor having been lavished on Harthacnut, her son by Canute. When, therefore, Edward came to the throne in 1042, he showed her no honour. Instead he surrounded himself with those Norman friends who had aided him in his long exile, and among them he especially honoured Robert of Jumièges whom he made Bishop of London and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The king was a man of wonderful simplicity and at last he would believe Robert even if the latter told him a black crow was white. In time Robert poisoned Edward's mind against the good bishop Alwyn and Queen Emma.

The queen, who was imprisoned at Wherwell, promptly wrote a letter to those bishops whom she could trust and begged them to persuade the king that she might clear herself by an ordeal to take place at Saint Swithin's. In a long speech which uninvited he made to the bishops, Robert accused the queen not only of evil conduct with Alwyn but of having consented to the murder of Alfred, the king's brother, and of having planned to poison the king himself.

On the day of the trial a great concourse of people gathered in Saint Swithin's church where in a row were placed nine red hot plough-shares. The queen who had passed the previous night in prayer before the shrine of Saint Swithin and had been comforted by beholding the saint in a dream, walked forth bravely. Having cast off her mantle she closed her eyes and was led by two bishops

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<sup>8</sup> Full biographical detail concerning Emma may be found in the *Dict. of National Biography*, Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Gross *Sources*, etc.

across the burning metal while the people cried aloud: "Swithune, Sancte Swithune, tu illam adjuva!" Unconscious that she had passed the ordeal the queen opened her eyes and beheld the miracle. She prayed to be taken to the king who, overwhelmed with holy penitence, lay prostrate on the floor. Willingly he confessed his fault, willingly he restored Bishop Alwyn to highest favor. Joyous was the tumult of the people.

From Dover, where he had waited to hear the result of the ordeal, Robert fled to Jumièges where presently he died. In Winchester king and queen and bishop vied with each other in giving treasure and manors to the church of the holy saint who had saved them all.

The account here given is from the *Annales de Wintonia* (Rolls Series, 1865), a chronicle for the years 519-1277. The Emma story is found under the date 1043 (pp. 20-25) and was derived from an account written by Richard of Devizes,<sup>9</sup> a Benedictine monk of St. Swithin's church, Winchester, who was living in 1202. From Richard's text or from the *Annales* the story was incorporated into various later chronicles, but for the moment their history is of less importance than comparison of the Emma legend with *Athelston*.

The romance tells of four sworn brothers, the gullible king Athelston, the noble Egelan(d), the Earl of Stane, who had married the king's sister, Alryke, the fearless Archbishop of Canterbury and the devoted friend of the Countess of Stane and her husband, and Wymond, Earl of Dover, who jealously accuses the Earl of Stane of planning to poison the king and usurp his throne. The king believes the accusation and imprisons the supposed conspirator and his wife and children. Athelston's queen sends a message for help for them to the archbishop. After a violent quarrel between the king and the churchman, in which the king is brought as a penitent to the feet of Alryk, the latter arranges for the trial of the accused through the ordeal by fire.

A gret ffyr was mad ry3t thoo  
It was set, ðat men mi3te knawe  
Nyne plow3-lengðe on rawe

The earl and his children are led through the fire but it is the

<sup>9</sup> Gross, *Sources*, Nos. 1696, 1764.

countess's ordeal alone which seems to bring conviction. She, the king's own sister, is led forth, she makes her prayer, she is unafraid, and though the pains of Saint Edmund's birth overtake her, she passes the fire unblemished foot and hand. The king confesses the treachery of Wymound who, at Dover, had waited to hear the result of the ordeal. By a false message he is enticed to London and there suffers the punishment due all villains (of romance).

Although there are a number of clever variations in *Athelston*, its basic likeness to the Emma legend is clear. In both there is a gullible king who believes without question the false accusation that a near relative is planning to poison him. In both the accuser is a man close to the king and of highest rank. In both after the ordeal has been arranged for, the villain waits at Dover to learn its issue. In both the king's relative <sup>10</sup> is a woman who is imprisoned by him and who suffers with equal courage and piety the ordeal by fire. In both churchmen receive a message from a woman about the fate that threatens; in both an archbishop of Canterbury arranges the ordeal; in both a churchman receives the abject submission of the penitent king. Structurally the two stories are identical, though the increase in the number of characters,<sup>11</sup> the

<sup>10</sup>It may be well to point out that the author of *Athelston* has simply divided the part played by Emma between the king's wife and his sister; the first one sends for help, the latter endures the imprisonment and ordeal. One scene only, that in which the queen makes her personal plea to Athelston for mercy, is new. The reason for its general character will be given; the reason for its introduction was probably the desire to blacken the royal character as much as possible in contrast with the nobleness of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>11</sup>In addition to Athelston's wife the author of the romance created two new characters, the messenger, who was a dramatic impersonation of the message sent by Queen Emma, and Egelan, husband of the king's sister, whose part in the romance is simply an ineffective doubling of his wife's, to whom the main business of Emma's rôle was transferred, i. e., the enduring of the false accusation, the imprisonment and the ordeal.

change of names and scene and style, at first glance confuse and blur the relationship. But a further study not only emphasizes the fundamental agreement of the two tales but shows that the changes in *Athelston* can be accounted for consistently. Some were due to the influence of popular minstrelsy and some to recognizable ecclesiastical purposes and prejudices.

The transformation of the Winchester legend into the semblance of a popular secular romance was the work of one amply familiar with the type. As Zupitza's invaluable notes show, the poem is packed with the commonplaces of minstrel diction. That the author was in and of the world is strongly suggested by the virile style of his narrative, by his dramatic realism of place and character, and by his professional instinct for popular *motifs*. Though he composed the poem in twelve-line, tail-rime stanzas, he gave it palpable "ballad-like quality," and it is in differentiating this, perhaps, that we may best observe the methods and result of his work.

The treatment of the climax is characteristic. In the original story Queen Emma alone was led forth to the ordeal and took her nine steps to the instant satisfaction of every one present. In *Athelston* three ordeals take the place of one. The change is awkward, for the two ordeals of the Earl of Stane and his children appear to prove nothing, and it is only when the king's sister is led forth that the innocence of the accused is established. In this conspicuous instance the familiar ballad preference for things in three is matched by a clear reminiscence of repetitive ballad style.

"From hym [Egelan] ðey token ðe rede scarlet,  
Boðe hosyn and schoon ðat weren hym met" (st. LIV.)

"Fro hem [the children] ðey tooke ðe rede scarlete  
Pe hosen and schoon ðat weren hem mete" (st. LVI).

Other details are equally suggestive of balladry. Instead of writing as Queen Emma did to the bishops, Athelston's distraught queen, like many a ballad lady, summons and sends forth in haste her messenger. Like no decorously leisured prelate but like a lover of Lady Maisry, spurring so hard to the rescue that under him fall first the black steed, then the brown, Archbishop Alryke rides his horses in wild relays from Canterbury to London. Like the "sworn brothers"<sup>12</sup> of ballads rather than romance, Athelston and the three other "messengeres," "men of dyvers cuntre" meet casually "by a forest wið a cross,"

"They swoor hem weddyd breðeren for ever mare  
In trewthe trewely dede hem bynde."

The chance meeting and the oath-taking recall how Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough and William of Cloudesly,

<sup>12</sup> Prof. Gerould's notes prove the popularity of this well-known *motif*; its introduction into the romance was an effective touch since it increased Wymound's villainy. Instead of a royal favorite accusing the king's relative, we have one sworn brother accusing another who is also a sworn brother of the king. The suggestion for providing the king with brothers of some sort seems to have come from the chronicles which likewise afforded the historically related names of Athelston and his sister Edith as substitutes for the names of Edward the Confessor and his mother Emma. The chronicles give various brothers to King Edward (Cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Note ss, The Children of Æthelred). He seems really to have had a half brother Æthelstan though occasionally in such a text as the English translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, Rolls Ser. VII, 43, we are told that the four sons of Æthelred and Emma were "Edwyne, Ethelstan, Alfrede, and Edwarde." It is probable that these real brothers or half-brothers of Edward, not only suggested the introduction of the sworn brothers motif, but that the name of the obscure brother Æthelstan suggested borrowing the names of the famous king and his relatives for the personages of the transformed Emma legend. From this point of view the use of the name Edith may have double significance, since it was alike the name of Æthelstan's sister and of the Confessor's wife.

"thre yemen of the north countre," after walking the forest "east and west," met together and how

"They swore them brethen upon a day  
To Englyashe wood for to gone" (st. 4).

This same ballad of *Adam Bell* (st. 125-130) offers a parallel to the queen's appeal for mercy for those condemned by the king's wrath, but the result in *Athelston* is altogether tragic. When the queen casts off her "gerlondes of chryyes" and rushes into the hall to plead for the accused, when she is silenced by a kick that kills her unborn child, the poet gives us details which were thoroughly in accord with that violence and brutality of manner which the ballads continued to express long after such things had been ruled out of romance. In many of the analogues to *Sir Aldingar* noted by Child (*Ballads*, II, 34 ff), similar cruelties occur. In Scandinavian versions, a queen, falsely accused, is violently beaten by her husband; in an Icelandic ballad he drags her by the hair; in the story of St. Cunigund he strikes her in the face and draws blood from her mouth. The scene in *Athelston* is true to type just as is the gratuitous bit of "agony" which the poet adds to the ordeal. The story of St. Edmund's birth as his mother passes through the flames, has in it something of that crude but elemental pathos which makes scenes of dreadful child-birth a not uncommon theme in ballads.

At this point it may be questioned whether the obvious ballad influence in *Athelston* is due to a minstrel author who "meddled with ballads," as even Prof. Kittredge admits minstrels sometimes did, or to a ballad version into which the Emma legend had already been fashioned. Warton's discovery<sup>13</sup> of a passage in the Winchester

<sup>13</sup> Warton, *History of Eng. Poetry*, 1840, pp. 81-82. Cf. E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, I, 56.

records of 1338 telling how there sang "in aula prioris, ioculator quidam nomine Herebertus canticum Colbrondi, needum gestum Emmae reginae a iudico ignis liberatae," was accepted by Child (*Ballads*, II, 38) as proving the existence of a ballad version of the Emma legend, and the question was raised whether the song "Deu vous save, Dame Emme," with which the dykers and delvers in *Piers Plowman* (Prol. A, 103) drove forth the long day, may not have been the ballad of Herebertus or another on the same subject. Though it seems probable that such songs were known in London as in Winchester, it is impossible to believe that any purely popular version of the Emma legend could account for more than those changes in *Athelston* which we have just been discussing. Others, in which there is every sign of deliberate ecclesiastical manipulation, can be accounted for only by the supposition that the author of *Athelston* received his material not from the man in the street but from monastic hands.

The ecclesiastical influence in *Athelston* was first pointed out by Prof. Gerould. Alryke, Archbishop of Canterbury, is really the hero of the story. It is he for whom the queen sends, it is he who rushes to the rescue, who defies the king and brings him to the most abject public humiliation; it is he who arranges for the ordeal and who forces the king to the confession which brings a traitor to his doom. Beside his righteous vigor and power the laymen of the story are weak or evil, and royalty itself insignificant. In many ways this part of the romance might indeed seem to be inspired by churchly remembrances of the great Church and State quarrel of Becket and Henry II, but there is no need to go beyond the Emma story for its explanation.

In order fully to apprehend the Alryke story in *Athelston*, it is necessary to consider the general nature of cer-

tain other changes by which the original Winchester legend was recreated. In *Athelston* Westminster takes the place of St. Swithin's, and the story as frankly appeals to London local interests as the Emma story had appealed to those of Winchester. An Archbishop of Canterbury is made to play a splendid part,<sup>14</sup> although in the original tale Robert of Jumièges, whom Edward the Confessor had made Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury, was the villain of the piece. In *Athelston* the villain's role is shifted with absolutely no other changes than those of name and the circumstances of his death, to the layman Wymound. As has already been pointed out, Wymound, the sworn brother of the king, in exactly the same way as Robert, the king's favorite, makes false accusation against another "brother" and his wife, precipitates the king's vengeance, and waits at Dover to hear the outcome of the ordeal. This change was wholly in keeping with the new turn being given to the story. For ecclesiastical London it was intolerable that an Archbishop of Canterbury should be connected with villainy, no matter what history said about the matter. It was equally intolerable that the king whose shrine in Westminster was one of the most venerated in England, should appear in story in so sorry a guise as was Edward's in the Emma legend. The story must be dis-associated from him as well as from Robert of Jumièges, and this was done by substituting for Edward's a name that had patriotic glamour but no inconveniently pious associations. To a fourteenth-century mind, King Athelstan was in truth little more than a name popular enough to mean something when it appeared in

<sup>14</sup> The passive part of Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester, Emma's fellow sufferer in the original tale, is practically dropped in *Athelston* except in the passage in which Alryke receives the penitent king.

such a romance as *Guy of Warwick*, but suggesting only one of the kings of wild long-ago days. A minstrel, told to tell of Athelstan, could treat him as he would, and as we have seen, Athelston was turned into the semblance of one of the violent kings of balladry. That he was also represented as being stupidly credulous, cruel and passionate, but helpless before the superior sense and power of an Archbishop of Canterbury, seems due to the same inspired influence that so deliberately transformed Winchester into Westminster, Robert of Jumièges into Wymound, and the pious Edward into Athelston. It is hardly possible to doubt that this influence emanated from the monks at Westminster, since in all ways it so obviously suited their special interests and purposes. The proof of it, however, can be established by chronicles which show that the Emma legend was certainly known to the Westminster monks, and by at least one detail in *Athelston* which could only have come from a Westminster source.

The chronicle history of the Emma story is neither very long nor varied. It began with the account written by Richard of Devizes, the Winchester monk, presumably in the last years of the twelfth century. The extant copy is now among the Parker manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 339). Either this text or its original was written at Winchester and was exactly copied down to the year 1066 in the *Annales de Wintonia* (Cott. Dom. A. XIII), a chronicle extending to the year 1277. From the Winchester source the Emma legend was translated into Middle English in the chronicle known as Robert of Gloucester's (Rolls Series, 1887), which was written about 1300. The Gloucester monk omitted the classical flourishes in which Richard had delighted and added one or two quaintly sympathetic

comments of his own, but in the main he kept faithfully to the original story.<sup>15</sup> This was next used by Ranulf Higden, the Benedictine monk of St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester, who incorporated it, sometimes with exact quotation from the Winchester text, in his great *Polychronicon*,<sup>16</sup> the first "edition" of which ended in 1327. This chronicle, as is well known, became "the standard work in general history in the fourteenth century," and from it the remaining versions of the Emma story seem chiefly to have been derived. They include the *Eulogium Historiarum* (Rolls Series, II, 184-86), a work finished about 1367 by some monk of Malmesbury, the *Speculum historiale de gestis regum Anglia* of Richard of Cirencester, the *Chronicon*<sup>17</sup> of Henry Knighton (d. 1366), a canon of St. Mary's, Leicester, and the fifteenth-century chronicle of John Brompton, the abbot of Jervaulx, who, however, based his version more directly on the text of Richard than on Higden's. The chronicle of Thomas

<sup>15</sup> For instance, in telling how the queen had to step forth bare-legged, the poet remarked, "Away, vulle bycome yt quene so bare vorto be," l. 6844. For bibliographical details concerning the chronicle see Wells, *Manual*, p. 794.

<sup>16</sup> Rolls Series, 1865-86; Gross, *Sources*, p. 371, No. 1793. Higden's account (vol. VII, p. 162) abbreviated that of Richard of Devizes by omitting the long formal letter of the queen, by greatly condensing the speech made by Robert of Jumièges, and by omitting the detailed description of the queen's night of prayer and the church and people on the day of the ordeal. In many sentences Higden preserved the actual phraseology of the *Annales de Wintonia*. In the following quotation from Robert's speech, Higden's variations from the *Annales* (p. 22) are given in parentheses. (Sed esto quod) foemina vult purgare pontificem. Et (sed) quis purgabit eam, quae dicitur consensisse in necem filii sui (omitted) Eluredi (Aluredi), et procurasse venenum Edwardo?"

<sup>17</sup> The *Chronicon* covers the years 959-1366, and down to 1336 was mainly derived from Higden and Heminburgh (Gross, *Sources*, p. 376, No. 1807). The text is printed in the Rolls Series, 1889-95.

Rudborne, a monk of St. Swithin's, Winchester, drew naturally from the older Winchester annals and even elaborated them.<sup>18</sup> Of these texts, the most important for the study of *Æthelston* is the chronicle of Richard of Cirencester.

The name of Richard of Cirencester appears on the roll of Westminster monks<sup>19</sup> in 1355: he died apparently about 1400. According to the license to travel to Rome given him by Abbot William Colchester in 1391, Richard was a man of peculiar piety and eminently deserving of ecclesiastical praise. As the editor of the *Speculum* remarks (Rolls Series, II, p. xi): "if strong attachment to his order and his house formed any part of monastic 'religion,' our author must be allowed to have earned the commendation." In the *Speculum*, a rather "careless compilation" for the years 447-1066, a whole book (IV) is devoted to Edward the Confessor, and the author speaks of the history and wonders of Westminster with extravagant ardor. The elaborate initials of the chapters relating to Westminster in the extant manuscript of the *Speculum*, suggested to its editor<sup>20</sup> that this copy (Cam. Univ. Lib. Ff 1, 28) belonged to the Abbey. In that case it may be thought of as an official version, and it would be difficult to imagine one better suited for a book of praise of

<sup>18</sup> For Brompton's *Chronicon*, 588-1198, see Gross, *Sources*, No. 1727. For Rudborne's *Historia de foundatione et successionem ecclesie Wintoniensis*, 164-1138, see Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, Vol. I, p. 177 ff., and Gross, *Sources*, No. 1839.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Mayor, Rolls Ser. II, p. x, and E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 100, where the fullest account of Richard's monastic activities is given. In 1364 he was "Scolaris Oxon." The Emma legend is found in the *Speculum*, Bk. IV, c. xx (Rolls Ser. II, 254-255).

<sup>20</sup> Rolls Ser. II, p. clxv; J. Armitage Robinson and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster*, Cambridge, 1909, p. 25.

mediæval Westminster. The fact that the Emma story is found in such a text is positive proof not only that it was known to a Westminster monk but to one who was peculiarly interested in lauding Westminster and the power of the church; in short, to exactly the type of monk who must have been concerned in giving its present ecclesiastical bias to *Athelston*.

Richard's treatment of the Emma story which, as a chronicler of the times of Edward the Confessor, he had to follow in more or less recognizable form, is significant. Having once decided to keep the tale, which in most of the lives <sup>21</sup> of Edward was quietly omitted, he tempered it to his own point of view. In the main he followed Higden's abbreviated account,<sup>22</sup> though there is some evidence to suggest that he knew the original Winchester text.<sup>23</sup> He

<sup>21</sup> It appears, for instance, in none of the Lives of Edward the Confessor printed by Luard, Rolls Ser. 1858.

<sup>22</sup> The agreement between the texts of Higden and of Richard is not merely in the matter of content but also in diction. In the *Annales* for instance, the writing of the queen's letter had been thus introduced, "Regina—permissa est scribere omnibus episcopis quos sibi fidos crediderat, et dolores suos exponere. Forma scriptorum talis erat," etc., (p. 20) which Higden (p. 162) had changed to "sed (omitted) Emma . . . scripsit episcopis Angliae, in quibus confidebat, se plus de praesulis (Wyntoniensis) dedecore quam (sua) (omitted) de sua (*de sua* omitted) verecundia torqueri, (;) paratam (que) se (Dei) probare Dei (omitted) iudico ferrique candentis examine(,) episcopum fore (omitted) injuste (fore) diffamatum." (Richard's variations are given in parenthesis; the texts are here practically identical.)

<sup>23</sup> There are distinct verbal reminiscences of the Annals in Richard's text. Most interesting, perhaps, is the identical sentence in the Annals (p. 25) and in Richard's text (p. 255): "Robertus archiepiscopus fugit ex (extra) Anglia." In Higden's account (p. 164) this read: "Robertus Cantuariensis fugit in Normanniam." It is a noteworthy fact that the villain's stay at Dover is mentioned only in the Winchester Annals and in the romance of *Athelston*, a detail pointing clearly to the close relationship between the *Annals* and the romance.

left out, as Higden did, the Winchester chronicler's sarcastic comment on Edward's trust in Robert of Jumièges even to the extent of believing that a black crow was white if Robert told him so; he omitted, again as Higden did, the story of Edward's abject humiliation before his exonerated mother and Bishop Alwyn, presumably because it was unfitting to recall that the saintly Edward had thrice been struck penitential blows and had cried aloud: "*Mater, peccavi in caelum et in te.*" He neglected to record, as in this instance Higden had definitely stated, that Edward had exiled the great Count Godwin and his sons, an act, according to the Winchester legend, of special ingratitude. But Richard was not content merely with suppressing unpleasant details; he wished also to exonerate Edward from even the semblance of evil. The Winchester tale (p. 20) had stressed the king's cruelty to his mother in depriving her of her possessions: "*matri suae Emmae reginae quicquid in hoc mundo possederat usque ad pretium quadrantis auferret*"; he put her in prison at Wherwell, "*sed minus arctam quam filius dictaverat habens custodiam, regina permissa est scribere omnibus episcopis.*" Higden (p. 162) had reduced this to the statement that Emma "*privatam bonis omnibus, in monasterium de Werewelle detruderet. Sed Emma laxius custodita scripsit episcopis.*" Richard (p. 253) on the contrary explains that Edward did deprive Emma of her possessions "*sed tum praecepit sufficienter ei necessaria ministrari,*" and later on assures us that Emma had been forgetful of the poor, "*itaque quod iniuste coacervaverat, non inhoneste ablatum, ut egeorum proficeret compendio et fisco sufficeret regio.*" Partisan apology could hardly go further!

It is evident that Richard in his treatment of the Emma

legend was frankly an apologist for Edward the Confessor. He explained what he could, omitted what was difficult, and succeeding completely in making the tale pleasing to the monastic sensibilities of Westminster. Since the romance of *Athelston* <sup>24</sup> was composed at the very time of Richard's life at the monastery, since it exhibits exactly the same tendencies in the treatment of precisely the same story, it becomes hardly possible to doubt that it was from Richard that the minstrel author of *Athelston* received his material. This probability is very much heightened by at least one detail in *Athelston*, a detail which could have come from no one but a Westminster monk and from no one of the monks with more likelihood than from Richard.

The detail in question is the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Alryke, the real hero of the story. His rôle was created from suggestions embodied in the original story,<sup>25</sup> but his name might well appear to be a matter of

<sup>24</sup> Zupitza (*Eng. Stud.*, xiv, 330 ff.) proved the mingling of Northern and Midland forms in the poem. His conclusion that it is an example of North Midland dialect does not invalidate the present theory that the poem was actually composed in London by a minstrel whose home may have been in the more northern district. Morsbach, *Mitteleng. Grammatik*, p. 8, classes *Athelston* with other North-East Midland romances.

Zupitza's conclusion (p. 337) that the poem was composed before 1400 is not to be doubted but his reference of it to 1350 is admittedly sheer conjecture. If the poem is, as I believe, to be connected with Richard of Cirencester who did not come to Westminster until 1355 and who had probably but little opportunity to devote himself to chronicle lore until after his return from Oxford, the date of its composition lies between 1365 and 1391 when he received permission to go on the long journey to Rome.

<sup>25</sup> In the legend of Emma Archbishop Robert arranged the details of the ordeal even as Alryke does in the romance. Like Bishop Alwyn, Alryke receives the penitent submission of the king and gives him absolution. In an edition of *Athelston* which she is preparing as an M. A. thesis for Wellesley College, Miss Beatrice Putney will

chance. That it was not so, can be proved by reference to the single contemporary life of Edward the Confessor which is now extant. It is found in MS. 526 of the Harleian collection, a twelfth-century copy of a *Vita* written between 1066-1074, presumably for Edward's queen.<sup>26</sup> It is a full and interesting account of the Confessor; it omits the somewhat apocryphal Emma legend, but it gives a straight-forward record of what the malign influence of Robert of Jumièges actually did accomplish in the lifetime of the Confessor. One passage (p. 399) is sufficiently important for our purposes to be quoted in full. It follows the account of the death of Archbishop Edzinus of Canterbury in 1050.

“Adoleverat autem in eadem Christi ecclesia, a tenero ungue monasticis educatus disciplinis, ex supradicti ducis Godwini stirpe, quidam monachus Aelricus nomine; vir scilicet secularis industriae et plurima in mundanis rebus praeditus sagacitate, non minus quoque in eadem dilectus congregatione. Quem tam totius ecclesiae universales filii, quam ipsius monasterii monachi, in archipraesulem sibi exposcunt dari, huncque et affectu communi et petitione eligunt praesse regulari. Mittunt etiam ad supradictum Godwinum, qui regio favore in ea dominabatur parte regni, commonent eum generis sui, precantur ut ex affectu propinquitatis regem adeat, et hunc utpote in eadem ecclesia nutritum et secundum canonica instituta electum sibi pontificem annuat. Promittit fideliter pro viribus

present a fuller discussion of the historical elements in both legend and romance than has been possible here. It may be remarked, however, that there were quarrels enough in the fourteenth century between the English kings and archbishops of Canterbury to afford ample suggestion to any contemporary writer for all the details in *Æthelston* that seem reminiscent of the Becket quarrel.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Luard, *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

suis dux inclitus . . . Sed quia, ut supra diximus, pius rex aurem magis accommodabat adversae parti illis diebus, a conatu petitionis suae idem dux est repulsus. Rodbertus vero Lundoniae sede relicta, in Cantianam commigrat ecclesiam, regis munere archiepiscopus, totius ecclesiae filiis hanc injuriam pro nisu suo reclamantibus."

This striking episode is not to be found apparently in any other chronicle.<sup>27</sup> It is not repeated by Richard of Cirencester even in that book on the life of the Confessor in which he so characteristically recast the Emma legend. Yet there is no question that Richard, whose business it was to exhaust the Westminster archives for lore about Edward, knew this particular manuscript; indeed, he borrowed from it several long passages for his own work.<sup>28</sup> It is clear that he must have known the Alryke story from this source, and if, as the writer believes, he was concerned with transforming the Emma story into its romantic guise, the peculiar appropriateness of the name Alryke for the ecclesiastical hero of *Athelston* would have been self-evident. In real life Robert of Jumièges had shamed and thwarted Alryke, the good monk of Canterbury; in the romance Alryke, Archbishop of Canterbury, brings to ruin the man who is Robert's fictitious counterpart.<sup>29</sup> Never

<sup>27</sup> Although Freeman calls it "a great case," he gives no other authority for the story than this one manuscript. Neither does Plummer, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II, 234. Curiously enough Freeman gives the monk's name as Aelfricus, although he is quoting from this single text in which the name is plainly Aelricus. In this mistake he is followed by Plummer and other modern historians.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the *Speculum*, p. 209 ff., 212 ff., etc. in which by marginal references the borrowings from the *Vita* are made plain.

<sup>29</sup> The romance tells with considerable gusto of how Archbishop Alryke forces the king to tell him who had made the false accusation. A message is then sent to Wymound enticing him from Dover to London where, having failed to endure the ordeal, he is dragged by horses to the Elms and there hung.

was chance so happily ironic as this; never by chance alone was such posthumous justice done to the memory of the obscure monk who ought to have been but never was Archbishop of Canterbury. The choice of the name indicates premeditated intent if ever anything did, nor is its significance affected by the fact that probably no one, save a learned brother or two at Westminster or Canterbury, was supposed to appreciate the special interest attached to this name rather than another. It was enough for minstrel and world to hear a good story of how Alryke, an Archbishop of Canterbury, had defied an English king, and thwarted a wicked layman; it was enough for Brother Richard to smile delicately to himself over the vengeance which fiction at least could take on the memory of the treacherous foreigner who had once wrought such evil in the English church.

The conclusions to be drawn from this study are more definite than one can usually hope for in the study of Middle English romance. The legend of Queen Emma and the Ploughshares was still highly popular in Winchester in the fourteenth century.<sup>30</sup> Sometime after 1355 it became known to Richard of Cirencester, a monk of Westminster, who in his *Speculum Historiale* modified it into a suitable Westminster form. At about the same time the same story was transformed into the romance of *Athelston*. In this the style and certain details point directly to minstrel authorship; in others, such as the deliberate transformation of names, the disguising of personalities, the increased emphasis on ecclesiastical power and prestige, one recognizes monastic influence that could

<sup>30</sup>It is worthy of note that the history of the legend in the chronicles shows a circulation largely confined to Benedictine communities such as those at St. Swithin's, Winchester, Gloucester Abbey, St. Werburgh's, Chester, Malmesbury and Westminster.

only have emanated from Westminster. Among the Westminster monks Richard alone can be proved to have known the original story, to have treated it with the same prejudices in mind as those which appear in *Athelston*, and also to have been the one most familiar with the historical records relating to the personages of that story. The transposition of the name Alryke from one of the most obscure of those records but one which indubitably Richard knew, to *Athelston*, gives final proof that Richard must to some extent have been concerned with the composition of the poem. Since the learned style of his own works no less than the purely popular style of *Athelston* forbid the idea that he was himself its author, we can only conclude that it was through him that the material passed to a minstrel kept in pay, as we know such popular poets were, by the monastery itself.<sup>31</sup> In this case *Athelston* is not only one of the few Middle English romances which at any stage of its being we can associate with a known personality, but it is also one of the most striking examples in England of monastic influence on contemporary mediæval fiction.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, I, 56; Pound, "The Eng. Ballads and the Church," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xxxv, 182 (1920).

<sup>32</sup> The writer has in hand other studies of the same general character. For all such work the model and inspiration is M. Bedier's *Les Légendes Épiques*, 1908.

## XII.—THE STAGE HISTORY OF COLLEY CIBBER'S *THE CARELESS HUSBAND*

Theatrical records tend to prove that *The Careless Husband*, doubtless the best of Cibber's comedies, enjoyed a warm reception when it was first presented before London audiences. Produced for the first time at Drury-Lane on Thursday, December 7, 1704, it held the boards of that theatre for nightly performances during the remainder of that week, and, with the customary exception of Sunday, during the whole of the following week, which ended Saturday, December 16. The initial cast was: Sir Charles Easy—Wilks; Lord Foppington—Cibber; Lord Morelove—Powell; Lady Betty Modish—Mrs. Oldfield; Lady Easy—Mrs. Knight; Lady Graveairs—Mrs. Moore; Edging—Mrs. Lucas. Along with the announcement for Friday, December 15, there appears the following: "With a piece of Instrumental Musick to be performed by Mr. Paisible, Mr. Banister, and others. And several Entertainments of Dancing by Monsieur Cherrier, and others." For the next evening the managers promise a change in the bill: "Several Italian Sonata's on the Violin by Signior Gasparini. And several Entertainments of Dancing by Mrs. du Ruel." Such extradramatic features attend the production of the play rather frequently throughout its stage career.

In its subsequent history *The Careless Husband* had no other uninterrupted run as long as that immediately succeeding its première. Suspended on Saturday, December 16, it reappeared at Drury-Lane the following Thursday, December 21, embellished with "Italian Sonatas and Dancing." The winter holidays necessitating another break, the play again makes its appearance on Tuesday,

January 2, 1705. One week later, on January 9, the notice of the next performance adds, for the first time, the encouraging words: "At the Desire of Several Persons of Quality." After an eighteen-day withdrawal, the "Desire of Several Persons of Quality" again prevails, and *The Careless Husband* is restored on Saturday, January 27, this time with the sonorous proclamation that "the Famous Signiora Francisca Margarettia de l'Epine will Sing several Songs in Italian and English." An entire month passes, but managerial confidence in the popularity and drawing-power of the comedy is disclosed by the announcement which accompanies the notice for February 27: "For the Benefit of Mr. Wilks." No repetition occurs, however, until March 17 and June 2. The dull summer-season intervening, one finds no record of the play until the following October. During that autumn, however, and, indeed, during the rest of 1705, there are only two performances, one on October 13, the other on November 24, both Saturday evenings. In the spring of 1706 there are two productions, on February 19 and April 3; then comes an unprecedented gap of seven months, closing on November 7. On this date the play is transferred from Drury-Lane to the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, where it is acted by a troop advertised as "her Majesty's Company of Comedians," an organization differing somewhat in its personnel from the company formerly identified with the same play at Drury-Lane. The acting of Lord Morelove by Mills instead of Powell, of Lady Easy by Mrs. Barry instead of Mrs. Knight, of Lady Graveairs by Mrs. Porter instead of Mrs. Moore, and of Edging by Mrs. Signal instead of Mrs. Lucas, distinguishes the cast at the Haymarket from that at the other theatre; the advertisement, moreover, contains the

alluring words: "All the chief Parts being new drest, and play'd to the best Advantage."

This progressive change in policy apparently gave *The Careless Husband* a new lease of life. Repeated on November 12, five days after its debut on the new boards, it disappeared until November 22, 1706, when we find it not only restored, but signalized by a repetition on the succeeding night. The last performance for 1706 occurs on December 21.

In 1707 there were performances on February 11 and March 10, the latter for Cibber's benefit; but none thereafter until December 6 and December 30. The remainder of that theatrical season witnessed only one performance, on January 21, 1708, when the piece reappeared at Drury-Lane, its old home.

A review of these statistics shows sixteen performances of the play during its initial season, which extended from December 7, 1704, to the following July; four during the season of 1705-6; seven during that of 1706-7; and three during that of 1707-8.

After 1708, aside from an occasional renaissance of interest, *The Careless Husband* had only infrequent productions. An examination of newspaper files demonstrates that it was, in comparison with such plays as *Love for Love*, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, and *The Recruiting Officer*, indifferently popular at best. The seasons of 1708-9 and 1709-10 witnessed one performance each. Mrs. Knight had been restored to the rôle of Lady Easy; Edging was played by Mrs. Saunders, who displaced Mrs. Signal. Mrs. Rogers, supplanting Mrs. Porter, played Lady Graveairs. A break of five years in the available documents makes it difficult to mention exact figures; but it is hardly conceivable that the performances averaged more than three or four annually, though there may have been spas-

modic revivals with long intervals between. Such a revival took place in March, 1715, when a performance at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields on the 17th was followed by another at the same theatre on the 19th, and by still another, at Drury-Lane, on the 30th. Even after paying this tribute of enthusiasm—for three performances within a fortnight of a play over ten years old surely offer proof of enthusiastic regard—the public was still unsatisfied, and less than two months later *The Careless Husband* was repeated for the benefit of Wilks. The following season (1715-6) saw four performances, with no interval of less than six weeks between any consecutive two; the next season there were only two, separated by a period of three months, the first "at the Desire of Several Ladies of Quality," the second a Cibber benefit adorned with a "Pastoral Dance as it was performed in the Musical Masque of Myrtillo."

From the beginning of the season of 1716-7 to the end of the season of 1725-6, Genest<sup>1</sup> accounts for one performance each season. For 1726-7 he furnishes no memoranda whatever affecting *The Careless Husband*. To each season within the period 1727-30 he assigns one production. Genest's records, however, are not complete, and my conjecture—for it has not a sufficiently definite basis to be called an inference—is that the number of performances each season during the period 1716-30 averaged about two.

In the course of the third, and through the earlier part of the fourth, decades of the century several notable changes occurred in the cast. On March 14, 1717, the parts were played as follows: Morelove—Mills; Foppington—Cibber; Sir Charles—Wilks; Lady Betty—Mrs. Oldfield; Lady Easy—Mrs. Porter; Lady Graveairs—

<sup>1</sup> John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*. Bath, 1832.

Mrs. Saunders; Edging—Mrs. Bicknell. On March 5, 1733, Cibber, Wilks, and Mills still acted Foppington, Sir Charles, and Morelove respectively. All of the female rôles, however, were in new hands. Mrs. Oldfield had died in 1730, Mrs. Heron having taken her place; and Mrs. Booth, Mrs. Horton, and Miss Rafter filled the rôles of Lady Easy, Lady Graveairs, and Edging.

Genest's data include no record of *The Careless Husband* between April 4, 1730, and January 29, 1732, but the testimony of Genest is far from conclusive. In listing only three performances for the decade commencing January 1, 1732, and ending December 31, 1741, he is unquestionably inaccurate, ignoring, for instance, a performance on April 13, 1732. That the comedy, at that time, won higher esteem than Genest's findings would indicate appears from these significant words in the announcement: "By command of his Royal Highness." For the next decade (1742-52) Genest mentions only two performances. In connection with that of February 9, 1745, he supplies the information, "Not acted 5 years," though Adams, in his *Dictionary of the Drama*, makes clear reference to a performance in 1742. To the following decade (1752-62) Genest assigns two, to the next (1762-72) three, and to the following (1772-82) two. He accounts, also, for one in 1790. Scattered along the whole period of 1732-92 I have found unequivocal notices of eight performances wholly overlooked by Genest: those on April 29, 1734; March 17, 1757; April 26, 1759; May 24, 1759; January 2, 1760; October 14, 1760; April 1, 1761; and November 28, 1792. It seems reasonable to surmise that *The Careless Husband*, during the whole of the eighteenth century after Mrs. Oldfield's death, was never off the London stage for more than two or three successive seasons; that sometimes it made its appearance, as illustrated by the dates

just cited, two or three times in a single season; and, finally, that the number of performances probably averaged one, and possibly two, biennially.

There is evidence of two Scottish performances of the play, both in Edinburgh, the one on January 7, 1734, the other on February 11, 1764. That it aroused the animadversion, or at least the attention, of the public authorities is plain from a news-item in the *Caledonian Mercury* stating that on January 9, 1739, one John Morison was imprisoned for "presuming to put up placarts [placards]" advertising "that at night the Comedy, called the Careless Husband" would be acted in Carraber's Close.

Even more meagre and unsatisfactory are the sources that bear upon the Irish productions. It is known, nevertheless, that in Dublin, during the brief summer-season of 1742, Peg Woffington assumed the rôle of Lady Betty, and that during the regular season of 1751-2 she acted the part there. It is not unlikely that she appeared in Dublin in the same capacity during the interval.

After William Hallam, the manager of Goodman's Fields, had gone into insolvency in 1750, he dispatched a company of players to America, thus introducing English drama, in its wider scope, to the western hemisphere. Among the twenty-four plays which were prepared before the departure from England was *The Careless Husband*, which, it may be presumed, had at least a few performances in the course of the American residence. Dunlap, it is true, in his *American Theatre*, includes Cibber's comedy among the plays the popularity of which did not survive into the next century; he intimates, however, that it had its following during the earlier years of the American enterprise.

HARRY GLICKSMAN.

### XIII.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF MILTON'S PRIVATE STUDIES

The remarkable autograph manuscript discovered in 1874 by A. J. Horwood among the papers of Sir Frederick Graham of Netherby is one of the basic documents for the study of Milton. It furnishes a list of some ninety authors, many of them by no means obvious, whom Milton knew; it indicates a large number of specific passages which he found interesting; and, finally, it contains, either explicitly or by implication, a host of opinions and ideas, consideration of which affords a new insight into the working of his mind. The Commonplace Book is, indeed, an important key to Milton's intellectual activity, and as such it merits a more careful critical consideration and a wider application than it has yet received. The facsimile published by the Royal Society of Literature<sup>1</sup> in 1876 rendered the document accessible in its original form, and Horwood's edition for the Camden Society<sup>2</sup> attempted a solution of some of the fundamental problems which must be dealt with before the note book can be put to fruitful use. But Horwood unfortunately did his work with little care and left it incomplete in many particulars. His text in the revised edition is reasonably accurate, but the editorial work is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. The editor did not undertake the necessary labor of identifying all the works and authors cited, nor did he always distinguish between those quoted by Milton at first and at second hand. His list of parallels from Milton's published

<sup>1</sup> *A Common-Place Book of John Milton*, reproduced from the original manuscript, London, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> *A Common-Place Book of John Milton*, edited by Alfred J. Horwood, London, 1876 (Camden Society); revised edition, 1877.

writings is scanty, and he has failed to supply other obvious apparatus.

The most serious barrier, however, to any extensive application of the *Commonplace Book* to the study of Milton has been the absence of certainty regarding the dates of the entries. They are not set down in chronological order, like the materials in the *Cambridge Manuscript*, and it is impossible from the printed text to form any idea when the separate entries were made. This is obviously a matter of the utmost importance if we wish to learn more from these entries than that Milton read such and such an author and was interested in such and such a passage or idea at some undetermined period of his life. Horwood points out a few indications of date in the case of individual entries, and occasional assertions have been made on the unsafe basis of the contents of the notes as to the periods to which they belong. It does not seem to have occurred to any student to make a more thorough application of the available evidence, especially that afforded by the manuscript itself, and to see how far it is possible to go toward a chronology of the entire body of material.

In studying the *Commonplace Book* recently with a view to taking a fuller account of the contribution made by it to our knowledge of Milton, the writer was led to experiment with the solution of this problem. The results, though by no means so complete as one could wish, are definite enough to justify a positive denial of certain current assumptions based on the inaccurate observations<sup>3</sup> of Horwood, and to

<sup>3</sup>Horwood's statement that some of the writing (*i. e.*, the first and third entries on page 197) is in the hand of Daniel Skinner has been repeated without question by almost every writer who has had occasion to refer to the *Commonplace Book*. This identification is absolutely unsound, as anyone who cares to compare the scribal entries with Skinner's genuine handwriting can easily determine. (See p. 281, below).

suggest new conclusions of considerable importance. In the present paper I have undertaken, after discussing the criteria for dating the entries and describing the general method employed, to present a chronological analysis of the Commonplace Book and to indicate the bearing of the material, when so ordered, on the history of Milton's mind, reserving for later studies various miscellaneous questions which present themselves. Incidentally, I have added an expanded and corrected list of the authors and, wherever possible, of the editions referred to, in the hope that attention may be directed anew to many lines of investigation suggested by the document and that a more adequate working basis may be provided for its use.<sup>4</sup>

It is evident at a glance that the notes in the Commonplace Book were made at various times by a number of different persons. Distinction may at once be made between the entries in Milton's autograph and those in other hands. Of the latter, some (the minority) were evidently dictated by him. They follow the exact form established by Milton himself, and some of the handwriting is, as will be shown, identical with that of amanuenses whom he

<sup>4</sup>For the paleographical part of the investigation I have used in the first instance the autotype facsimile of the Commonplace Book. Observations based on this have, however, been tested with the original in the British Museum by Miss E. Margaret Thompson, who has also determined for me some doubtful points on the basis of differences in ink not adequately reproduced in the facsimile. Various other reproductions of the writing of Milton and his scribes and most of the originals available in America have also been employed. The edition of Milton's prose referred to is that of Mitford. It has proved impossible to trust the statements regarding Milton's autograph and the writing of his amanuenses made by earlier investigators in this field, though I have often benefited by their suggestions. I am greatly indebted to the keen observation and wide experience of Professor Carleton Brown, who very generously assisted me in the initial stages of my study.

is known to have employed. One set of entries was certainly not dictated by him. These are in a hand identified by Horwood as that of Sir Richard Graham, Lord Preston, who apparently acquired the volume after Milton's death. They are evidently the work of a person who, taking advantage of Milton's method and materials, continued the collection for his own purposes. This is proved by many small differences in the manner of entry, by the emergence of opinions and interests at variance with Milton's, and finally by the reference to an edition of Machiavelli published in 1675 (p. 177). Setting aside these entries, therefore, as not belonging to the document as Milton left it, we may divide the remaining material into notes inserted by Milton himself while he still had his eyesight and others dictated by him to the various amanuenses who assisted him in or before his blindness. The earliest date for the dictated entries cannot be determined on this ground with absolute certainty, for there is evidence that Milton made occasional use of scribes long before 1652, the year in which his blindness became complete. But the data afforded by the Cambridge MS. and other Miltonic documents is such as to establish a pretty strong presumption that any material in the hand of an amanuensis was written after about 1650.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Phillips alludes to Milton's practice of dictating to his students passages from the Divines as a part of their Sunday exercises. In *Apology*, 1641/2, Milton speaks of reading good authors "or causing them to be read." The sonnet "Captain or Colonel or Knight at Arms," 1642, in the Cambridge Manuscript appears in a scribal hand, with revision of the title by Milton himself. Finally, the inscription in the album of Christopher Arnold, 1651, is in the hand of an amanuensis, with Milton's personal signature.

All this, however, does not show that Milton was in the habit of employing assistance for the writing of ordinary notes or for recording his compositions in prose or verse until the period of his partial or total blindness. Indeed, the Cambridge MS. appears to prove the

A second highly important step in the classification of the entries is made possible by a change which Milton adopted in his handwriting during his Italian journey (1638-9). In the majority of the autograph entries he uses the Italic form of the letter "e," in others the Greek form, and this he does, save in a few instances to be discussed later, with absolute consistency.<sup>6</sup> The same phenomenon is to be observed in the Cambridge MS. and in all other specimens of Milton's handwriting. In the Cambridge MS. the text of the poems written during the Horton period (1632-8) employs the Greek "ε" with not more than a half-dozen exceptions; while the notes of dramatic subjects and the autograph sonnets (written after 1639) contain, except in the case of capitals and the superscript "e" in "ȳ," not a single instance of this formation of the letter.

contrary. All the later sonnets in that document before that to Cromwell, 1652, are in Milton's hand, the last being the Fairfax sonnet of 1648, though several of them were copied after 1652 for the press by scribes. Besides the Cambridge MS. materials the latest specimens of Milton's autograph, except signatures, are: a list of his treatises from 1641 to 1648 (Sotheby, *Ramblings*, 119); a letter to Dati, 1647 (New York Public Library); a receipt from Robert Warcup, 1647 (Dreer collection, Philadelphia); and entries in the Family Bible (*Milton Facsimiles*, published by the British Museum), made in 1646 and 1650. In the last mentioned document Milton has written also the first words of an entry of 1652, which is continued by an amanuensis.

<sup>6</sup>Horwood attempts to distinguish between the strata of Milton's autograph entries on the basis of general appearance, but his consequent division of them into "large and small writing" proves upon examination to be inaccurate. The size of the writing is dependent on circumstances. The early writing is usually smaller, but it is the formation of the letter "e" which constitutes the chief criterion, and of this Horwood makes no use. It is noted in Sotheby's *Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*, and is applied by Masson to the Cambridge MS. The fact has not been used hitherto in relation to the Commonplace Book, nor have other specimens of Milton's writing been examined with reference to this point.

Sotheby issues a warning to those who would determine the date of an autograph from the formation of a single letter, but Milton's uncommon consistency in this, as in so many matters, leaves no doubt as to the general validity of the test. The first example of the later hand is the inscription in the autograph book of the Carduini family,<sup>7</sup> dated June 10, 1639, where the Italic "e" is employed in the two quotations and the signature, and in all his subsequent writing Milton adheres uniformly to this practice. In the writing before 1638-9, he occasionally slips into the use of an Italic "e," but he does this so rarely that the uniform use of this character in any piece of writing consisting of more than a word or two constitutes a reasonably certain test of its having been written after his departure for Italy (April, 1638), while the use of a Greek "ε" even sporadically is practically conclusive evidence of a date prior to that time.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In the possession of the Harvard College Library.

<sup>8</sup> An apparent contradiction is to be found in the annotations made by Milton in the several volumes of classic authors which have come down to us from his Library—the Euripides, from which Sotheby gives a page of specimens, and the Pindar in the Harvard College Library. (The Lycophron, which I have had the privilege of examining through the courtesy of its owner, Mr. Alfred White of Brooklyn, uses consistently the Greek "ε.") In these sets of notes the "e's" seem to be freely mixed. The explanation is, in part, at least, that Milton returned from time to time to these volumes, the first notes in which were made before 1639. In the Pindar one extensive set of entries having the Italic "e" consists of quotations from a single author, Eustathius, and these are evidently later additions. The two page index at the end contains no single instance of Italic "e". The situation appears to be the same with the Euripides. It is certainly so in the corrections to the minor poems, which again might seem like an invalidation of the criterion. Thus in *Lycidas* the correction of "glimmering" to "opening," or "burnished" to "westring," and the note inserted after the title, "In this monodie" etc., all of which use consistently the later "e," were made after the publication of the first edition in 1638, presumably

We have, then, manuscript data for dividing Milton's reading notes into three chronological groups. It is possible to go further and to determine in many cases the order within the groups. Close inspection of the autotype shows that Milton invariably made the heading at the top of the page at the same time that he recorded the first entry under it, and that this first entry was in every case but one<sup>9</sup> put at the top of the page contiguously with the heading. The remaining entries were made at the same writing or later. It is often possible to distinguish by the handwriting strata of notes clearly separated by intervals of time. On page 109, for example, the first and ninth blocks of entries (the first and twelfth in Horwood) are brought out to an even margin and bear every evidence of having been written under the same conditions. They are obviously earlier than the other entries on the page, which were filled in singly or in groups in the remaining spaces, some care being taken to have each additional note placed near the one to which it is most closely related in idea. These evidences of stratification in the entries extend, as we shall see, beyond the single page.

Taking this kind of evidence as a basis, and applying such other simple manuscript tests (crowding, etc.) as

just before the publication of the 1645 edition of the poems. This kind of explanation removes a large proportion of the apparent irregularities. There remain some cases of the Italic "e" in the text of the minor poems, a considerable number in the Pindar, and several in one correction to *Lycidas* which was certainly made before 1638. One post-1639 entry in the Commonplace Book, moreover, has two exceptional instances of Greek "ε." The letter is written rather large and is in each case separated from the initial letter of the word as if a capital (see last entry on p. 183).

\* P. 249, where an amanuensis wrote the heading at the top of page and began the entry in the middle, the space between being later filled in by Lord Preston.

will at once suggest themselves, we may now inquire how far the analysis will carry us toward a complete and significant chronology of the entries, and whether the order of the notes affords a reliable index of the order in which the authors cited were read by Milton. The evidence here is rather complex and the detail must be reserved for presentation later. But it will be clear, I think, that the Commonplace Book exhibits a quite unexpected simplicity of method, and that it is possible to make it serve as a rough guide to one large department of Milton's reading. It is to be observed that Milton did not record in the volume notes from works to which he must constantly have been referring. There are only three quotations from the classics and none at all from Scripture. Nor did he ordinarily, as we shall see, use it for materials gathered in the immediate process of research, but rather as a permanent aid to his thought and memory. The great majority of the entries were obviously made in the course of Milton's general reading in certain fields. The method employed was apparently to mark the significant passages and from time to time to write up a series of notes based on them under appropriate headings in the Commonplace Book. Often he appears to have used several authors simultaneously, as, for example, in studying the history of England, and here we find a mingling of references to various works in the same note. Sometimes, too, a passage considered as worth recording recalled another in some work previously read. But the passage so recalled is apt to be from an author whom Milton had been through very recently, and this process is not carried far enough to invalidate the general assumption that the chronological position of one note relative to others indicates the position of the work to which it refers in the scheme of Milton's reading and the place of the entire body of notes

from that author in the chronology of the *Commonplace Book*. The surprising thing is that the evidence is so seldom contradictory in this regard. There are, moreover, various ways of checking the results, as indicated in particular cases below.

For the actual dating of the notes and the reading in the first two periods there is material in the dates of publication of the works or editions used by Milton,<sup>10</sup> and in allusions in Milton's other works. The latter are especially conclusive when they are to passages cited in the *Commonplace Book*. An exhaustive application of data of this sort is obviously impossible until the question of Milton's use of materials from the authors cited has been fully worked out. The present study must therefore be regarded as to this extent incomplete.

For the third period of Milton's life (c. 1650-1674), that which followed his partial or total loss of sight, we have the data for grouping the various sets of entries in the handwriting of the different scribes to whom they were dictated. The whole question of Milton's use of amanuenses is here involved, and unfortunately the facts are far from clear. It seems quite certain, however, that the old idea of their being members of his family is untenable. The evidence of the extant documents, against the statements of the biographers, is remarkably consistent for a series of scribes working for him in successive periods. This is borne out by the Cambridge MS. and

<sup>10</sup> The edition can usually be ascertained only when Milton gives page references. In many cases he cites book and chapter. With the assistance of Miss E. Margaret Thompson, working in the British Museum, I have succeeded in identifying, in all but a few instances, editions to which Milton's page references apply. Where the pagination of several duplicate issues answers to Milton's pages I have so stated. All editions available to Milton, of which copies are to be found in the British Museum or in the Harvard College Library have been examined.

other scribal material so far as we can date it, and by the Commonplace Book itself. Owing to the scanty number of the dictated entries there is little indication in the manuscript of the relative position of the groups. But several of the hands can be identified as belonging to scribes whose work appears in other Milton items of known date, and the conclusions as to chronology suggested by these identifications can sometimes be checked by other data.

The analysis, with the detailed observations on which it is based, follows. In order to simplify the presentation, it has been necessary to relegate all modifications of the general classification of the entries by authors, together with the citation of Milton's editions, to foot-notes. In cases, however, where entries from one work appear in more than one of the larger chronological divisions, the title is repeated. The order within the smaller groups is not especially significant, but I have endeavored to suggest by the arrangement the relation which different works bore to each other in Milton's program of study, from the standpoint of subject matter, sometimes, also, to indicate roughly the probable chronological relation of the notes. The grouping itself is meant to be uninfluenced by conjecture, though I have often been guided in my observations by the inherent probabilities of the case. The numbers in parentheses refer to the pages of the Commonplace Book.

#### AUTHORS ENTERED BEFORE 1639 (ALL IN MILTON'S HAND)

##### FIRST GROUP

These entries are in a small, neatly printed hand; they were evidently made with great care and attention to uniformity. It is possible to distinguish them at a

glance from all other writing in the volume. With the exceptions noted below the "e" is formed in the Greek fashion. The nearest approach to this style in other autograph material is the index to the Pindar (presumably written in 1634), but the writing bears a general resemblance to the script used throughout the early poems in the Cambridge MS., the latter being, however, hastier and more current. References from Socrates and Eusebius are frequently combined in the same note. There is no way of determining the order in which the authors included in this group were used. The notes may well have been made in large part at a single sitting. Wherever there is opportunity of testing them in relation to others, the position of the group as the earliest in the volume is confirmed.

The earliest allusions in Milton's published works to authorities in this group are in *Of Reformation* (1641), where, as also throughout the later prose, the church historians, Eusebius and Socrates, are heavily drawn on, sometimes with reference to the specific passages cited in the *Commonplace Book*.<sup>10a</sup> Procopius is first referred to in *Doctrine and Discipline* (1643).

1. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (53,<sup>11</sup> 105, 109, 177).
2. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* (55, 181).
3. Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (53, 55, 61, 109, 151, 181).
4. *Historia Miscella*<sup>12</sup> (181).

<sup>10a</sup> See W. T. Hale's edition of the tract *Of Reformation*, *Yale Studies in English*, Introduction, for a discussion and list of Milton's borrowings.

<sup>11</sup> This entry, a mere citation added to the note from Socrates (No. 3), is in a different style and has two instances of Italic "e." The incident referred to is elaborated in *Areopagitica*, P. W., II, 409.

<sup>12</sup> This is an anonymous compilation in 24 books, based in the

5. Procopius, *De Bello Persico*<sup>12</sup> (151, 230).

## SECOND GROUP (later than Group I)

The writing here is much less uniform than that of the Group I entries, and at least three strata are discernible: (a) the notes from historical authors (including Sigonius, Gregoras, Cantacuzenus, and Nicephoras), written rather carefully after the general manner of the Group I entries but easily distinguishable from them; (b) the notes from Dante, Boccaccio, and Prudentius, similar to (a) in general appearance but in a lighter ink; (c) most of the references to the fathers, hastily written with a coarse pen and black ink. The three styles, together with that of Group I, are very clearly illustrated on pages 181-2. The Dante-Boccaccio-Prudentius group (b) is determined by page 182 to be later than the Sigonius group (a). The manuscript seems to provide no certain criterion for deciding the chronological position of the entries from the fathers (c).

Suggestions as to the date of the studies here represented are afforded by Milton's use of an edition of Severus published in 1635, and by the statement in a letter to Diodati, dated September, 1637, that he had finished a course of reading in later Greek history and in the period of Italian history covered by Sigonius (see below, p. 291). He speaks in Epistle VIII (Florence, September 10, 1638) of his delight in feasting on Dante. It has been argued, though inconclusively, that the influence of the Divine

*Historia Romana* of Paulus Diaconus. Milton's page references fit "Historiae Miscellae a Paulo Aquilegiensi Diacono Lib. XXIV, editi ab Henrico Canisio Noviosnago I. C." . . . Ingolstadii . . . 1603.

<sup>12</sup> The Persian War constitutes the first two books of Procopius' *Historiae*. Milton's references are to the editio princeps, edited by Hoeschel, Augsburg, 1607.

Comedy is to be found in "Lycidas" (1637). See Oscar Kuhns, "Dante's Influence on Milton," *Modern Language Notes*, XIII, 1-11. Milton shows thorough familiarity with the works referred to of Cyprian, Ignatius, Tertullian, Justin, Severus, Cedrenus, and Sigonius in the tract *Of Reformation* (1641), occasionally citing one of the passages referred to in the Commonplace Book.<sup>14</sup>

6. Sulpicius Severus, *Historia Sacra*<sup>15</sup> (150,<sup>16</sup> 182<sup>16</sup>).
7. Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (220).
8. Sigonius, *De Occidentali Imperio* (182<sup>17</sup>).
9. Sigonius, *De Regno Italiae*<sup>18</sup> (183, 220, 240).
10. Gregoras Nicephoras, *Historia Byzantina*<sup>19</sup> (181, 220, 240).
11. Cantacuzenus (John VI), *Historia Byzantina*<sup>20</sup> (240).
12. Dante, *Divina Comedia*:<sup>21</sup> *Inferno* (12, 16, 70, 160); *Paradiso* (111).
13. Dante, *Canzone IV*<sup>22</sup> (191).

<sup>14</sup> See Hale, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Milton's references fit the Elzevir edition, Leyden, 1635.

<sup>16</sup> These notes have several instances of Italic "e."

<sup>17</sup> This note begins a second page under the title "Rex," the first having been already nearly filled with entries from the Group I authors.

<sup>18</sup> Milton's references fit the edition published by Wechel at Frankfurt in 1575 and the duplicate edition published by the heirs of Wechel at Frankfurt in 1591, fol.

<sup>19</sup> The early editions of Gregoras contain only the first eleven books, covering the period from 1204 to the accession of John VI in 1341. The remaining thirteen were added in the Paris folio of 1702.

<sup>20</sup> Milton must have used the Latin translation of Cantacuzenus by Jacobus Pontanus, 1603. The Greek text remained inedited until 1645.

<sup>21</sup> The edition is fixed by the reference on page 160, which cites Canto XI and "Daniell. in eum locum," i. e. "Dante, con l'espositione di M. Bernardino Daniello da Lucca sopra la sua Comedia," Venezia, 1568. This is the only edition of Daniello's commentary.

<sup>22</sup> This is the *Canzone on Nobility*, prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*.

14. Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon* (191<sup>22</sup>).
15. Boccaccio, *Vita di Dante*<sup>24</sup> (182<sup>25</sup>).
16. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* (151<sup>26</sup>).
17. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*<sup>27</sup> (71, 109).
18. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* (106).
19. Cyprian, *Tractatus de Disciplina et Habitu Virginum* (106).
20. Cyprian, *Epistolae* (109).
21. Cyprian, *De Spectaculis* (241).
22. Ignatius, *Epistolae*<sup>28</sup> (109).
23. Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* (4,<sup>29</sup> 241<sup>29</sup>).

<sup>22</sup> Obviously entered contemporaneously with note from Dante (No. 13).

<sup>24</sup> Unless Milton is citing Boccaccio at second hand from some unmentioned source he must have used the editio princeps, published by Sermartelli, Florence, 1576. He remarks that the incident of the burning of the *De Monarchia* was suppressed in later editions of the *Vita*, which he may therefore also have known. If this is a second hand quotation it is the only one made in the Commonplace Book without reference to its immediate source.

<sup>25</sup> This entry was clearly set down at a later time than the note from Sigonius (No. 8).

<sup>26</sup> Italic "e" used four times in this entry. The note was apparently made with a different pen from the Dante group (Nos. 12-14).

<sup>27</sup> Milton's references to Clement all fit the edition of the *Opera* published by Carolus Morellus, Paris, 1629, reissued in duplicate by Mathaeus Guillemot, Paris, 1641. These editions contain annotations by Fredericus Sylburgius and material from other commentaries.

<sup>28</sup> Milton's references fit the Geneva edition of Ignatius, published in 1623, "cum XII exercitationibus in eundem Ignatium pro antiquitate Catholica adversus Baronium et Bellarminum auctore Nicolao Videlio, professore in Academia Genevensi et verbi divini ministro."

<sup>29</sup> These two entries and the following from the *De Jejuniis* constitute the most considerable portion of the notebook in which Milton mixes the Greek and Italic "e." There can be little doubt that the entries belong before 1639 and constitute a chronological unit with the other materials from the fathers. Milton cites the edition of Rigaltius. This would be the first Rigaltius edition, published at Paris, c. 1634, presumably identical in pagination with the second,

24. Tertullian, *De Jejuniis* (13).
25. Tertullian, *Apologetica* (181).
26. Justin Martyr,<sup>29a</sup> *Tryphon* (109<sup>30</sup>).
27. Justin Martyr, *Apologia pro Christianis* (182<sup>31</sup>).
28. Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*<sup>31a</sup> (109<sup>32</sup>).
29. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (109<sup>33</sup>).

AUTHORS ENTERED BETWEEN 1639 AND 1652 (ALL IN  
MILTON'S HAND)

FIRST GROUP

The entries here and in the later groups in this division have uniformly the Italic "e." Lactantius (No. 30) is twice associated with Tertullian (No. 23), but close inspection of the writing will show that in both cases the Lactantius entry belongs to a later stratum (pages 4, 241). On page 14 Milton has combined a Lactantius citation with a reference to the sodomy of King Mempricius "in fabulis nostris," but the latter note is a recollection of Geoffrey of Monmouth (II, 6), read in the Horton period, and is not from the chronicle history reading represented in Group II. Elsewhere the Lactantius entries are en-

Paris, 1641, which answers to Milton's page references. No copy of this first edition is accessible to me.

<sup>29a</sup> Milton used the Cologne ed. of the *Opera*, 1636.

<sup>30</sup> This note must have been made with the Ignatius-Clement-Cyprian group above it (Nos. 17-22).

<sup>31</sup> This note is apparently contemporaneous with the entries from Sigonius, *De Imperio* (No. 8) and from Boccaccio (No. 15). The writing does not show the characteristics of the other entries from the fathers and cannot therefore be used as a test of the chronological position of the group.

<sup>31a</sup> Milton apparently used the Basle ed. of 1566.

<sup>32</sup> This entry, a mere citation, appears to have been added to the Eusebius note (No. 1) when the entries which follow were made from the Ignatius-Clement-Justin group (Nos. 17, 22, 26).

<sup>33</sup> This entry has the Italic "e" and may belong after 1639. It

tirely separate from the others, and the notes from Malmesbury and Holinshed on pages 14 and 173 are obviously of later date than those from Lactantius on the same page. Similarly the Savonarola entry (No. 33) on page 179 is evidently earlier than the items from the chronicles which follow it.

Lactantius is first explicitly cited in *Of Reformation* (1641), but there is reason to suppose that Milton may have been familiar with the *Institutes* at a much earlier period.<sup>34</sup>

30. Lactantius, *De Ira Dei* (4).

31. Lactantius, *De Opificio Dei* (18).

32. Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* (4, 5, 14, 178, 241).

33. Savonarola, *Tratto delle Revelatione della Reformatione della Chiesa* <sup>35</sup> (179).

has, however, all the appearance of having been set down with those from the fathers on this page.

<sup>34</sup>See Osgood, *American Journal of Philology*, Jan.-March, 1920; also A. F. Leach, "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1907-8, pp. 305 and 307. Professor Osgood's parallels between the *Institutes* and the "Nativity Ode" seem to me conclusive of direct indebtedness. Cf. also Cook's citations from *Institutes*, II, 16, in connection with the stanzas about the cessation of oracles, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy*, xv. In Mr. Leach's extract from Colet, where Lactantius is prescribed among other Christian authors for study in St. Paul's school, the poem on the Phoenix and not, as the writer assumed, the prose may be meant. However, Lactantius, as the "Christian Cicero" was much esteemed and his genuine writings may well have been studied by the advanced students at St. Paul's. Of Milton's general familiarity with Lactantius and of his large indebtedness to him there can be no doubt. See below, p. 296.

<sup>35</sup>The Latin editions are entitled *Compendium Revelationum* etc. Milton cites the Italian text, giving a page number. The edition printed at Florence in 1495 is without pagination. He must therefore have used some later reprint.

## SECOND GROUP (later than Group I)

The references in this section show many varieties of Milton's handwriting and were evidently made at various times. The entries from Speed, Holinshed, Malmesbury, and Stow (Nos. 35-38) are so linked together that it is apparent that Milton was using these authors in close conjunction with one another when they were set down. A few Holinshed and Speed entries appear in later strata; so also do the notes from Sarpi (No. 49), Camden (No. 44), and the earlier books of Girard and Thuanus (Nos. 50-51). A chronological distinction might here be made, but it would be difficult to define it exactly on the grounds which I have adopted for this analysis. I have indicated some of the detail in the notes. A few detached entries are added when they seem quite certainly to be earlier than or contemporary with entries from other authors in this group. But for clearness in presentation of the sequence other more doubtful miscellaneous entries, also those which can be related to this group only on evidence other than paleographical, even when their chronology is quite certain, are reserved for individual treatment later.

From Milton's familiarity with English history displayed in *Of Reformation* (1641), where Camden, Holinshed, Speed, Hayward, and Sir Thomas Smith are directly or indirectly quoted,<sup>36</sup> we may infer the study represented by the titles in this group to have been well advanced by the summer of 1641. The same conclusion is suggested by the fact that Malmesbury, Holinshed, Stow, and Speed are associated also in the notes for British tragedies in the

<sup>36</sup> Hale, *loc. cit.* Hale notes that while Speed and Holinshed are nowhere cited their phraseology is reproduced in several places. Bede is first cited in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (1641).

Cambridge MS., which are ascribed by Masson on various grounds to the twelve months (1639-40) immediately following Milton's return from Italy and which presumably grew out of the same study. What proportion of the notes in the Commonplace Book stood complete in 1641 is more doubtful, certainly the majority of those in the Holinshed-Speed-Stow-Malmesbury group. A note from Sir Thomas Smith (No. 39) is clearly echoed in *Of Reformation*<sup>37</sup> (1641) and the Camden entry on page 245 (No. 44) cites passages of which Milton makes use in the same pamphlet (Hale, *loc. cit.*). The Sleidanus note on page 76 (No. 46) is worked up in *Apology* (1641/2) (P. W., III, 260). Since most of the notes from this author were clearly written with the same pen we may feel assured that Milton had gone carefully through the work before writing his tract. The Camden notes as a whole are later than those from Holinshed etc., while those from Sarpi (No. 49), which seem from the writing to have been set down at one time, are later still. Fortunately we can date the Sarpi entries with considerable definiteness. The passage on divorce (p. 112) and the one on dispensations from the law (189) are made use of in the second edition of *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, published before February 2, 1643/4, but not in the first, published before August 1, 1643. Milton would almost certainly have embodied them in his first pamphlet had he noted them before he wrote it, for he was eager for support of his theory. Furthermore, the note on freedom of the press (p. 184) is employed in *Areopagitica*, November, 1644. Milton knew something of Sarpi, to be sure, as early as 1641, for he refers to him in *Reason of Church Government*, though in a manner which leaves it doubtful if he

<sup>37</sup> Prose Works, I, 56. Cf. second note from Smith on page 182.

had read him,<sup>38</sup> and it is possible that the Sarpi entries actually belong to the years 1640-1. At any rate, a *terminus ad quem* in 1643 is conclusively established for the elaborate body of notes in Group II, since in no case can one of them be shown to be later than an entry from Sarpi. It is to be observed that the divorce entries first appear in the Sarpi group, except for one not very explicit citation to Camden (p. 197), which may, of course, be later than the bulk of the chronicle notes.

34. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* <sup>39</sup> (57).

35. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglicorum* <sup>40</sup> (14, 53, 72, <sup>41</sup> 73, <sup>42a</sup> 184, 185).

36. Stow, *Annales, or a General Chronicle of England* <sup>43</sup> (15, 57, <sup>43</sup> 72, 109, 179, <sup>44</sup> 180, 181, 184, 185, 220, 242).

37. Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* <sup>45</sup> (17, 19, 72, 74, 109, 110, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183, 185, <sup>46</sup> 186, <sup>47</sup> 220, 221, 242, 243, 244).

<sup>38</sup> "You know, Sir, what was the judgment of Padre Paulo, the great Venetian antagonist of the Pope, for it is extant in the hands of many men." P. W. I, 41. Sarpi's prophecy of the civil war in England, to which he refers, would, of course, be a matter of common knowledge.

<sup>39</sup> For an edition of Bede presumably used by Milton see Gildas (No. 83).

<sup>40</sup> Milton's references agree with the edition of *De Gestis* in Saville's *Rerum Anglicarum post Bedam Scriptores*, London, 1596, and with a second folio of the same, Frankfurt, 1601.

<sup>41</sup> Contemporaneous with entries from Holinshed (No. 37), Stow (No. 36), and Speed (No. 38). Elsewhere Malmesbury is regularly cited with the parallel passage in Stow.

<sup>42a</sup> Malmesbury is not mentioned in this note but the anecdote is referred to him in Milton's *History of Britain*, P. W. III, 224.

<sup>43</sup> Milton used the London folio of 1615 or the same as reissued in duplicate with additions in 1631.

<sup>44</sup> This entry is probably later than that from Bede (No. 34).

<sup>45</sup> Later than note from Savonarola and apparently contemporaneous with one from Holinshed (No. 37).

<sup>46</sup> Milton's references fit the three volume London folio of 1587.

38. Speed, *History of Great Britain*<sup>48</sup> (53, 72, 74, 109, 160, 179, 180, 183, 185, 186, 187, 220, 221, 242, 245).

39. Sir Thomas Smith, *Commonwealth of England* (182,<sup>49</sup> 185).

40. Aristotle, *Ethics* (182<sup>50</sup>).

41. Lambard, *Archeion, or a Commentary upon the High Courts of Justice in England*<sup>51</sup> (179, 183<sup>52</sup>).

42. DuChesne, *Histoire Generale d'Angleterre, d'Escosse, et d'Irlande*<sup>53</sup> (109,<sup>54</sup> 220<sup>55</sup>).

43. Machiavelli, *Arte della Guerra*<sup>56</sup> (177,<sup>57</sup> 182).

44. Camden, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, Regnante Elizabetha*<sup>58</sup> (6, 109,<sup>59</sup> 177, 181,<sup>60</sup> 186,<sup>61</sup> 188, 220,<sup>62</sup> 242, 245).

<sup>48</sup> Crowded before and therefore later than the entry from Sir Thomas Smith (No. 39).

<sup>49</sup> Contemporaneous with entry from Girard (No. 50) and with Holinshed note on page 242.

<sup>50</sup> Milton's references fit the second edition, London, 1623, fol.

<sup>51</sup> The first and second entries from Smith seem to have been made with the Holinshed notes. The third is apparently earlier than the entry from Machiavelli (No. 43) at the foot of the page.

<sup>52</sup> A marginal jotting contemporaneous with third entry from Smith (No. 39).

<sup>53</sup> Horwood erroneously takes Milton's reference to be to the *Archeionomia*, a collection of early English laws.

<sup>54</sup> Simultaneous with Holinshed note (eleventh entry on this page).

<sup>55</sup> Milton's references answer to the pages of the second edition, Paris, 1634, fol., also to those of the third, Paris, 1641.

<sup>56</sup> Earlier than Camden (No. 44).

<sup>57</sup> Added to note from Holinshed (No. 37) at a later writing.

<sup>58</sup> Milton's references are to the edition of the *Arte* printed in *Tutte le opere di Nicolo Machiavelli* . . . 1550.

<sup>59</sup> Earlier than entry from Thuanus, Book 29, crowded before it (See No. 51).

<sup>60</sup> Milton's references fit William Stansby's edition, London, 1615.

<sup>61</sup> Later than note from DuChesne (No. 42).

<sup>62</sup> Written after the Holinshed entry to which it is attached, being in a paler ink.

<sup>63</sup> Apparently later than Holinshed entry.

<sup>64</sup> The Camden entries were apparently added on this page after it had been nearly filled with long citations from Holinshed (No. 37).

45. Hayward, *The Life and Reign of King Edward the Sixth*<sup>65</sup> (245<sup>66</sup>).

46. Sleidanus, *De Statu Religionis et Reipublica Carolo Quinto Caesare*<sup>65 66</sup> (18,<sup>67</sup> 55, 76, 181,<sup>68</sup> 185, 243,<sup>69</sup> 244,<sup>70</sup> 246).

47. Ascam, *Toxophilus* (245<sup>71</sup>).

48. Jovius (Paolo Giovio), *Historia sui Temporis*<sup>72</sup> (13,<sup>73</sup> 181,<sup>74</sup> 242,<sup>74</sup> 247).

49. Sarpi (Paolo Servita), *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*<sup>75</sup> (109, 112, 179,<sup>76</sup> 184,<sup>77</sup> 189, 244<sup>78</sup>).

50. Girard (Book 1 only. See below, No. 53).

51. Thuanus (Earlier books only. See below, No. 52).

<sup>65</sup> Milton used the first edition, London, 1630.

<sup>66</sup> Apparently entered with the Speed-Ascam-Camden entries on this page.

<sup>67</sup> Milton's page references agree with none of the Latin editions in the British Museum or in Harvard College Library, nor with the English translation of 1560.

<sup>68</sup> Most of the entries from Sleidanus appear in a faded ink and were evidently written in at one time.

<sup>69</sup> Later than Lactantius (No. 31).

<sup>70</sup> At a different time from and probably later than the two Cuspinian entries (No. 61). Note ink and spacing.

<sup>71</sup> Later than Holinshed (No. 37).

<sup>72</sup> Earlier than the Thuanus-Sarpi group (Nos. 49-51).

<sup>73</sup> Contemporaneous with citations from Speed and Camden (Nos. 38, 44).

<sup>74</sup> Milton's references agree with the pagination of none of the editions available in the Harvard College Library or the British Museum.

<sup>75</sup> Added to Holinshed entries, being in a paler ink.

<sup>76</sup> Later than Holinshed entry.

<sup>77</sup> Milton's extracts are from the Italian edition, "*Istoria . . . di Pietro Soave*," London, 1619. Hales, in his edition of *Arcopagitica*, Oxford Press, p. 82, cites Nathaniel Brent's English translation, London, 1620, which Milton may, of course, also have known.

<sup>78</sup> Later than Holinshed entry, being crowded before it.

<sup>79</sup> Later than Malmesbury-Stow entry at top of page (Nos. 35-36).

<sup>80</sup> Later than Holinshed (No. 37) and Sleidanus (No. 46) and contemporaneous with entry from Thuanus, Book 21 (No. 51). The second Sarpi entry on this page is earlier than the note from Thuanus, Book 57.

## THIRD GROUP (later than Group II)

The extensive set of entries from Comines, Girard, and Thuanus bears obvious marks of having been written, in the main, at one time. The writing is made with a particularly fine pen and is immediately distinguishable on the pages where it occurs. Moreover, the entries from these authors usually appear in close conjunction. To this set may be attached with reasonable assurance the isolated entry from Gilles (No. 55) on page 53. There is abundant evidence for dating the notes in this hand later than those in Group II. A study of the consecutive pages 109-116 with regard to the content of the entries will alone suffice to establish the sequence of these groups. Milton began page 109, "Matrimonium," and page 111, "De Liberis Educandis," before 1639. He next (*i. e.*, after the Italian journey) inscribed the title "Concubinatus," with an entry from Holinshed on the page which had been left blank between. He then entered the title, "De Servis," with three notes from Justinian on page 113. Later he began to fill the blank page 112 (now the nearest to "Matrimonium") with three entries from Sarpi under the new heading, "De Divortio." Still later, apparently, he added on page 112 the two entries from Leunclavius and the reference to Bodin, and, at one sitting, the notes from the Group III authorities, continuing them on page 114, which had been begun with the citation from Raleigh and those from the earlier books of Thuanus after page 109 was well filled with entries from Group II.

These remarks apply to all the Comines entries and to those from Books 3-6 of Girard and Books 71-2 of Thuanus. The entries from Girard, Book 1, and most of those from the earlier books of Thuanus are associated with the authors in Group II and are evidently earlier

(see notes). The divorce entries all occur in the later set of notes.

A definite dating of Group III is made possible by the publication of Gilles' *History of the Waldensians* in 1644 and by the fact that the divorce materials from Thuanus are first used in *The Judgment of Martin Bucer* (1644). Had Milton noted them before that year, he would almost certainly have embodied them in the second edition of *Doctrine and Discipline* (1643/4). This confirms the conclusion suggested by the facts about the Sarpi entries that the Group II notes stood complete by 1643. Girard is first cited in *Tenure of Kings* (1648/9) where materials from Thuanus are also used, Gilles in *Of Civil Power* (1659). "Girard and the French histories" are referred to in *Defensio* (1650).

52. Thuanus (Jacques Auguste de Thou), *Historia sui Temporis* <sup>79</sup> (14, 17,<sup>80</sup> 53, 110, 112, 114,<sup>81</sup> 115,<sup>82</sup> 177,<sup>83</sup> 182,<sup>84</sup> 183,<sup>84a</sup> 184,<sup>85</sup> 185,<sup>86</sup> 186,<sup>87</sup> 188,<sup>88</sup> 244<sup>89</sup>).

<sup>79</sup> Milton used the Geneva edition, 5 vols. fol., 1620.

<sup>80</sup> Book 12. Apparently simultaneous with Holinshed note (No. 37).

<sup>81</sup> Entry 2 and the first line of entry 4 are from Book 35 and apparently belong with the Raleigh note at the top of the page (No. 67). The other Thuanus citations on this page, from Book 71, obviously belong to the later group.

<sup>82</sup> Book 35. Not in later Thuanus hand.

<sup>83</sup> Book 29. With or later than the Camden note (No. 44).

<sup>84</sup> Book 63. Crowded between entry from Holinshed (No. 37) and Sir Thomas Smith (No. 39).

<sup>84a</sup> The note regarding Charles Martel's parliament is given without reference but it is evidently from Thuanus cited in the next note on this page.

<sup>85</sup> Book 36. Not in later Thuanus hand. Probably contemporaneous with the Malmesbury entry at top of page (No. 35).

<sup>86</sup> The first entry is from Book 57. It is apparently earlier than the notes from Comines and Book 71 of Thuanus above and below it (Nos. 52, 54).

53. Girard (Bernard, Sieur du Haillan), *L'Histoire de France*<sup>80</sup> (53, 61, 109,<sup>81</sup> 110, 112, 182, 183, 185, 186, 191).

54. Comines, *Memoires*<sup>82</sup> (53, 67, 110, 185, 220).

55. Gilles, *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*<sup>83</sup> (53).

#### FOURTH GROUP (later than Group III)

The note from Sinibaldus begins a new page, "Divortium," page 112, having been already filled with entries from Groups II and III. The note from Cyprian is crowded before an entry from Girard, Book 4 (No. 53).

56. Cyprian, *De Singularitate Clericorum* (110).

57. Sinibaldus (Joannes Benedictus), *Geneanthropeia*<sup>84</sup> (116).

<sup>80</sup> Book 57. Not in later Thuanus hand. Later than Holinshed and Girard, Book I, which are written with the same heavy pen.

<sup>81</sup> The last part of this note (from Book 52) was apparently made with the same pen as the entry from Book 57 on page 186.

<sup>82</sup> Books 21 and 57. Simultaneous with first Sarpi entry (No. 39) but later than note from Sleidanus (No. 46).

<sup>83</sup> Milton's citations fit the Paris folio of 1576.

<sup>84</sup> The second Girard entry on page 109 and the first on page 186, both from Book I, were apparently set down with the Holinshed note at the top of page 106 at an earlier period than the group of Girard entries in the characteristic hand of Group III at the bottom of page 186, in the eighth entry on page 109 and elsewhere, all of which are from Books 3-6.

<sup>85</sup> The Galiot edition of 1552, fol., Paris, is the first one in which Comines' chronicle has the title "*Memoires*" and is the one referred to by Milton (See *Commonplace Book*, page 67).

<sup>86</sup> The first and only edition was published in Geneva, 1644. The complete title is "*Histoire ecclesiastique des églises reformées, re-cuiellies en quelque vallées de Piedmont et circonvoisines autrefois appelées vaudoises.*"

<sup>87</sup> *Geneanthropeiae, sive de Hominis Generatione Decateuchon*, Romae, 1642, fol. This was the only edition published before 1652.

## MISCELLANEOUS ENTRIES

## A (probably before 1644)

58. Hardyng, Chronicle <sup>95</sup> (242).
59. Historia Scotieorum (186 <sup>96</sup>).
60. Sesellius (Claude de Seyssel), De Monarchia Francie <sup>97</sup> (186, <sup>98</sup> 242 <sup>99</sup>).
61. Cuspinianus, De Caesaris atque Imperatoribus Romanis <sup>100</sup> (151, 181, <sup>101</sup> 186, <sup>102</sup> 190, <sup>103</sup> 193).
62. Purchas, Pilgrimes <sup>104</sup> (13, <sup>105</sup> 57 <sup>106</sup>).
63. Campion, History of Ireland <sup>107</sup> (74 <sup>108</sup>).

<sup>95</sup> Two editions, published in 1543, were the only ones available to Milton. The entry appears to be contemporaneous with those from Holinshed, Camden etc. on this page (Nos. 39, 44).

<sup>96</sup> Indefinite reference. Either Boethius or Buchanan is probably meant. Cf. scribal entry on page 189 (No. 107). The note is perhaps simultaneous with the Holinshed-Girard group on this page (Nos. 37, 65, 53).

<sup>97</sup> Translated from the French by Sleidanus in 1545. The original is entitled "La grand monarchie de France," 1519.

<sup>98</sup> Apparently contemporaneous with first Thuanus entry (Book 57) and with the Cuspinian note (See Nos. 52, 61). The Speed-Camden group (Nos. 38, 44) on this page is in a paler brown ink.

<sup>99</sup> Crowded before an entry from Speed (No. 38).

<sup>100</sup> Milton's references to the folio edition published at Frankfurt, 1601, "cum Wolphgangi Hungeri I. C. annotationibus."

<sup>101</sup> Probably contemporaneous with the Holinshed entries at the foot of the page (No. 37).

<sup>102</sup> Apparently written at the same time as the Sesellius entries on this page (No. 59).

<sup>103</sup> Earlier than the Justinian notes (No. 71).

<sup>104</sup> Milton's references fit the first edition, London, 1625.

<sup>105</sup> This entry apparently belongs with that from Jovius (No. 48).

<sup>106</sup> This entry perhaps belongs with the Holinshed note at top of page.

<sup>107</sup> Milton must have used both Campion and Spenser (No. 64) in "The History of Ireland, collected by three learned authors, viz. Meredith Hanmer . . . Edmund Campion and Edmund Spenser." Dublin, 1633. His references fit the separate pagination of the two authors in this publication.

64. Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*<sup>109</sup> (188,<sup>110</sup> 242<sup>110</sup>).
65. Bacon, *A Discourse of Church Affairs*<sup>111</sup> (184).
66. Raleigh, *History of the World* (114<sup>112</sup>).
67. Chaucer,<sup>113</sup> *Canterbury Tales: Merchant's* (109<sup>114</sup>); *Wife of Bath's* (150, 191); *Physician's* (111).
68. Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose* (191).
69. Gower, *Confessio Amantis*<sup>115</sup> (243).
70. Selden, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Hebraeorum*<sup>116</sup> (110<sup>117</sup>).

<sup>108</sup> The notes apparently belong to a later stratum than those from Holinshed and Speed (Nos. 37, 38).

<sup>109</sup> For the edition see Campion (No. 63).

<sup>110</sup> Perhaps contemporaneous with the Group II authors on these pages. The two Spenser notes were apparently made at the same time.

<sup>111</sup> Milton must refer to the London reprint of 1641, which alone carries this title. The original is "Certain Considerations touching the Better Pacification of the Church of England," 1604. The quotation is used in *Areopagitica*, but Bacon's remark about licencing books had already been noted by Milton when he wrote *Animadversions* in 1641 (See P. W., I, 189), and the entry was doubtless made in that year. It is later than the Malmesbury-Stow citation at the top of the page (Nos. 35, 36), being in a different and browner ink.

<sup>112</sup> This entry is apparently later than those from Holinshed on page 109-110 and contemporary with those from Thuanus, Book 35, on page 114. It is probably later than the entries from Book 71 of Thuanus on page 114, which are written with a finer pen (See Nos. 37, 51, 52).

<sup>113</sup> All the Chaucer entries fit Speght's edition, London, 1596, and its duplicate of 1602. This fact determines the Chaucer canon so far as Milton is concerned. Milton had been familiar with Chaucer from his youth (Of. *Il Penseroso*, 109 ff.). "The Plowman's Tale" is quoted in *Of Reformation* (1641). It is evident that the Common-place Book entries were made together, presumably in the early 40's.

<sup>114</sup> Earlier than the entry from Leunclavius (No. 75), which is crowded before it.

<sup>115</sup> Milton used Berthelette's edition, London, 1532. Gower is quoted in *Apology* (1641/2) (See P. W. I, 321).

<sup>116</sup> Only one edition published in Milton's life. London, 1640. Sel-

71. Justinian, *Institutiones Juris Civilis* <sup>118</sup> (113, 179, 182, 190).
72. Bodin, *De Republica* (112).
73. Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire of Vermigli), *In Librum Judicum* (185 <sup>119</sup>).
74. Caesar, *Commentaries* (109 <sup>120</sup>).

#### B (probably after 1643)

75. Leunclavius, *Jus Graeco-Romanum* <sup>121</sup> (109, <sup>122</sup> 112, <sup>123</sup> 182).
76. Selden, *Uxor Ebraica* (109 <sup>124</sup>).

den is quoted in the second edition of *Doctrine and Discipline* (1643/4) and in *Areopagitica* (1644).

<sup>117</sup> Apparently later than the Holinshed entry at top of page.

<sup>118</sup> The Justinian notes, on whatever page they occur, are uniform in appearance and are pretty clearly contemporaneous entries. The position of the title "De Servis" (113) suggests that the entries antedate the Raleigh note (No. 66) under "De Matrimonio" (114). They are later than the Savonarola entry (119) and the Cuspinian entry (190) (See Nos. 33, 61). The fact that Milton makes no citations on divorce, though he had evidently carefully studied the subject in the *Institutes* before writing *Tetrachordon* (1644/5) and once refers to Justinian in the first edition of *Doctrine and Discipline* (1643), also points to a date before 1643 for these entries.

<sup>119</sup> Apparently simultaneous with the Holinshed-Stow-Smith entries (Nos. 37, 36, 39) on this page. (Peter Martyr is cited in *Tetrachordon* (1644/5), *Judgment of Martin Bucer* (1644) and *Tenure of Kings* (1649). The last citation (P. W. II, 472) is to the passage indicated in the Commonplace Book.

<sup>120</sup> Earlier than entry from Girard, Book I (No. 53).

<sup>121</sup> Milton's references fit the Frankfurt folio of 1576, the first edition and the only one available in Milton's time. The note on page 112 is elaborated and discussed in *Tetrachordon* (1644/5). The general subject is treated in *Doctrine and Discipline*, Book I, chap. viii, without use of this passage. I therefore infer the note to have been made in 1644.

<sup>122</sup> Crowded before Chaucer entry (No. 67).

<sup>123</sup> Earlier than Berni entry in Milton's hand (No. 81).

<sup>124</sup> The earliest possible date for this entry is fixed by the publication of Selden's work in 1646. Milton cites it as a divorce authority in *Defensio Secunda* (1655), and he employs the passage cited here in *Likeliest Means* (1659).

77. Von Herberstein (Sigismund), *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* <sup>125</sup> (112).

78. Tassoni, *Pensieri* (189 <sup>126</sup>).

79. Boccalini, *De' Ragguagli di Parnasso* (189 <sup>126</sup>).

80. Thomasinus Paduanus, *Vita Petrarchi* (189 <sup>126</sup>).

81. Berni, *Orlando Inamorato Rifatto* (182 <sup>127</sup>).

### C (date uncertain)

82. Schickhard, *Jus Regium Hebraeorum* (186 <sup>128</sup>).

83. Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae* <sup>129</sup> (114, <sup>130</sup> 195 <sup>131</sup>).

84. Spelman, *Concilia, Decreta etc . . . in Re Ecclesiastica Orbis Britanniae* <sup>132</sup> (?) (183).

85. Sidney, *Arcadia* <sup>133</sup> (16, 17, 187, 188).

<sup>125</sup> A marginal jotting without specific reference, "Baro. ab Herber. de Mosch.", opposite to and probably contemporaneous with the note from Thuanus, Book 72 (No. 52).

<sup>126</sup> These entries (Nos. 79-81) apparently constitute a simultaneous group, later than the Sarpi entry which begins the page (No. 49).

<sup>127</sup> A later addition to the note from Leunclavius (No. 76).

<sup>128</sup> The passage is worked up in *Defensio* (P. W. VI, 59). The entry is in a paler ink than the Holinshed-Girard citations (Nos. 37-53).

<sup>129</sup> Milton's references fit the edition of Gildas contained in Commelinus' "Rerum Brittanicarum, id est Angliae, Scotiae, Variorumque Insularum ac Regionum Scriptores," Heidelberg, 1587. This publication contains also the histories of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ponticus Verunius, Bede, Guilelmus Novericensis, and an epitome of Froissart.

<sup>130</sup> Later than Raleigh note (No. 66).

<sup>131</sup> This entry begins a third page under the title "Rex," pages 181 and 182 having presumably already been filled and many of the intervening pages written on. The note is followed only by amanuensis entries on this page.

<sup>132</sup> The entry is as follows: "If the Pope be not greater than a council, then is no king to be thought greater than the Parliament. See de Conciliis." I have no assurance that the reference is to Spelman. The first volume of the *Concilia* was published in 1639. Milton refers to Spelman in the *History of Britain* (P. W., III, 143).

<sup>133</sup> Milton's citations fit the edition of 1621, also the duplicates of 1623 and 1638. He had doubtless known and admired the "vain and

86. Guillim (John), *A Display of Heraldry* <sup>134</sup> (191).
87. Ward (Robert), *Animadversions of Warre, or a Military Magazine of Rules and Instructions for the Managing of Warre* <sup>135</sup> (18).
88. Theodoretus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (53,<sup>136</sup> 243 <sup>137</sup>).
89. Basil, *Homiliae* <sup>138</sup>: In Psalmum I (57 <sup>139</sup>); In Hexameron VIII (55 <sup>140</sup>); In Principium Proverborum (185).
90. Chrysostom, In Genesim *Homiliae* (5,<sup>141</sup> 151).
91. Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (111 <sup>142</sup>).
92. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Virginitate* <sup>143</sup> (109).
93. Guicciardini, *Historia d'Italia* <sup>144</sup> (182, 190).

amatorious poem" from his youth (Cf. *Arcopagitica*, P. W., II, 417). The citations, which are from Books 2 and 4, evidently belong later than the Group II entries. We may perhaps trace a connection between the evidences in these notes of a careful and meditative re-reading of the work and Milton's discovery of King Charles' plagiarism (P. W., I, 346).

<sup>134</sup> Milton's reference fits the second and third editions, London, 1632 and 1638.

<sup>135</sup> Folio, London, 1639. There was no other edition of this work. The entry is later than Lactantius (No. 31).

<sup>136</sup> This entry, made on the same line with one from Eusebius (No. 1), perhaps belong before 1639, but see next note.

<sup>137</sup> Certainly later than 1639, being an addition to a note from Holinshed.

<sup>138</sup> Milton's references are to the two volume folio of the *Opera*, Paris, 1618.

<sup>139</sup> Later than entry from Bede (No. 34).

<sup>140</sup> Added at a later time to entry from Smith (No. 39). The passage is quoted in *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1648/9) (P. W., II, 466).

<sup>141</sup> Chrysostom is not named in this citation. The passage used is in the twelfth homily. The entry may be contemporaneous with that from Lactantius at the top of the page (No. 32).

<sup>142</sup> The writing would appear to indicate for this note, added to a Dante entry (No. 12), a date after 1639, but it may belong to the Horton period.

<sup>143</sup> Milton's reference fits the Paris edition of 1639.

<sup>144</sup> Milton's references fit the quarto of 1636, "di nuovo riveduta et corretta per Francesco Sansovino."

94. Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*<sup>146</sup> (71).
95. Villani, *Chroniche di Firenze* (12).
96. Codinus (*Curopolata*), *De Officiis Magnae Ecclesiae et Aulae Constantinopolitanae*<sup>146</sup> (181).
97. Frontinus, *Strategmata* (19<sup>147</sup>).
98. Rivetus (André Rivet), *Praelectiones in Exodum*,<sup>148</sup> Cap. XX (160).

AUTHORS ENTERED AFTER CIRCA 1650 (IN HANDS OF  
AMANUENSES)

FIRST GROUP (*Amanuensis A*)

The entries in this group are pretty obviously in one hand. Horwood suggests comparison of the writing with that of the sonnet to Vane in the Cambridge MS. (1652) and with the inscription dictated by Milton in the Album of Christopher Arnold in 1651 (Sotheby, XIII, 1), but I can feel no assurance regarding these identifications. There is, however, one piece of scribal writing in the Milton documents not known to Sotheby or Horwood, which is almost certainly the work of this amanuensis: viz., the Italian sonnet copied on page 28 of Milton's copy of the *Rime* of Giovanni della Casa, now in the possession

<sup>145</sup> Milton had no doubt long since become acquainted with the *Gerusalemme*. See introductory note to *Mansus*, probably written in 1645.

<sup>146</sup> Codinus was first published by Francis Junius in 1588 and a Paris text had appeared in 1625. We know, however, from Milton's own statement (See below, p. 284), that he began to purchase as it was issued from the Paris press the great series of "*Byzantinae Historiae Scriptores*," in which Codinus was issued in 1648. This may account for a late return to Byzantine history in Milton's reading.

<sup>147</sup> Later than the Holinshed note at the top of this page.

<sup>148</sup> Milton's reference does not fit the reprint of this tract in the Rotterdam edition of Rivet's works, 1651 ff. The separate editions (1632, 1637) are not accessible to me.

of the New York Public Library. Mr. Paltsitz, Keeper of Manuscripts in the New York Library, who has been so kind as to compare the Commonplace Book entries with the writing in the della Casa volume, confirms my judgment as to the identity of the two hands. The fact that the Commonplace Book contains another entry from Berni (No. 81) written by Milton himself, suggests the possibility that the block of reading represented in Group I may have been done just before his blindness became complete. As I shall show in connection with Group II, the Machiavelli entries seem also to be associated with the early '50's.

99. Berni, Orlando Inamorato Rifatto (71, 187).

100. Boiardo, Orlando Inamorato (77, 187).

#### SECOND GROUP (*Amanuensis* B).

The two entries on page 197 are certainly not, as Horwood supposed, in the hands of Daniel Skinner, who recopied the first part of the Christian Doctrine manuscript and handled Milton's papers after his death. Skinner's hand, as seen in Sotheby's facsimiles (plates xx-xxiii), is much more regular than this. It has, moreover, an obviously different formation of the letters "e," "R," "f," "t," etc. Indeed, the hands have only the most superficial resemblance, and later students of Milton would not have accepted Horwood's assertion without question had they taken the trouble to compare them. I should judge, though not without hesitation, that the writing is that of Edward Philips (see specimen in Sotheby, plate xxiv).

The entries obviously belong in point of time with those of Group III. See below for a discussion of the probable date.

101. Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio* (197).

THIRD GROUP ("Machiavelli scribes," several hands?)

I am unable to decide how many hands are represented in these entries. They are all the work of careful writers and have many similarities. The notes from Book I, chapters 58-9 on pages 185, 245, and 198, those from Book II, chapters 10 and 12 on pages 148, 242, and 243, and those from the later chapters of Book II and from Book III on pages 242, 243 and 198 constitute three units, representing, it would appear, successive sets of simultaneous entries, perhaps by the same scribe. The notes from Book I, chapters 2-10 on pages 193, 195, and 246 are more probably the work of a different, earlier hand. If we assume the reading to have been done consecutively (and the notes show almost conclusively that it was) Amanuensis B must have come in for a brief period, probably for a single session, shortly after the work was begun, since his entries refer to Book I, chapter 10. The index entry to the page written by him, inserted with the other titles at the close of the Commonplace Book, is in the hand of one of the other Machiavelli scribes. We seem here to have come to very close quarters with Milton in his use of literary assistance. One wonders who were the four or five persons who could read to him in Italian and write notes in Italian and Latin—fluently, since the appearance of these entries and those of Amanuensis A, D, and F forbids us to suppose that the notes were dictated *literatim*.

The fact that no recognizable echo of any of these entries, some of them markedly anti-tyrannical in character, appears in *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1648/9), whereas the *Discorsi* constitute an important

source of *Ready and Easy Way* (1660), affords some evidence as to the date of the Machiavelli groups. The entry from Machiavelli on page 243, concerning money as the "nerves of war," is perhaps connected with line 8 of the Vane sonnet, "move by its two main nerves, iron and gold." The passage on "successio," page 195, seems to find an echo in *Ready and Easy Way* (30, 25).

102. Machiavelli, *Discorsi* (148, 243, 198, 242, 185, 195, 243, 245, 246).

#### FOURTH GROUP (*Amanuensis C*)

This group of entries is the work of the scribe who wrote the second part of the *Christian Doctrine* manuscript (Sotheby, plates xx-xxiii), the Milton signature on a conveyance to Cyricak Skinner, dated May 7, 1660 (Sotheby, plate xxiii, iv), the last entries in Milton's family Bible (*Milton Facsimiles*, published by the British Museum, 1908), and the transcript of the sonnet, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," in the Cambridge MS. Now the two Bible entries record events of the years 1652 and 1657, but they were evidently made together after the death of Milton's second wife in 1657. The sonnet was composed and presumably copied in 1658. We have, then, the definite indication of a period during which Milton was making use of the services of this scribe, *i. e.*, circa 1657-8. There is, as I have shown elsewhere (*Studies in Philology*, July, 1920, pp. 309 ff.), no reason to think the *Christian Doctrine* transcript much later. We may, therefore, assume that the Group IV entries belong also to this period. The entry from Rivet bears a rather striking resemblance to the satirical passage on "the masterpiece of a modern politician" in *Of Reformation* (1641) (P. W., I, 34), but the similarities may well

be accidental. The Commonplace Book entry is unlikely to be as early as 1641. It is the last piece of writing on the page, spaced evenly with the preceding notes, one of which is from Thuanus (No. 52). Milton had, however, become acquainted with Rivet's biblical commentary before 1643 (see *Doctrine and Discipline*, chap. iv).

103. Rivetus, *Commentarii in Exodum* (188).

104. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (195).

#### FIFTH GROUP (Amanuensis D)

This is, as Horwood observes, undoubtedly the hand which made the extant transcript of the first book of *Paradise Lost* (Sotheby, plate xxv). The transcript is presumably a duplicate for record of the press transcript itself, written, perhaps, just before the work was presented to the licenser in 1667. The entry is later than the two entries from Machiavelli in the hand of Amanuensis B. A date after 1647 is established for the Nicetas entry by the publication of the first edition of that author. We know that Milton owned a copy of the work before 1658.<sup>149</sup> He had, of course, become familiar with the *Purgatorio* at least as early as the sonnet to Harry Lawes (1646).

105. Dante, *Purgatorio* (197).

<sup>149</sup> Epistle XXI. Since Milton lists the items in the *Byzantinae Historiae Scriptores* which were not at that time in his library we can, by referring to Fabricius' account of the edition (*Bib. Graec.*, vii, 520 ff.) definitely name some dozen folio volumes which he possessed. These include, besides Nicetas and Codinus (See No. 96), the histories of Theophylactus, Georgius Monachus, Nicephoras Patriarcha, Nicephoras Caesariensis, Cedrenus, Anna Comnena, Georgius Aetopolita, Cantacuzenus, Laonicus, Duca, the *Excerpta de Legationibus*, and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, all of which had appeared before 1658.

106. Nicetas Acominatus, *Imperii Graeci Historia*<sup>100</sup> (249).SIXTH GROUP (*Amanuensis E*)

This badly written and badly spelled entry is later than the note from Machiavelli on page 198. Milton very probably studied Buchanan as early as the period of the entries from the English chronicles. He uses him throughout the prose.

107. Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*<sup>101</sup> (198).SEVENTH GROUP (*Amanuensis F*).

Horwood is, I think, mistaken in supposing these notes to be the work of the Christian Doctrine Scribe (*Amanuensis C*). I find no writing similar to this in the Milton materials. The Costanzo entry on page 248 begins a second title "Tyrannus," and must therefore be later than the Group III entries from Thuanus, etc., on page 185. Page 248 is the next to the last page of the volume.

108. Sigonius, *De Imperio Occidentali* (19, 181).109. Costanzo (Angelo di), *Historio del Regno di Napoli*<sup>102</sup> (5, 248).

The results of my attempt to chronologize the Commonplace Book materials on the basis of manuscript evidence are now complete. In spite of the indefiniteness of some of the data, it is clear that there need no longer be uncertainty regarding the document as a whole. The assump-

<sup>100</sup> Milton's page references fit the Paris folio of 1647 (see note 149, above).

<sup>101</sup> Milton cites "Edit. Edinburg," i. e. that of 1582, but, as Horwood observes, the page reference should be 131 and not 403.

<sup>102</sup> Milton's references fit the pagination of the edition published at Aquila by Giuseppe Caccio, 1581, and the duplicate of this, *ib.*, 1582.

tion of Horwood that the majority of the entries were made before Milton's Italian journey (1638-9) is certainly erroneous. Less than a third of the total number of authors and a much smaller proportion of the material itself were entered before this time. It remains true, however, that the Commonplace Book in general belongs to the earlier part of Milton's career, and the document is the more interesting on this account. Beginning, presumably, about 1636, Milton made fairly free notations until 1639, returning to the work with increased attention in 1639/40 and noting observations from his reading with great fullness in the year or two immediately following. A majority of all the entries belong to the first three years of Milton's middle period (1640 ff.). After 1644 Milton made only occasional additions to the notes. It is clear, however, that he continued to attach importance to the volume and frequently consulted it. We may assume, perhaps, that the later group of entries in Milton's autograph belongs in the main to the very end of the period in which he still had the use of his eyes (before 1652), his failing sight again furnishing a reason for his wishing again to record a few notabilia to which he might later have difficulty in referring in the volumes themselves. The most extensive portion of the scribal entries was apparently dictated in the early fifties, and none of them are demonstrably later than the Restoration.

The inference from these facts would seem to be that Milton used the volume in the main for general intellectual preparation for later work, and this observation is borne out by the character of the entries themselves. They are in no sense, as we have seen, notes set down for immediate use in controversial or learned writing. Thus the citations from the *Chronicles* do not constitute the mate-

rials for the *History of Britain*,<sup>153</sup> nor could Milton at the time when he wrote them have definitely foreseen the occasion for their use in such works as the first and second *Defensio*, the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, and the *Ready and Easy Way*. Similarly the earlier entries from the church historians and the fathers, though they are employed in the ecclesiastical tracts, were not the product of research engaged in during the course of this controversy. It is genuinely surprising that the special study which Milton must have undertaken in writing the prose works leaves so little trace in the Commonplace Book. The exception in the case of the divorce entries from Sarpi, Leunclavius, Thuanus, and the French histories (Nos. 49, 75, 52, 53, 54) is more apparent than real. These were not, strictly speaking, Milton's divorce authorities, and from the authors which he actually investigated after the first edition of *Doctrine and Discipline* (1643) in search of support for his theory—Beza, Bucer, etc.—there are no citations in the notes. The inference would seem to be that the reading from Commonplace Book authorities was done as part of a program of independent study and that the notes on divorce were entered, like those from the same writers under other heads, simply because of Milton's general and continued interest in the topic.

All this is highly suggestive as to Milton's method in the use of books, and it affords strong confirmation of the

<sup>153</sup> Naturally there are many parallels between the notes from the English chronicles and the *History* (see Horwood's list). But in no case does Milton in the Commonplace Book raise questions of fact or of the credibility of his authorities, points which in making a comparative study of the sources for his history he must have been primarily concerned with. See Firth, *loc. cit.* and especially Harry Glicksman, "The Sources of Milton's *History of Britain*" (*Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, XI, 104 ff.).

natural supposition that the *Commonplace Book* authors were in general thoroughly read as being worth while in themselves. The list, therefore, becomes of greater significance for the history of Milton's intellectual development than a more miscellaneous one would be, compiled from the references in his published works. It is unnecessary to remark that this list, as representing those writers, independent of the classics and of Scripture, in which Milton was most deeply interested, is incomplete. Milton's habit of citation is comparatively sparing; the scope of subject matter appropriate to the plan of the *Commonplace Book* was limited; and we must remember, too, that he kept at least one other set of learned notes, an *Index Theologicus*, referred to several times in the *Commonplace Book*, corresponding to the *Index Ethicus*, *Oeconomicus*, and *Politicus* of that volume.

It remains to consider some of the wider applications of the data thus far given. Without attaching too high a degree of certainty to any particular conclusion set down in connection with the chronological analysis, it is possible in the light of it and by reference to the known facts of Milton's life, to give a fairly detailed account of one large division of his studies and to fill some important gaps in his inner biography. Mark Pattison, speaking of the Horton period (1632-1638), deplores the fact that Milton kept no diary of his reading. "Of these years," he remarks, "the biographer would gladly give a minute account." But the Horton years, if we attend to all the evidence regarding them, are anything but dark. The outstanding inference from the *Commonplace Book* is that Milton began, during the period of his retirement, a clearly conceived program of historical study, to be continued with characteristic fidelity and thoroughness well

into the period of his middle life. The reasons for his doing so are clear enough. His time at the University must have been pretty well occupied with the regular academic exercises then in vogue and with independent studies mainly classical. We know that he was profoundly dissatisfied with the curriculum as an instrument of liberal education. In *The Reason of Church Government* he complains, in true humanistic fashion, that honest and ingenious natures, who came to the University "to store themselves with good and solid learning," were filled with nothing else but "the scragged and thorny lectures of a miserable sophistry." His own scheme of education, a humanistic substitute for the mediævalism and pedantry of the university method, is founded on the principle that languages are acquired as a means to the study of "the solid things in them," and that disputation must be subsequent to the acquisition of a competent command of all the fields of knowledge, particularly of the tradition of those peoples who have been "most industrious after wisdom." To Milton, surveying his own accomplishment at the close of his Cambridge career, and contemplating the lofty ideals which he had always held up for his own attainment, the defects in his equipment would have been obvious, and his reason for wishing to continue the life of a student under his own guidance at Horton must have been primarily a resolve to make them good by a more exclusive attention to the "solid things." It was the very essence of his purpose that his studies should be shaped to no immediate practical application. To say this is not to deny that one guiding motive of his life was to write a work which after times should not willingly let die. But he knew that such an end would be best served indirectly through the development of his

faculties and by the broad contemplation of human life in the light of the records of the past. For such a purpose, as well as for the more general one of spiritual and intellectual leadership in which it was involved, the study of history and literature was all important. He spent his time, he tells us, in reading ("evolvendis") Greek and Latin writers.<sup>154</sup> This doubtless means that he reread those classics with which he had long since been familiar, but I suspect that he then made his first acquaintance with some of the later and more obscure authors. We know that he purchased and annotated at that time the works of Lycophron and Heraclitus the Mythographer, while the reference in *Il Penseroso* bears witness to his study of Hermes Trismegistus.<sup>155</sup> He doubtless also read more widely in English literature, he certainly pursued the study of mathematics and of music, and finally, at some time during the five-year period he undertook an ambitious course of historical reading, proceeding chronologically.

The earlier authors read under this systematic program are not recorded in the Commonplace Book. A statement in the *Apology for Smectymnuus* (1642), however, supplies a comprehensive description of the study and suggests one of the purposes which animated it: "Some years I had spent in the stories of those Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things nobly done, and worthily spoken; when coming in the method of time to that age wherein the Church had obtained a Christian

<sup>154</sup> Not "turning over the Greek and Latin classics," as sometimes quoted.

<sup>155</sup> Milton's autograph copy of Lycophron (see above, p. 256) bears the date 1634.; the Heraclitus was purchased in 1637 (Sotheby, 125). The latter volume (Gesner's edition of 1544) contains also some material ascribed to Psellus. Hermes was included in Milton's ed. of Justin (See No. 26).

emperor, I so prepared myself, as being now about to read examples of wisdom and goodness among those who were foremost in the Church; but to the amazement of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in some very few, nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combustion: in so much that I could not but love the historian Socrates," etc. Milton had, then, begun with the history of classical antiquity, studying the chief authorities, we may suppose, exhaustively. For the rest, the Commonplace Book gives us the detail and confirms Milton's statement that the reading was done "in the method of time." He proceeded with the records of the early Church in the father of Church historians, Eusebius, in the works of his continuators, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Evagrius, and in Sulpicius Severus, turning aside, whether in the midst of this part of his program or later, to study the writings of the Church Fathers themselves. The contemporary secular history of the Greek empire was represented by Procopius, and, in its later phases, down to the fall of Constantinople, by Cantacuzenus, Nicephoras, and Cedrenus. The history of the Western Empire through the Middle Ages was studied in the *Historia Miscella* and in the two works of Sigonius. For further confirmation of the systematic character of the program, with an indication of the direction it was subsequently to take, we may turn to the statement in Epistle VII to Diodati, dated September 23, 1637. I quote the Latin, which is sometimes mistranslated: "Graecorum res continua lectione deduximus usque quo illi Graeci esse desiti; Italorum in obscura re diu versati sumus sub Longobardis et Francis et Germanis, ad illud tempus quo illis ab Rudolpho Germaniae rege concessa libertas est; eunde quid quaeque civitas suo Marte gesserit

seperatim legere praestabit. . . . Interim quod sine tua molestia fiat Justinianum mihi Venetorum historicum rogo." <sup>156</sup>

We have no means of knowing whether the intention of studying the history of the Italian cities was fulfilled in the interval between this letter and Milton's departure for Italy in 1638. The notes from Guicciardini, Villani, and Angelo di Constanzo (Nos. 92, 93, 109) are much later. There is, however, evidence in the entries from Ariosto and Dante (Nos. 16, 12, 13, 105) that Milton was renewing and extending his acquaintance with Italian literature.

If we turn now from the authorities which Milton studied during the Horton period to a consideration of the notes which he made from them, we find much that is of value as an index to his early interests and aims. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the entries in detail. They deserve to be carefully studied in their chronological relations, for they represent a phase of the early Milton which is generally ignored and for which we have little other specific data. It is evident that he maintained in pursuing the course of study which has been described, besides the general object of self-cultivation, a desire to acquire the materials for correct thinking on the large political and religious issues of the age, for Milton contemplated no activity as a poet which did not involve an intimate relation with the currents of life and thought in which he lived. Looking back on this period from a later time, he speaks of "many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search for religious and civil knowledge," and he remarks still more specifically in the *Second Defense* (1654): "I had from

<sup>156</sup> The period of Italian history here indicated is, as Horwood points out, that covered by Sigonius, *De Regno Italiae*.

my youth studied the distinctions between civil and religious rights." The early entries in the *Commonplace Book* bear out these statements.

A considerable number of them reflect the contemporary interest in questions of ecclesiastical custom and in the precedents and authorities regarding them, with a marked predilection for evidence in support of the more liberal Reformation practice. The Puritanism, or more properly the liberalism, of Milton was evidently of very early growth. A note on Constantine's giving the clergy immunity from civil office (171) and one praising the modesty of princes who refuse to meddle in matters of religion (181) show his fundamental convictions regarding the relations of church and state to have been already in process of formation. Even more striking are the political entries, which contain the gist of Milton's whole republicanism. In the earliest stratum a broad interest is manifested in the relation of prince and subject, as in the note on page 181: "*Ad subditos suos scribens Constantinus magnus nec alio nomine quam fratres appellat.*" In the later (Group II) the political materials are more obviously related to the issues of the day. Thus the title "*Rex*" is begun, with entries relative to the deification of the Roman emperors, and that of "*Subditus*," with two notes giving instances of Papal release of subjects from allegiance to a sovereign (183). The setting down of the title, "*Census et Vectigal*" (220) is evidently connected with interest in the illegal exactions of Charles. And finally one note is definitely republican: "*Severus Sulpitius ait regium nomen semper liberis gentibus fere invisum*" (182). Were it not for the unquestionable evidence of the manuscript we should have been inclined, I think, to ascribe this last citation rather to the period

of the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649) than to that of *Lycidas* (1637). It will be remembered that in all the pamphlets written before the condemnation of King Charles in 1648/9, Milton carefully avoids saying or implying anything against the royal prerogative, and that in the *Second Defense* he takes pains to point out that he had not done so. That this was not for want of meditations on the subject or of convictions regarding it, but from a sense of what public policy required from him, we now see.

Perhaps the most genuinely illuminating of all the notes are those on page 109 under the title "Matrimonium." In the discussions of Milton's ideas on marriage and of the relation of the divorce pamphlets to his personal experience, this material has never been given proper weight. The entries begin by citing precedent for marriage of the clergy and patristic approval of the honorableness of the married state. This, of course, is simply reformed opinion, and the entries may reflect the popular nervousness regarding the Romish tendencies of Laud, who in a speech before the King in 1632 had dropped remarks in disparagement of a married clergy, but there follows (Group II) an entry from Justin to the effect that the Jews allowed polygamy "*propter varia mysteria sub ea latentia*," which shows Milton to have been already interested in the more radical Protestant thought regarding freedom in marriage. There are, to be sure, no divorce entries in this period, but sixteenth-century polygamists (for example, Ochino) were also divorcees, and Milton's later opinion is but the logical outcome of his whole early trend of mind.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>157</sup> A statement of the recently discovered early anonymous biographer confirms the conclusion that Milton's ideas on divorce were

These and other more miscellaneous evidences from the Commonplace Book of the degree to which Milton had matured and formed his thought by meditative reading long before he found himself actually surrounded by the influences which determined his career, are an invaluable assistance to us in arriving at a complete conception of the significance of the Horton period. Biographers have been too much inclined to make the tone of the "long vacation" depend on the data afforded by the poems alone. The Commonplace Book should warn us that the "lost Paradise" of the Horton period bears far more resemblance to Milton's later years than we are accustomed to suppose. It was an era of industrious preparation, no less for the services rendered to the Commonwealth than for the composition of *Paradise Lost*. Indeed, the two preparations, in his own thought of his career, were one. Far from being in the dark regarding this epoch, we have perhaps the most explicit account that any poet before the era of *biographia literaria* has ever given of his student years:—the classified statement of literary and aesthetic enthusiasms in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* the declaration of moral principle in *Comus*, the avowal of high ambition in *Lycidas*, and finally the record of humanistic thought and study in the Commonplace Book and in the annotated texts. The one gap is in our knowledge of the religious and theological movement of Milton's mind, and this

formulated under the influence of his early reading before his marriage with Mary Powell: "And therefore thought upon a Divorcee, that hee might be free to marry another; concerning which hee also was in treaty. The lawfulness and expedience of this, duly regulat in order to all those purposes, for which marriage was at first instituted: had upon full consideration and reading good Authors bin formerly his Opinion." "The Earliest Life of Milton," ed. E. S. Parsons, *Colorado College Studies*, x, p. 12.

would probably have been filled had not the Index Theologicus unfortunately been lost.

For the remaining years the evidence of the Commonplace Book is less necessary and less valuable, but the chronology of the document is still of use in correcting false impressions. On his return to England in 1639, Milton did not, as is well known, plunge at once into the controversy of the time. He took up a way of life in London similar to that which he had followed at Horton, with the additional duty of instructing his nephews. "As soon as I was able," he writes, "I hired a spacious house in the city for myself and my books, where I again with rapture renewed my literary pursuits (*ad intermissa studia beatulus me recepi*)." The "interrupted studies" of the Horton period were evidently continued systematically and "in the method of time," though it is difficult to analyze this part of the program so precisely. The presence of the Lactantius notes in Group I is significant as indicating a first reading of or more probably a return to the one among the Church fathers whose ways of thought Milton found, I think, most congenial, and to whose philosophy he was most deeply indebted.<sup>158</sup> He records a disagreement, however, with Lactantius' condemnation of dramatic spectacles (241), and at the conclusion of his note makes a significant statement regarding the value of tragedy: "*quid enim in tota philosophia aut gravius aut sanctius aut sublimius tragoedia recte con-*

<sup>158</sup> The quotations in the Commonplace Book are strikingly in accord with Milton's doctrine of disciplined freedom as seen in the prose works. The passage on the use of temptation in strengthening character might well serve as text for much of the argument of the *Arcopagitica*, and there is a passage in chapter 15 of the sixth book of the *Institutes* (not cited in Milton's notes) to which he seems to be indebted for some of his phraseology.

stituta quid utilius ad humanae vitae casus et conversationes uno intuitu spectandos." The idea and phraseology here are repeated in the preface to *Samson Agonistes*.<sup>159</sup> The entry from Savonarola suggests that Milton had now entered seriously on the study of the era of the Reformation. One of the chief sources of his knowledge was Sleidanus, but before 1644 he had evidently gone carefully through Sarpi, and, of course, had read to some extent the reformers themselves, though, except for Peter Martyr, their names are conspicuously absent from the Commonplace Book.<sup>160</sup> The larger occupation of the period immediately following his return from Italy in 1639 was, however, English and Scottish history, to which he now turned, so far as we know, for the first time,<sup>161</sup> except that he had long been acquainted with the legendary material in Geoffrey. The first step was to work through Bede, Malmesbury, Holinshed, Speed, and Stowe, for the older period. The notes from the four last-named authorities are intermingled in the Commonplace Book, and we have confirmatory evidence in the Cambridge MS. that they constitute a reading unit.<sup>162</sup> The two sets of notes

<sup>159</sup> "Tragedy, as it was anciently composed, hath been ever held the gravest, moralist, and most profitable of all other forms."

<sup>160</sup> The Index Theologicus would doubtless have contained them, Milton gives the impression in the Dedication to the *Christian Doctrine* of having studied exhaustively the systems of the Reformation divines.

<sup>161</sup> Firth's assumption that Milton's studies in English history date from the Horton period is based on a misconception of the chronology of the Commonplace Book (Milton as a Historian, 227-8).

<sup>162</sup> Bede is also once referred to in the list of British Tragedies, along with Geoffrey, both being recollected and referred to when the story of the slaughter of the monks of Bangor was met with in Holinshed (p. 104). The citations from the Scotch Chronicles (i. e. Holinshed's version of Boethius, to which Milton's page references apply) appear separate from and later than the others in the Cambridge MS.

were doubtless made at the same time, and they illustrate respectively Milton's intellectual and imaginative interest in the materials. But the study of English history for scholarly purposes extended beyond these simple narratives to Malmesbury and Bede of the older authorities, and to Camden, DuChesne and others among the moderns. The wide scope of the study is illustrated by the inclusion of citations from the writers on English political theory and law — Sir Thomas Smith, Lambard, and, probably also at this time, Spelman. The fruits of his comprehensive research were ultimately to be embodied in the *History of Britain*, but there is no reason for supposing the reading to have been done with this intention. The fact more probably is that the purpose of writing an English history grew out of the study, as the opening sentences of Milton's work suggest. When in 1646 he gave himself to this work he found it necessary to devote primary attention to a number of sources unrepresented in the Commonplace Book or quoted at second hand only — Nennius, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Henry of Huntington, Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Simeon of Durham, Bracton, and others.<sup>163</sup> On the other hand, Milton's historical sense and his philosophic point of view as shown in the incidental judgments of men and events had been in process of formation since the beginning of his systematic study in the Horton period.

No less inadequate is the idea that Milton was in this

<sup>163</sup> For an account of the sources of the *History* see the articles of Firth and Glicksman already alluded to. Milton is much influenced by Holinshed, as was natural. Firth shows that he follows him rather than Speed and Stowe in passages in which they are at variance. In the Commonplace Book the Speed and Stowe citations are generally used in a subsidiary way. Milton was well aware of the secondary character of all three chronicles, and his references in the *History* are wholly to the older and more reliable sources.

reading primarily searching for poetic materials. The jottings of literary subjects from the Chroniclers are simply incidental gleanings, made with little definite expectation of using any particular one of them. What he really aimed at was the enrichment and maturing of his mind through study, with a view both to the fulfillment of his ambition to write a poem "not to be raised from the heath of youth or the vapors of wine," and to the playing of a part in public events if occasion should require. Viewed in the light of this purpose, the commonplace Book is quite as important as a revelation of the process of preparation for *Paradise Lost* as is the Cambridge MS. It is a partial record of the "industrious and select reading," which, "with steady observation and insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs," he held to be a prime requirement. The historical material probably surprised him by its richness, and it is not strange that we hear no more of the Arthurian epic after the time when Milton had become deeply interested in the non-legendary part of English story.

It is difficult to tell just how long these English studies continued. Very probably the course of Milton's program was interrupted or modified by his deliberate entry into the ecclesiastical controversy in the summer of 1641. "I determined," he writes in the *Second Defense*, "to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged and to transfer the whole force of my talents and industry to this one important object." It is noteworthy that the authors who were of the greatest assistance to him were not those which he was then reading, but those which he had already worked through before the Italian journey. He doubtless turned to them again, but there is no evidence that he continued to set down observations based on them in the

Commonplace Book. The following passage from *The Reason of Church Government* (1641) helps to elucidate the situation, and its full bearing becomes clear in the light of the material here presented: "If I hunted after praise by the ostentation of wit and learning I should not write thus out of my own season, when I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies, although I complain not of any insufficiency to the matter in hand," his confidence on the latter point being, of course, grounded on the consciousness of having covered with thoroughness in the Horton period the origins and early history of the Church.

The character of the notes made from this first stratum of reading in English history is a sufficient indication of the detached attitude of mind which Milton held toward it. Besides continuing the earlier topics of miscellaneous interest and beginning others, Milton expands the items of political philosophy in great detail, with a manifestly increasing application of his reading to the general state of public affairs, though not to the immediate ecclesiastical issue. New pages are begun with the significant titles "Tyrannus" (248), "Rex Angliae" (186), "Rapina seu Extorsio Publica" (221), the last containing entries pointedly contemporary in significance. A body of particularly careful notes tracing English constitutional precedent for the subjection of the king to law is set down on page 179. Clearly Milton was well prepared in thought, long before he could definitely have foreseen them, for the coming events of English history and for the rôle he was to play from 1648 to 1655 as a defender of the Revolution. The notes relative to the philosophy of marriage are also continued, and an item from Bacon, probably made before 1641, on the un wisdom of prohibiting books, shows very

clearly that the sources of Milton's defense of the freedom of the press (1644) lie deep in his early reading and tends to minimize the merely personal and occasional element in the work.<sup>164</sup> In general, these entries afford abundant evidence that Milton had developed by 1641 a remarkably coherent body of ideas, involving fixed views on a wide variety of topics—and that he had already acquired a firm grasp on the substance of works which were yet unwritten.

From 1641 Milton was much engaged in controversy and his study must have been shaped to the various issues with which he had to deal. We have in the *Areopagitica* (1644) a striking statement of the thoroughness of his ideals of research. Yet he evidently refused to allow himself to be altogether warped out of his course. In the *Apology for Smectymnuus* (1642) speaking of the councils of the Church, Milton says that he has looked into them all but read them only here and there, and adds "If I want anything yet I shall reply that which in the defense of Muraena was answered by Cicero to Sulpitius the lawyer, If ye provoke me, (for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labour) I will undertake in three months to be an expert councilist." Happily the Remonstrant desisted and spared Milton the frivolous labor of the

<sup>164</sup> The degree to which Milton's convictions on this subject antedate the composition of *Areopagitica* and the order of Parliament which occasioned it has been too little regarded by the editors of the tract. Beside the Bacon passage on page 184 of the Commonplace Book Milton has set down on page 53 certain ideas from the Church historians which he at the very center of his argument (See Socrates, No. 1, Eusebius, No. 3 and Theodoretus, No. 88). The anecdote concerning Dionysius contained in Eusebius (No. 1) is worked up in *Areopagitica*, P. W., II, 409. But we do not have to rely on the Commonplace Book alone for evidences of Milton's early interest employed in his defence. See the passage in *Of Reformation* (1641), P. W., I, 29.

councils. In considering the question of Milton's intellectual occupations during the Commonwealth we must remember that much of the materials of the prose tracts came from authors with whom he was already familiar or whom he was then reading on more general grounds of interest, also that the tracts appear to have been written very rapidly, with considerable periods of leisure intervening. Thus five of the ecclesiastical pamphlets were composed in the single year 1641, and *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1648/9) could have occupied Milton but a few weeks at most,<sup>165</sup> the materials, as we have seen, being already at hand as a result of the political studies recorded in the Commonplace Book since 1639 and before. As a matter of fact, even in some of the years of greatest productivity, we seem to see Milton continuing his independent study. The study of French history and political philosophy in De Thou, Girard, Comines and perhaps Sesellius (Nos. 52, 53, 54, 60) an evident continuation of the original project, appears to coincide with the period in which Milton was most busily occupied with the later divorce tracts.

There is, moreover, the miscellaneous reading—from Gower, Sidney, Chaucer, and Machiavelli's *Art of War*—which cannot be exactly dated, but some of which was certainly done amid the barbarous and distracting noise of public dispute. Perhaps we have attached too much importance to Milton's impatient complaint of the disturbing influences which surrounded him. The Commonplace Book would seem to show that he continued to pursue with freedom the path of liberal study and meditation which

<sup>165</sup> He states in the *Second Defense* that he was led to write it because of the Presbyterian clamor which arose after the trial of Charles and before the execution. The trial took place the last of January and Milton's pamphlet was out in February.

led to *Paradise Lost*. His use of Von Herberstein and other authorities on Russia (Jovius, Thuanus, and Purchas) is particularly interesting as indicating the broad scope which his plan of study continued to exhibit. The entries, too, are suggestive of a mind not altogether bent to the pressing issues of the time. Thus in the notes included in Group III we have beside the political observations and the exempla of "divorce at will," a number of entries of purely liberal and academic character: one on the foundation by Englishmen of the universities of Paris and Padua (53), and one on the need of fostering humane culture "in medio etiam bellorum aestu" (53). There are also two notes from Girard on the history of music, continuing a topic begun in the Horton period. The continuity of Milton's interests remains unbroken, though there is a progressive widening of the scope, especially of his political reflection.

A very valuable addition to the evidence of this sort is afforded by the later Italian entries, which I would gladly date with more precision. Milton's return to this field took place certainly before 1652. Possibly the entries represent a more or less continuous occupation throughout his public life with the literature to which he owed so much of literary inspiration. The notes in the commonplace Book are certainly later than the period of the ecclesiastical and divorce tracts (1641-5), however, and I believe them to belong to the years 1650-52. Among the authors read are, besides the histories of the Italian cities, the satirical writings of Tassoni and Boccacini, Tasso, and the rifacimento of Boiardo, probably also Petrarch, since Milton quotes a life of him, and, if we suppose the amanuensis entries to belong to the same period, Giovanni della Casa, and the *Orlando Innamorato* itself. The notes deal

with such detached matters as the occasional permissibility of falsehood (71) and the study of law (not a liberal art, "ma mestiere, ed arte veramente mechanica, nel mondo introdutta per affligere il genere humano" (189)).

The dictated material on the Commonplace Book, aside from the evidence it affords of Milton's later occupation with the Italians, adds little to our knowledge of his mind.<sup>166</sup> The study of Machiavelli's *Discorsi* connects with Milton's interest in politics and served his turn in *Ready and Easy Way* (1660), though the entries reflect rather the kind of speculation which had already received practical application in *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1648-9). The Dante entry in the *Paradise Lost* hand is from the *Purgatorio*, whereas those made in the Horton period were from the *Inferno* and the *Paradiso*. The two last named books alone are referred to in *Reason of Church Government* (1641), although the authority of Dante on the separation of Church and State is more clearly stated in the passage here copied out from the *Purgatorio*. Can it be that a discriminating Puritanism made Milton pass over the second part of Dante's epic in his first reading? In reality the human atmosphere of Purgatory is far more congenial with Milton's thought than that of either Hell or Paradise, and it is interesting to find him rereading the second book of the *Comedia*, perhaps in the very period when he was undertaking the actual composition of *Paradise Lost* (1658). His appreciation had already been

<sup>166</sup> The isolated reference to St. Augustine's *De Civitati Dei* (No. 104), which was probably set down circa 1658, is interesting in view of the very remarkable agreement of the interpretation of the fall of man set forth in this work with Milton's treatment of the theme in *Paradise Lost*. For an excellent discussion of Milton's special esteem for, and indebtedness to St. Augustine see Denis Saurat, *La Pensée de Milton*, pp. 264-271.

recorded in the exquisite close of the sonnet to Harry Lawes.

This entry, with that from Nicetas Acominatus under the heading "De Re Nautica," are in all probability the last set down by Milton in the volume which he had maintained so carefully and for so many years. They conclude a list of reading, varied and yet coherent, which corresponds in a striking way, for the modern period, with the program of humane culture through the classics which Milton outlines for younger students in the tractate on Education (1644), having for its generous object the same that is described in the famous definition—the more complete fitting of this man "to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices both public and private of peace and war." The total effect of the Commonplace Book, read with an eye to the chronological order of the entries is to deepen the impression of the essentially humanistic character and attitude of Milton in all his periods. There is a breadth in his interests and a philosophic detachment in his point of view which lifts him well above his age. Practically all the great Renaissance subjects of speculation—all seemly and generous arts and sciences, except, indeed, the art of love—are represented in the titles under which he collected observations: man's moral nature, justice and the law, suicide, temperance, the poetic art, education, usury, patriotism, the state, the sovereign, the family, the principles of rule, nobility, sports and pastimes, military affairs and character; and the selection of materials is made in the spirit of a time when learning had not yet begun to degenerate into pedantry. Far less than one would expect, moreover, are the entries set down in the spirit of the seventeenth century controversialist. Those which concern the burning issues of the

time or have a bearing on Milton's special doctrines are intimately associated with those which do not. They are, like the rest, primarily materials for the formation or confirmation of opinion on the large principles in which they are involved. Thus the items on divorce grow out of the general consideration of marriage, and the exempla of revolution form a part of the study of the state and sovereign.

All this tells heavily against the conception of Milton, in the period of the prose works, as a rabid controversialist, swayed almost wholly by personal bias and party passion. Despite the opinion of Professor Raleigh that Milton's classification of his writings in the *Second Defense* (1652) was an afterthought, an attempt to make them seem in his own mind and that of others more objective and impersonal than they really were, I think it represents the substantial truth. He tells us that he wrote his pamphlets on divorce, education, and the freedom of the press as the result of a deliberate plan to further the cause of liberty according to a systematic classification of its parts. Everything that we know of him is in accord with the method and consideration implied in this statement, and the *Commonplace Book*, by showing his early concern with all these subjects, tends to corroborate it. Much has been said of the fierce personalities in which Milton allowed himself to indulge in his prose writings, and their tone has been taken as a trustworthy indication of the degree to which the iron of the struggle was entering his soul. But I am inclined to take him at his word when he disclaims love of contention (*P. W.*, I, 142) and avows absence of personal anger (*ib.* 256), though I remember that he has in the *Christian Doctrine* described the sin of wrath as one to which even the saints are liable.

His own violence is that righteous indignation which is commanded by the word of God. A note in the Commonplace Book (176), later echoed in the *Apology for Smectymnus* (1641/2), to the effect that Luther did not abstain in a righteous cause from using "words not civil at other times to be spoken," shows Milton justifying in his own mind the deliberate adoption of the worst controversial habits of the times, and doing so, moreover, before he had himself written anything to incur severe reprobation on this ground.

The discussion thus far has borne chiefly on the relations of the Commonplace Book to the Milton of scholarship and thought, and the illustrations of his application of the materials collected from his reading have been drawn primarily from the prose. I have, however, tried also to suggest that the process here represented was of a wider scope and advanced him steadily toward the ultimate goal of his life work. If a study of the Commonplace Book is illuminating in regard to the prose of Milton, it is still more so in its bearing on his poetry. The entries illustrate in a remarkable way the degree to which his studies, even in what might seem unprofitable fields, were made to contribute depth and richness to his mind, and, when thoroughly assimilated in his consciousness and touched with his emotion, furnished him with the materials of his poetic art. It is not to Andreini or Vondel that we must look for the sources of what is most characteristic and vital in *Paradise Lost*, but to the meditative reading of Milton in the records of human experience wherever they had been authentically set down—Scripture first, and then the classics, but also in the historians, philosophers, and poets of later times. To Milton almost no material was incapable of receiving the stamp of art. He has even embodied in a line from *Samson Agonistes* the

technical phrase which gives the title to Selden's learned volume:

Against the law of nature, law of nations.

We must not, of course, expect to find the passages referred to in the Commonplace Book appearing in recognizably explicit form in the poetry as they often do in the prose, though an exception is to be noted in the case of a citation from Ariosto, made in the Horton Period and used over twenty years later in a famous passage in *Paradise Lost*.<sup>167</sup> In general, the material has undergone such transformation that the parallels are indefinite and suggestive only. Yet it is not too much to say that almost the entire body of convictions and ideas implied or stated in the Commonplace Book underlies and even in one form or another finds a place in the poetical works. A few illustrations must here suffice.

Under the heading "De Curositae" on page 55, in the earliest stratum of Milton's Horton entries, occurs a note on the vanity of speculation about the unknowable: "Quaestiones profundas de deo quas humana ratio difficiliter interpretetur, aut, assequatur, aut non cogitandas, aut silentio premandas ne in vulgas edantur, deturque hinc materies schismatum in Ecclesia, sapientissime monet Constantius in epist: ad Alexandrum, et Arium. Euseb." etc. It is followed by a parallel observation, made after 1640, from Basil and by another from Sleidan. This is the position adopted by Raphael in his reply to Adam's

<sup>167</sup> "Eleemosynae post mortem datae in iis rebus perditis, et vanis numerat Ariostus quas ad circulum Lunae volare fingit sine ullo dantium fructu. L'elemosina è, dice, che si lassa alcun, che fatta sia dopo la morte. Cant. 34. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, III, 444 ff. Milton's "Not in the neighboring morn, as some have dreamed" is a specific allusion to Ariosto.

more abstruse inquiries (*Paradise Lost*, VII, 109 ff.).<sup>168</sup> The idea lies at the heart of Milton's whole intellectual attitude and the note in the Commonplace Book is the first explicit evidence of its formulation. Again in the Horton period and from the same set of authors the correlative idea (by no means contradictory in Milton's thought) of freedom of knowledge and inquiry is affirmed in a note citing authority for the use of profane authors by Christians (53). The specific argument here given is put into the mouth of Satan in *Paradise Regained*:

The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach. . . .  
Without their learning how wilt thou with them,  
Or they with thee hold conversation meet?  
How wilt thou reason with them, how refute  
Their Idolisms, Traditions, Paradoxes?  
Error by his own arms is best evinc't.

Nor is its force altogether denied by Christ:

Think not but that I know these things, or think  
I know them not.

The entry from Tertullian on Gluttony (13), with the suggestion that this was an aspect of the sin of Eve, and the citations on drunkenness (17) and lust, connect with *Comus*, with *Samson Agonistes* and especially with *Paradise Lost*, in the account of Eve's greedy ingorging of the apple and in the portrayal of the subsequent behavior of the pair. They exhibit as a first result of their sin something like the "dry intoxication of the mind" regarding which Milton quotes an observation of Thuanus (No. 52, p. 17). Similarly the notes on true nobility (191), including citation of the memorable utterances of Dante and

<sup>168</sup> The passage is more directly related to one in Lactantius, *Inst.* II, O, not quoted in the Commonplace Book. See Leach, *loc. cit.*, 307-8.

Chaucer, point to some of the literary sources of Milton's convictions on this topic, illustrating the lines from *Comus*,

Shepherd, I take thy word  
And trust thy honest offer'd courtesy,  
Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds  
With smoky rafters, than in tapestry halls  
And courts of princes, where it first was named  
And yet is most pretended.

and, more directly, those from *Samson*,

For him I reckon not in high estate  
Whom long descent of birth  
Or the sphere of fortune raises.

The effects of the early reflections of Milton on government and leadership are too pervasive in his later poetry to permit of full discussion here. A study of the *Commonplace Book* serves to throw into high relief the importance of these elements in the intellectual fabric of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. Thus Milton's historical reading and his philosophical meditation on the part played by moral character in the conduct of public affairs underlies his treatment of the political career of Satan, and the fruits of his elaborate study of statecraft are to be seen throughout both poems, most clearly perhaps in the grasp with which in *Paradise Regained* he handles the military and political situation in the Roman world. Several times Milton has copied out from his authors striking statements of the true ideal of kingship, as a burden rather than a delight and an opportunity for service rather than for spoil. So on page 182: "officium et definitio imperatoris egregia est. Jus Graeco Romanum . . . ex lib. de jure qui est Basil. Constant. Leonis ubi ait τέλος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν, καὶ ἡνίκα τῆς ἐνεργεσίας ἐξατονήσῃ δοκεῖ κινελεῖν τὸν βασιλικὸν χαρακτῆρα. vide etiam Orlando Inamora. del Berni cant. 7. stanz. 2 un re

se vuole il suo debito fare, non e re veramente ma fattore del popolo etc.” And in the hand of the Christian Doctrine scribe on page 195: “Si in principatu politico aliqua est servitus, magis proprie servus est qui praeest, quam qui subest: August. de Civit. Dei. lib. 19 cap. 14.” This theme is finely elaborated in Christ’s rejection of the kingdoms of the earth in *Paradise Regained*. The first lines of my quotation are touched with Shakespearean recollections but the last three are manifestly a distillation of the sentences set down in the Commonplace Book:

What if with like aversion I reject  
 Riches and realms; yet not for that a crown  
 Golden in shew, is but a wreath of thorns,  
 Brings dangers, troubles, cares and sleepless nights  
 To him who wears the regal diadem,  
 When on his shoulders each man’s burden lies;  
 For therein stands the office of a king,  
 His honour, vertue, merit and chief praise,  
 That for the public all this weight he bears.

In a passage which follows in the same speech Milton seems to be adapting and elaborating one of the scribal entries from Machiavelli’s *Discorsi*: “Laudatissimos omnium inter mortales, eos esse quo vera Religione hominum mentes imbuunt, immo is etiam laudatiores qui humanis legibus Regna et Respub: quamvis egregie fundarunt.” (197)

But to guide nations in the way of truth  
 By saving doctrine, and from error lead  
 To know, and knowing, worship God aright,  
 Is yet more kingly: this attracts the soul  
 Governs the inner man, the nobler part,  
 That other o’er the body only reigns.

Words of Machiavelli in the mouth of Christ! Nothing could be more characteristic of the way in which Milton has laid under contributions in his poetry the wisdom of a

lifetime spent in the pursuit of truth, even to her strangest and most alien haunts.

As affording, therefore, an insight into the real and abiding intellectual temper of Milton and as a revelation of the preparatory intellectual processes which culminated in his greatest work, the *Commonplace Book* is an invaluable Miltonic document. It shows him in his quiet hours, philosophical and humane, though anything but indifferent, "turning over the whole book of knowledge," "reading all manner of tractates and hearing all manner of reasons," "scouting even into the regions of sin and falsity," but rejoicing in nothing so much as to find and record for memory and use, the examples of virtue and embodied truth. More, perhaps, than any of his formal writings, this accidentally preserved record of Milton's private studies serves to bridge the gap between his poetry and his prose and to show the essential oneness of his culture according to the best ideals of the Renaissance.

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XIV.—THE REAL TRAGEDY OF KEATS  
(A POST-CENTENARY VIEW)

“But the crown  
Of all my life was utmost quietude” (*Endymion*, III).

Keats' central instinct was for high poetic repose: for the quietude that comes, not from avoiding life, but from surmounting it. The goal, however, was so far beyond his reach that he could not have attained it, I think, even if he had lived a full lifetime. His early death (February 23, 1821) is bound to lose, as the centuries revolve upon that day, much of its tragic color; but at the same time the deeper tragedy of his spirit can appear more distinctly. This deeper tragedy has been considerably dimmed in the atmosphere of uniqueness with which the poet has been invested by the rising admiration of a hundred years. The other chief poets of the past century are now seen more or less clearly in their true boundaries; Keats' limits have been kept uniquely vague. His poetic potentiality and his ruining fate have been so continually balanced against each other, with insensible additions now on one side of the

scale and now on the other, that both have come to appear much weightier than they really were. In particular it has been assumed with extraordinary unanimity that Keats' physical disintegration, beginning eighteen months before his death, stopped his progress just as he was approaching a much higher level of poetic achievement. But a dispassionate restudy of his later works and letters convinces one that he was approaching, rather, a radical change in poetic method; a change that was fraught, in his own clear eyes, with dubious results. His verse had been less and less adequately fulfilling his growing inner life, he was feeling insistently for a different mode of self-expression, and the path of poetry ahead of him seemed blind. This crisis, more deeply interfused, I think, than physical weakness, morbid love, and disappointed ambition, was the source of that accumulating misery of spirit which pierces us so keenly, after a century, as we review the succession of his last months. (Our sympathy must deepen when we realize that his own fears for his art were more than justified: that if he had lived he could not, in all human probability, have reorganized his poetry without shattering, beyond compensation, its quick-built magic charm.) One hears his spirit's fear of this in many a premonitory passage:

"There was a noise of wings, till in short space  
The glowing banquet-room shone with wide-arched grace.  
A haunting music, sole perhaps and lone  
Supportress of the faery-roof, made moan  
Throughout, as fearful the whole charm might fade."

(*Lamia*).

His quick maturity remains wonderful enough when we cease to regard it as more mysterious than it actually was. Inexplicable is the fact that John Keats, particularly, should have been endowed with the most complete poetic

nature of the past century. But it should be clear by now that the historical conditions in which he found himself, conditions considerably abnormal, so acted upon his nature as to bring about an abnormally swift development. In his career we must recognize something of the forced growth of the hot-house plant. His nature, early seeking, like all full poetic natures, for immediate beauty, could flower out swiftly and lusciously in the superheated atmosphere of imagination which encompassed it. Keats took up into himself the whole imaginative intensity accumulated in the so-called rise of the Romantic Movement, of which his work was the climax. If nothing is more wonderful than his ready transmutation of all external influences, nothing is more clarifying than a careful study of the shaping effects exerted upon him by his predecessors, from Chatterton and the others down to Hunt and Wordsworth. The full import of these effects has been blurred by the emphasis which criticism has thrown upon Keats' affinity with the Elizabethans. From them, to be sure, he quarried many elements of style; but he scarcely reached the essential mode of their imagination. One must wonder how he could be so much penetrated with the beauties of Spenser and Milton, and so slightly swayed by their total envisagement of life, unless one realizes that his imagination was moulded from the very first into the shape of his own time.

In this connection may be found a solution for a certain paradox which has beset the interpreters of Keats: he was sounder than his chief contemporaries as a man among men, and yet more liable than they to mawkishness of poetic mood. This duality was not clarified by Matthew Arnold when he dwelt, disparately, upon the "lusciousness" of Keats and upon the "flint and iron" of his character. As

a matter of fact, neither the lusciousness nor the character of the poet was so deep-going as it has been made to appear. "Character," with its implication of a continual recourse to moral principles, is a misleading key-word to fasten upon Keats. His main motive for living as he did was artistic. His keen poetic ambition made him shun courses which might sap his powers and hamper his vocational success. More deeply, his instinct as a full poetic nature was for a certain normality that would keep him clear of individualistic by-ways, and in genial touch with general human interests. Wordsworthian theorizing and Byronic conduct seemed in his eyes to lead off from the highway of poetry. Accordingly that intense pressure of imagination which pushed the others into strained acts or ideas could move Keats only in the direction of a strained poetic style. His lusciousness was far more stylistic, indeed, than substantial. He strove to load, as he advised Shelley to do, "every rift with ore." The most apparent metals were vivid sensations, and he heaped them with "glowing hand," as Porphyro his feast of fruits. They were not things growing in his humanity, but things gathered in haste for the sake of poetry. This impression attaches most strongly to the mawkish and unreal love-passages which recur in his verse and which pass over, so to speak, into his love-letters. Keats did not yet know love, but he knew that it was golden ore for poetry, and he tried to catch its hues. The most significant feature of his own love-story is precisely this, that not till the fall of 1819, when his best work was over, did love move toward the center of his life. Before then, he strove quite successfully to keep it in the sentimental outskirts. He adopted this course partly indeed on practical grounds; but more deeply because his love threatened to throw his imagination upon a reality foreign to the kind of verse he was writing.

He tried to submerge below the focus of his imagination all realities which he could not yet transmute into beauty. The Letters to his Friends, so frequent in shrewd observations of actual life and sharp passages of realistic thinking, might often seem to have been written by another than the creator of "Isabella" and "Lamia." We see him continually noting, but segregating so to speak from his verse, a range of realities which poetry since his time has wished to grapple with immediately: the actual cravings of sex, the drab conventionalities of social life, the bloodshed and bitterness of nature, the altered features of religion and philosophy. The quick tide of romantic imagination on which he and his contemporaries were lifted could carry him over obtrusive realities to shores where his lust of beauty could suddenly strike root and come to flower. Hence the most swift and beautiful fruition which the history of poetry has so far seen. But it was necessarily brief.

A rift in the poet's aims appeared even in his early days, and toward the close it widened to a chasm. (The best testimony to the essential greatness of Keats' nature is the fact that he could not long be satisfied with Keatsian beauty. He more and more craved for his poetry fullness of life. At the same time he more and more craved for his spirit rich sources of quietude. For he felt that to draw into his verse more of life, external and mental, would be to shatter his mastery of beauty, unless he could learn to shape his fresh materials in that spirit of high repose which he recognized in the greatest poets. Two ways of advance were possible. One was the way of dramatic objectivity. There is no doubt that Keats had more of the real dramatic attitude than his chief contemporaries. His sympathy flowed more genially than theirs into stand- points diverse from the poet's own: the freedom from

"self-passion or identity" which he noted in himself is often quite Shakespearean. His "Endymion," even, is more dramatic, and his "Tragedy of Otho the Great" more promising, than critics steeped in lyric atmosphere have perceived. ( But Keats was too much of a man of his age to have found final success in dramatic poetry. The scale of human values had become too unsettled to permit of that large certainty of judgment,—at its worst, that placid mental conventionalism,—which enabled Shakespeare to watch the struggling spectacle of life with artistic quietude. Keats' dramatic tendency did not permeate his constructive imagination. ) It seems clear from his most matured pieces, such as "Hyperion" and the "Ode on a Grecian Urn," that he was moving toward a kind of lyric and narrative poetry more objective in mood than that of his contemporaries, but embodying a more or less deliberated interpretation of life.

Philosophy, in the most human sense of that now so frayed term, became increasingly Keats' hope: not primarily from a desire for truth, but from a growing need of spiritual quiet. His continual feverishness, which appealed to the nerves of a feverish century, should no longer blur our recognition of his notable affinity for quietude. His most memorable attitudes as a personality were reposeful. We see him in the presence of the things of nature that he most loved checking himself into intense silence; or sitting motionless with book in hand, "like a picture of somebody reading"; or moving in society with an attitude, predominantly, of quiet geniality. Probably his fits of animation were often his impressible nature's surface-reactions to the voluble artistic company into which he had been drawn. To the loud Haydon, that re-edited Bottam, he seemed socially inept; and one remembers that in 1818 he began to seclude himself from the

noisy London crew. In his poetry, full images of stillness haunt us, from the closing lines of the Sonnet on "Chapman's Homer", and the extraordinary "Cave of Quietude" in "Endymion", down to the opening passage of "Hyperion," and the "Ode on a Grecian Urn." From this side of his nature emanated his remarkable moon-worship. His most persistent devotion was to the "gentlier-mightiest" Diana, with her intensely quiet radiance. It is noteworthy that his young Apollo in "Hyperion" seems more captivated by "the most patient brilliance of the moon" than by the glory of the sun which he is destined to rule. Not he but his serener sister was the presiding spirit of Keats' poetry; and the philosophic hue which that spirit assumed toward the close of "Endymion" was prophetic of his later mental ambition.

Nothing is more significant in the Letters than the definitive alteration, within three years, of Keats' attitude to philosophy. Critics have liked to quote his immaturer doctrines as though characteristic of his final thought. Sir Sidney Colvin in closing his extensive biography remarks of present day verse: "The new poetry may not be able fully to share Keats's inspiring conviction of the sovereign, the transcendental truth of whatsoever ideas the imagination seizes as beauty. It may perhaps even abjure the direct search for beauty as its primary aim and impulse." But it is to be noted that Keats himself, though he never abjured that "primary aim and impulse," became less preoccupied with it. His mind grew far beyond his early doctrine that "What the Imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth," in spite of the late echo of it in the "Ode on a Grecian Urn." This doctrine was in one and the same context with the boyish cry, "O for a life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts" (Nov. 22, 1817). Sixteen months later Keats thinks that poetry may be

"not so fine a thing as philosophy—for the same reason that an eagle is not so fine a thing as a truth." For in the meantime he has come to the following opinion of himself, from which misleading excerpts have so often been taken that it should now be quoted in full: "I know nothing, I have read nothing, and I mean to follow Solomon's directions, 'Get learning, get understanding.' I find earlier days are gone by; I find that I can have no enjoyment in the world but continual drinking of knowledge. I find there is no worthy pursuit but the idea of doing some good for the world. Some do it with their society, some with their wit, some with their benevolence, some with a sort of power of conferring pleasure and good-humour on all they meet, and in a thousand ways, all dutiful to the command of great Nature. There is but one way for me. The road lies through application, study, and thought. I will pursue it; and for that end, purpose retiring for some years. I have been hovering for some time between an exquisite sense of the luxurious, and a love for philosophy; were I calculated for the former, I should be glad. But as I am not, I shall turn all my soul to the latter" (April 24, 1818).

< The fact is that the younger Keats, intent on immediate beauty, took over into the "chameleon" surface of his nature the one-sided doctrine of the imagination which was current among his contemporaries. But his deeper nature, demanding a poetic completeness which they lacked, impelled him toward a mental adjustment. > That his "love for philosophy," as he termed it, tended at times to be as inconsiderate as the doctrine from which he was unconsciously reacting, appears in the passage quoted above and in later letters, as when we find him preparing to ask Hazlitt for "the best metaphysical road I can take." But his central desire was for more life and for the larger

serenity of spirit which would enable him fully to compose that more of life into beauty. The early round of his beauty was being threatened by intrusions of life, as in the following:

"The rocks were silent, the wide sea did weave  
An untumultuous fringe of silver foam  
Along the flat brown sand; I was at home  
And should have been most happy,—but I saw  
Too far into the sea, where every maw  
The greater on the less feeds evermore,—  
But I saw too distinct into the core  
Of an eternal fierce destruction,  
And so from happiness I far was gone."

His glance passes lucidly from the outer to the inner source of his unhappiness:

"Things cannot to the will  
Be settled, but they tease us out of thought;  
Or is it that imagination brought  
Beyond its proper bound, yet still confined,  
Lost in a sort of Purgatory blind,  
Cannot refer to any standard law  
Of either earth or heaven? It is a flaw  
In happiness, to see beyond our bourn,—  
It forces us in summer skies to mourn,  
It spoils the singing of the Nightingale" (March 25, 1818).

Reaching beyond the present "bourn" of his verse, he wanted for his imagination a guidance which itself could not supply. A few weeks later he remarks that "extensive knowledge" with "widening speculation" can take away "the heat and fever." High poetic repose was his goal. His prayer to Apollo, uttered on the threshold of the brief period of his best work, sounds a motif that was iterated with deepening poignancy, on to the end:

"God of Song,  
Thou bearest me along  
Through sights I scarce can bear:  
O let me, let me share

With the hot lyre and thee,  
The staid Philosophy.  
Temper my lonely hours,  
And let me see thy bowers  
More unalarmed" (Jan. 31, 1818).

His mental reachings for this far goal began to weaken his hold on the immediate poetic beauty which he had so swiftly mastered. His thought was diverging from his imagination. This condition became acute in his last working months, October and November of 1819; and it accounts for the anomalous nature of the revised version of "Hyperion." The apologistic view of this poem and of its author's state, fails to cover the facts, and in effect it depreciates the character it was intended to elevate. The facts do not warrant the assumption that Keats' physical weakness had thus early become so great as to render him the helpless prey of his passion for Miss Brawne; and that, under more fortunate circumstances, his poetic power would not have declined. The truth of the matter seems to be just the other way around. If his poetic power had remained at full tide, it would have continued to keep him above his troubles. He would still have tried to segregate his morbid passion from his active being, as he had done very signally during the preceding months, when he was writing his last great poems. He would have continued to guard his frail health for the sake of poetry, instead of so neglecting it as to open the way for the decisive illness of February 3, 1820. His closest observer, Charles Brown, put the matter in its true sequence when he recorded: "He was too thoughtful, or too unquiet; and he began to be reckless of health." But the deep source of his disquietude, the division in his poetic nature, was of the kind that cannot be fathomed by friends, nor be fully clear to the sufferer himself. It is natural that Keats, as well as

his friends, should have been apt to seize upon tangible and superficial factors, in attempting to account for his inner disintegration. Therefore the biographic material for this dark period, even if it were not so scanty, could not possibly be so illuminating as the two long fragments, the revised "Hyperion" and "The Cap and Bells," in which the poet's state is given less consciously and more faithfully. These two pieces, so opposite in nature and yet composed concurrently day by day, shadow out the sharp duality of his spiritual condition.

The recast "Hyperion" shows Keats reaching anxiously for philosophic truth, and stultifying his poetic perception. "The Cap and Bells" shows him pulled in the other direction by his instinct for immediate artistic effect; and indeed the continued strength of this instinct appears in several ways, during the last eighteen months of his life. (It made him project further romantic tales which he hoped would surpass his earlier ones. But that he could never have recaptured their fine gusto is suggested by his very deliberation of the matter: "As the marvellous is the most enticing, and the surest guarantee of harmonious numbers, I have been endeavouring to persuade myself to untether Fancy, and to let her manage for herself. I and myself cannot agree about this at all." (Nov. 17, 1819). His mental aloofness from romantic story had become definitive. The romantico-satiric method of "The Cap and Bells," so far from being merely an amazing lapse occasioned by external factors and a passing mood, is a natural development of the state of mind which was forming behind the scenes of "Lamia." Though Keats had lived on, "Lamia" must have remained, I think, his last great romance; Its marked deliberation, in contrast to the mood of the earlier "Isabella" and "Eve of St. Agnes," passes sometimes into factitiousness. And its deepest emotional

tone, as suggested by the passage I quoted at the beginning, is elegiac of Keatsian beauty, and premonitory of the coming change. It is the rising tragedy in the poet's own spirit that comes out into the question preluding the dissolution of the lovely serpent-woman under the sage's scrutiny:

"Do not all charms fly  
At the mere touch of cold philosophy?"

Even while shrinking from thought's chill cast, he was longing for its elevation. And he was approaching that opinion of his loveliest poems which appears in the well-known sentence: "I have done nothing—except for the amusement of a few people who refine upon their feelings till anything in the understandable way will go down with them, people predisposed for sentiment" (Oct. 3, 1819). This profound pessimism is fully intelligible only as an exhalation from the real incompetency which had now come over his creative power on account of the division in his spirit; as is suggested, indeed, by another sentence in context with the one just quoted: "Though at this present 'I have great dispositions to write,' I feel every day more and more content to read." To go into retirement for the sake of reading and thought, though at the expense of composition, was his iterated purpose: he knew that his muse was still far from ripe for high philosophy. But at the same time he had "great dispositions to write," as he puts it, with a depth of pathos beneath the light phrase. A natural outcome of this double mood was the reconstruction of "Hyperion." It was a violent and hapless attempt, but for Keats a vitally necessary attempt, to bridge the widening rift between his thought and his verse. In this view the symbolism of the poem becomes clearer. In the visionary temple, the marble pavement with its creeping cold is plainly an adumbration of the numbness, the

loss of "poetic ardour and fire" mentioned in a letter of this period (Sept. 21, 1819), which had come upon Keats' creative genius in its present ambiguous groping. He had been sated with the sensuous mode of verse symbolized by the "feast of summer fruits" at the opening of the poem. He was now facing the difficult ascent to a poetry of higher outlook,—the arduous steps to Moneta's shrine in the temple,—as the great way of escape from the state of cold unproductiveness in which he found himself:

"I strove hard to escape  
The numbness, strove to gain the lowest step.  
Slow, heavy, deadly was my pace: the cold  
Grew stifling, suffocating at the heart;  
And when I clasped my hands I felt them not.  
One minute before death my iced foot touched  
The lowest stair . . . ."

Surely these words came, though unconsciously, from the innermost heart of his bitter experience.

The kind of philosophy that his deepest nature called for was far beyond his reach. He could not be satisfied with the specialistic theories which contemporary egotism was hatching on, or out of, the débris of the past. He refuses to be one who will "brood and peacock" over his own speculations "till he makes a false coinage and deceives himself"; he shrinks from "poetry that has a palpable design upon us," and desires the kind that is "great and unobtrusive" (Febr. 3, 1818). His critiques of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley and the rest are less significant for their mental and moral lucidities, which delighted Arnold, than for their underlying vague instinct for the full quality of poetic thought. Keats did not see clearly, for example, the untruth of emotional pantheism: that conception of a single spiritual life rolling through

all things, by which Wordsworth and Shelley, and even the clearer-sighted Byron at his Lake Leman, sought to fill the widening gap between men and external nature. Keats did not criticize their hypostasis of yearning emotion; but, even though more warmly intimate than they in his love of nature, he avoided it: undoubtedly because he felt it to be a channel divergent from the full course of poetic thinking. He longed more poignantly than Wordsworth for "the quietness of thought"; but his nature would not allow him to win the quietude, as Wordsworth did, by averting his mind from "half of human fate." He craved without knowing it a philosophy of Goethean quality: a view of life which, while meeting nineteenth century conditions, would be so complete and satisfying as to be fully soluble in serene beauty. ¶

The road ahead of him was very long; and the obstacles in it were more formidable than his own view of them, remarkably realistic as it often was, could comprehend: the inadequacy of his associates, the superficiality of his understanding of the English classics, his ignorance of foreign thought. No doubt if he had lived he would have faced these obstacles more consistently. He would have extended the winding efforts, so notable in his later letters, to see life steadily and whole. His verse would have entered upon a long period of partial stagnation and painful experiment, at times trying unsuccessfully to recover its first fine rapture, but mainly continuing the endeavor of the revised "Hyperion" for a mode more philosophic. Could Keats have come through this struggle triumphantly? Looking ahead to it, while composing "Lamia," he thinks he could sustain it if only he had "a free and healthy and lasting organization of heart, and lungs as strong as an ox's, so as to be able to bear unhurt the shock of extreme thought and sensation." But he adds: "I feel my body

too weak to support me to the height, I am continually obliged to check myself, and be nothing." With a body not merely saved from death but renovated, and supposing that his own fitful confidence in his poetic and mental possibilities was justified, he could have followed the path on "to the height." But the premises are too hypothetical. Proceeding from all the known conditions, I cannot conceive a matured Keats writing a kind of poetry not only more intellectual, but more highly and distinctively beautiful, than the poetry of him who remains for us ever young. Keats' genius was conditioned by an age in which poetic power rose early and sank very soon. And the very fullness of his nature, which could have prevented such sterility as overtook Wordsworth at the age of forty, became at the age of twenty-five the means of his disintegration. For it swiftly developed needs far larger than his powers could fulfil. His decline in the fall of 1819 was not accidental but real. A deep tragedy of his spirit precedes the pathos of his early death.

In this view of Keats we can understand, more fully than before, the growing preoccupation of his spirit, in the period of his best achievement, with the thought of death. In one of his few optimistic moments, at the close of that period, we find him looking forward to "a more thoughtful and quiet power . . . I want to compose without this fever" (Sept. 21, 1819). But deeper and more insistent in his spirit, throughout his career, was the intimation that the fullness of quiet he craved was not to be had from life. His mind turned continually to the subject of death. His mind, rather than his heart; for though doubtless there appears in Keats' case something of the familiar swinging of the emotionalist from a thirst for too much life to a thirst for no-life, and back again, his main approach to the subject of death was through a region above precipitate

desires. This appears in his own remarkable account of the composition of the pathetic sonnet "Why did I laugh to-night?", which closes on the note of death. "Though the first steps to it were through my human passions", he says, "they went away and I wrote with my mind". He had been brooding on the rarity of unselfishness among men, on the brutality of nature, on "the violence of my temperament continually smothered down." Longing for light upon all this darkness, he had realized with "agony", he says, how far he was from the goal of "divine philosophy", and had come to the conviction that though

"My fancy to its utmost blisses spreads:  
Yet could I on this very midnight cease,  
And the world's gaudy ensigns see in shreds;  
Verse, fame and beauty are intense indeed  
But death intenser—Death is Life's high meed"

(March 19, 1819).

Not satisfied with the "utmost blisses" of fancy, distraught by those dark actualities which his veracity made him face, and yet needing high repose of spirit for the full fruition of his poetic genius, he sought the peace of wisdom: but this being too far from him, his spirit leaned toward the stillness of death. ^Such is the spiritual process that underlies Keats' poetry of death considered as a whole, and draws into a symphony its successive tones,—from early passages such as:

"But this is human life: the war, the deeds,  
The disappointment, the anxiety,  
Imagination's struggles, far and nigh,  
All human; bearing in themselves this good,  
That they are still the air, the subtle food,  
To make us feel existence, and to show  
How quiet death is" (*Endymion*, II);

down to the massive atmosphere of deathly stillness which is the most distinctive feature, I think, of the revised "Hyperion":

“Without stay or prop  
But my own weak mortality, I bore  
The load of this eternal quietude . . . .  
. . . . . Oftentimes I prayed  
Intense, that death would take me from the vale  
And all its burthens.”

Though Keats could not find an articulate communion with high truth, he could feel the stillness of her presence, which is somewhat akin to the stillness of death. But his loveliest tone is pitched somewhat lower than that. It comes when, without taking his eye from the earthly object he loves so well, he draws back from it into a sort of intense brooding quietude, and *suggests* in his music a yearning for a peace which in life he could not win:

“Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard  
Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on;  
Not to the sensual ear, but, more endeared,  
Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone.”

G. R. ELLIOTT.

XV.—SHELLEY'S SWELL-FOOT THE TYRANT IN  
RELATION TO CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL  
SATIRES

Few readers of Shelley devote much time to *Oedipus Tyrannus*, or *Swell-foot the Tyrant*, and for a very good reason. Intrinsically, the play is not worth it. Mrs. Shelley, ever careful of the poet's reputation, warns us not to take this piece for more than was meant. We are indebted for its inception, and for some of its devices, to the grunting of a drove of pigs beneath Shelley's window. This fact, notwithstanding what we owe to equally trivial experiences persistently reported of Newton and Dick Whittington, adds nothing to the gravity with which the poem is generally read. The revolting setting, with its thigh-bones and skulls, the outrageous characters introduced, such as a sow-gelder, a chorus of swine, and a hoydenish queen, together with extravagant speeches and actions, sometimes in a serious mood of protest, more often with the hysteric sort of grotesquerie which was Shelley's nearest approach to humor—these factors have combined to make most readers regard the poem as a failure even when taken for no more than was meant. Shelley's serious devotion to liberty could never allow him to treat it in burlesque fashion without a touch of hectic incongruity. Byron could have succeeded much better with Shelley's material, and Fielding could have made an uproarious farce of it, but not Shelley.

Shelley's oft-quoted remark, "You might as well go to a ginshop for a leg of mutton as expect anything human or earthly from me," has a superficial application to *Swell-foot*—one feels that Shelley is not sufficiently humane to be genuinely humorous. In another sense, however, this remark, as well as Trelawney's romantic picture of Shel-

ley's solitary habits of composing, is misleading. Nothing can be more true in general than the common impression of Shelley's isolation from humanity; yet that he was always beating his wings in the void is not strictly true. He was sufficiently aware of the multitude, for example, in his desire to get *Hellas* off the press in time to take advantage of the popular interest in Greece, and, as this article shall attempt to show, he was not only interested in the great Caroline scandal, which brought him into intellectual communion with all the aristocrats, radicals and bourgeois of England, but he was sufficiently in touch with the numerous anonymous cartoons and political satires on the subject to put out a satire of his own remarkably like them in tone, incident, and general paraphernalia.

There is nothing remarkable, of course, in the fact that Shelley, in his Italian seclusion, was touched by the Caroline affair. When Queen Caroline, travelling peacefully and somewhat unconventionally over the earth, tired of the petty persecutions of her royal consort and decided to embarrass him by returning to England to assert her rights, she started a furore the like of which had never been seen in English domestic politics since the time of the Popish Plot. The ministers, in trying her before Parliament for infidelity, were attacking not only the honor of the Queen, such as it was, but the influence of her supporters, the Whigs. The Whigs, in lampooning George IV as Nero, Glorious Geordie and Gorgeous Whelp, were not only "defending the honor of the Queen"; they were assailing the whole Tory government as well. Ministers were mobbed, processions were formed, houses were stoned, and foreign witnesses were assaulted on landing. Brougham was moved to suggest that certain days be set apart for transacting the business of the country. Wherever English newspapers and travellers went it was incumbent upon all good

Englishmen to pronounce upon the question of the Queen's virtue. Byron scouted the charges; Scott thought her guilty; Shelley believed her guilty only of grave indiscretions and of being "a vulgar cook-maid." That Shelley added his mite to the literature of the question is not so strange, therefore, as the similarity of his treatment to that of the many other satirists with whose work it is somewhat difficult for us to believe Shelley familiar, without modifying our ideas of his Italian seclusion.

This similarity can best be demonstrated under two heads—the similarity of machinery, setting and idea, and the similarity in the treatment of the Queen's enemies. The latter similarity will enable us to establish the identity of Shelley's characters somewhat more fully and certainly than has been done hitherto. Incidentally such a demonstration, if convincing, should serve as a mild corrective of certain exaggerated ideas about the completeness with which Shelley "dwelt apart," and help us to regard a highly abnormal character as a bit more human than Trelawney and Hogg liked to picture it.

Partly on account of the ephemeral nature of the numerous satires on the Caroline affair and partly on account of the fact that most of them, for perfectly valid reasons, were anonymous, it is probably impossible at this time to tell just how numerous they were. That they were both numerous and popular, however, is sufficiently evident from the fact that the Harvard Library contains forty-three verse and prose satires and sixty cartoons on George IV, dealing mainly with the Caroline affair.<sup>1</sup> Some of

<sup>1</sup> Other cartoons and satires are reproduced, quoted, or mentioned by title in J. F. Molloy's *Court Life Below Stairs*, iv, 315 pp., Lewis Melville's *An Injured Queen*, II, 473, and Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, II, 346, footnote. The note by Professor Dowden which is quoted herewith, is the only reference to these satires by writers on Shelley:

them went into as many as fifty editions. Among the writers and authors whose names are best known today may be mentioned William Hone, the radical publisher, Theodore Hook, the Tory editor of *John Bull*, and George Cruikshank.

In nearly all this literature the symbolical green bag figures prominently. Historical accounts of the trial show that the documents of the prosecution were carried in one of the green bags in common use by lawyers at the time and abandoned soon afterward, as Melville informs us, because of the infamy attached to them through these very proceedings. The Green Bag became a catchword in the speeches of counsel before the House of Lords and in the newspaper accounts and comments. Sympathizers of the Queen carried green bags on long poles in their procession.<sup>2</sup> Very few of the satires and cartoons in the Harvard Library fail to mention the green bag, and many of them center everything around it. Shelley's satire resembles the others not merely in the *fact* of using this Green Bag, which would not be a very unnatural coincidence in itself, but in the *manner* of using it. Shelley makes prominent use of the Green Bag as a device on the part of the King's counsellors to ruin the Queen. It is filled with poison and is to be emptied over the head of the unsuspecting Queen, who is to be deceived into thinking it a fair test. At the last moment, however, the Queen snatches the bag and empties its contents over the heads of her persecutors.

"The Rat and the Leech of Shelley's drama were common property of the pamphleteers and versemongers. See the picture in which these vermin feed on John Bull's corpse and on the Tree of Liberty in 'The Queen and Magna Charta' (Dolby, 1820)." It is evident from this that Dodwen did not perceive the full significance of the relationship.

<sup>2</sup> Toynbee, *Glimpses of the Twenties*, p. 49. See also Melville, *An Injured Queen*, II, 511.

A cartoon called *Opening the Green Bag, or the Fiends of Hell Let Loose*, represents the conspirators being routed by the dragons and serpents in the bag. Another cartoon, called *The Filth and Lies of the Green Bag visiting their Parents and Friends*, shows the Green Bag full of reptiles being poured over the heads of its owners. Either of these cartoons, by changing serpents to poison, might serve as an illustration to Shelley's scene. Leigh Hunt, in the *Examiner* of June 9, actually does make this change, when he speaks of Caroline's servants being tampered with, "thus to gather poison for one of those venomous Green Bags, which have so long infected and nauseated the people and are now to infect the Queen." The following titles which are representative of a great many more, may give an additional idea of the use of the Green Bag in the cartoons: *The Hampshire Green Bag Opened*, *A Peep into the Green Bag* (June 1820), *The Green Bag*, (July 11, 1820), *A New Italian Farce, called the Green Bag*, (July 22, 1820), *The Rats at Work, or How to Get Out of the Bag* (August, 1820). The following excerpts show its use in the prose and verse.

In "*Non Mi Ricordo*," (Oct. 8, 1820), Majocchi, one of the infamous Italian witnesses against the Queen is made to say

If a green bag you want full,  
To fill it I am your man.

In *The Dream* (1820) the King, "musing on Green Bags and Leeches" says, "I saw Live-a-fool [Lord Liverpool] dragged through a horse-pond and the water was tainted. I saw a Leech sucking his blood and a Cook feasting on his carcass. I saw poor Fred in a Green Bag," etc. *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder*, (1820), the illustrations of which are by Cruikshank, which went through numerous editions, contains the following:

See the rat Leech turn toward Milan's walls,  
 "Till the black slime betrays him as he crawls,"  
 Sees from that recreant, vile and eunuch land,  
 Where fellow perjurers hold their market stand,  
 Cooke, with his "cheek of parchment, eye of stone"  
 Get up the evidence to go well down;  
 Sees who, with eager hands the Green Bag cram, etc.

and proceeds to a coronation scene in which Cooke is crowned with the Green Bag by Castlereagh and another minister.

One more example will serve to show, incidentally, the boldness and scurrility of many of these pamphleteers. In the twenty-seventh edition of *Non Mi Ricordo* (1820) occurs this "Advertisement":

#### LOST, STRAYED OR STOLEN.<sup>3</sup>

An infirm, elderly gentleman in a Public Office lately left his home just after dreadfully ill using his wife about half-a-crown and trying to beat her. He had long complained a good deal about his forehead and lately had a leech put upon him. He was last seen walking swiftly toward the Horns without a crown to his hat, accompanied by some evil-disposed persons, who tied a great green bag to his tail full of crackers, which he mistook for sweetmeats and burnt himself dreadfully," etc.

The article hints that he may lose his position if not careful, as one of his predecessors did. Not until January 9, 1821, did the King write to Eldon<sup>4</sup> urging action to suppress these lampooners. These conditions must have been sorely perplexing to Leigh Hunt, imprisoned earlier for slanderous the Regent.

The air was so full of green bags during this period, however, that Shelley's use of the Green Bag in the manner cited would not establish an indubitable connection between Shelley's poem and the various lampoons of the

<sup>3</sup> Quoted as "Strayed and Missing" in Molloy, *op. cit.*, iv, 321.

<sup>4</sup> Twiss's *Life of Lord Eldon*, 11, 280.

year. The use of this symbol might conceivably have been suggested to Shelley through other channels, though it is rather hard to explain the similarity to *Opening the Green Bag* and *The Filth and Lies of the Green Bag* as mere coincidence. There are other factors, however, that establish a more convincing connection. At this point it must be remarked that any connection established is evidence of borrowing on Shelley's part rather than that of the lampooners. Most of the contemporary satires antedate *Swell-foot*, which is known to have been begun August 24 and published in December, and it is known that only seven copies of *Swell-foot* were sold before the poem was withdrawn from publication.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps Shelley's most striking scene is the conclusion scene in the Temple of Famine, where Caroline seizes the Green Bag, empties it over her persecutors, who are immediately transformed into foul beasts and put to flight, while Caroline rides off in triumph on the back of a Minotaur. This scene has considerable similarity to a cartoon, *A Kick Up in a Great House*, published in August, 1820. Caroline is here riding a snorting, kicking bull and calling "Justice," while the Archbishop, King and counsellors are fleeing in panic and the table is overturned, spilling the contents of the Green Bag, which are labelled Horse Leech, Italian dagger, Milan Commission, and Bill of Pains and Penalties.

In style and manner, also, there are similarities. Like his contemporaries, Shelley published anonymously and in pamphlet form. Shelley's burlesque erudition and his punning etymologies in the Advertisement and in the use of Iona Taurina and the Ionian Minotaur have their parallels in the much more clever use of the same methods by Theodore Hook in *Tentamen* (undated) and in such ex-

<sup>5</sup> Woodberry, *Shelley's Poetical Works*, III, 470, 474.

pressions as the following, from *The Acts of Adonis the Great*:<sup>6</sup> "And they called him re-gent, which in the Bullish language signifies 'No longer blackguard.'" The following, from *A Speech From the Throne*, which reached its fifty-first edition in 1821 and was so well known by Jan. 26, 1820 that the Company of Stationers were demanding extra copies, bears a general resemblance in tone to Swell-foot's speeches:

Reform, reform, the swinish rabble cry,  
Meaning of course, rebellion, blood and riot.  
Audacious rascals! you, my Lords, and I  
Know 'tis their duty to be starved in quiet.

With Shelley the rabble were actually swine, in form as well as in nature.

There is a general correspondence in the ideas and characters treated. Shelley attacks the spy evil, the paper money evil, the callousness of the government to the people's sufferings, the corruption of Justice, the repressive measures of the government, and the characters of the King and ministers. All these ideas are paralleled in the other satires. The same people are attacked by both Shelley and the pamphleteers, and in a strikingly similar manner. They are agreed on obesity, dullness, heartlessness, gluttony and lechery of the King, the cynical deceit and corruption of Castlereagh, the reactionary character of Liverpool, the brutality of Wellington, the cant and lachrymosity of Eldon, and the injustice of all these men toward Caroline and the cause of liberty. The radical pamphleteers also attack the Italian witnesses against Caroline and the famous Milan Commission appointed to investigate the Queen's conduct. It will appear later that Shelley is in agreement with them on the Milan Commission.

<sup>6</sup> Molloy, *op. cit.*, iv, 319.

The resemblance in the characters is close enough to enable us to identify nearly all of Shelley's characters by comparison with other satires in which they appear under their own names.

The identity of Swell-foot with George IV, Iona Taurina with Caroline, the Ionian Minotaur with John Bull, and the Swine with the people is so evident from the play itself that it is taken for granted by even the casual reader and therefore requires no demonstration. It is generally agreed also, from their parallel functions in the play and in George's government, that Purganax is Lord Castlereagh; Laoktonos, Wellington; and Dakry, Lord Eldon. All these characters appear in the contemporary satires in much the same light as in *Swell-foot*, and often together. Shelley's picture of Eldon's canting tearfulness is no more graphic, for instance, than the lines in *Royal Rumping*, in which, "Bewigged, begowned, bewildered, weeping," he is described as one who

Would damn his Q . . . n and with a sigh,  
Damn her again and, whimpering, cry.

Since these characters are generally accepted in the ascribed meanings, it is not worth while to go into detailed quotations in order to establish their identity.

The characters as yet undetermined are Mammon, Arch-Priest of Famine, who fills one of the principal rôles in *Swell-foot*; the Gadfly, the Leech, and the Rat, agents of the ministers, especially of Purganax (Castlereagh) in persecuting Iona; and Moses, Solomon and Zephaniah, respectively the Sow-Gelder, Porkman and Pig-butcher, to whom Swell-foot delivers his swinish subjects, and who are minor characters in the play.

John Todhunter,<sup>7</sup> the only writer who considers Mam-

<sup>7</sup> *A Study of Shelley's Poetry*, p. 207.

mon's identity, says that it is equally likely that Mammon may be Lord Liverpool, Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer, or Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, but that "he is probably as much a type of English politics as a particular person." As a matter of fact, there can be small doubt that Mammon is Liverpool. In the play, Mammon is Arch-Priest and apparently the superior of Purganax and Looktonos. This corresponds to Liverpool's position as Prime Minister. It is Mammon who first produces the Green Bag and proposes the test; it was Liverpool<sup>8</sup> who laid the Green Bag on the table at the opening of the proceedings by the House of Lords, and it was he who proposed the Bill of Pains and Penalties against Caroline. In the proceedings of the Lords as reported by Nightingale,<sup>9</sup> Liverpool's part was a prominent one throughout the whole trial. He is also mentioned in many of the satires and cartoons as one of the principal persecutors of Queen and people; e. g. in *Royal Rumping* (1821), *A New Italian Farce Called the Green Bag, Doll Tear-Sheet, etc.* There is nothing in the play itself to suggest either Vansittart or Sidmouth as Mammon. Both were extremely unpopular with the radicals, and were attacked in some of the current satires, but their part in this literature and in the proceedings of the trial is insignificant in comparison to that of Liverpool.

No other explanation for the Gadfly, the Leech and the Rat has yet been offered than that of Todhunter,<sup>10</sup> who considers them abstractions to represent Slander, Taxation, and Espionage respectively. Were there no other explana-

<sup>8</sup> Mrs. Shelley in her Note to the poem (1839) erroneously says Castlereagh, but see Harriet Martineau: *History of the Peace*, Book ii, chapter ii.

<sup>9</sup> *Trial of Queen Caroline*, 3 vol. 1820.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, 206, 8.

tion to propose, this surmise of Todhunter's would break down on account of the fact that there is no distinct difference between the functions of the three to support such a distinction in meaning. Moreover, Shelley has obviously invented them as plagues for Caroline, not the people; and Taxation, as one of Caroline's plagues, is altogether inappropriate. Dowden's footnote, already quoted, suggested the clue to these characters, had any one wished to follow it up.

The Rat and the Leech are indeed stock properties of the contemporary satires. Rats are mentioned in *A Political Lecture on Tails* (1820), *The Political Showman at Home* (1821, 26th edition), *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder* (1820), *Royal Rumping* (1821), *A Political Christmas Carol* (1821), *The Rats at Work* (1820), and a number of others. Some of the passages already quoted in connection with the Green Bag are fair examples of the use of the Leech and the Rat by contemporary satirists. Numerous others could be quoted, but it is hardly necessary. In practically every case the meaning of the word rat is that given in most slang dictionaries, "a political turncoat and deserter."<sup>11</sup>

The Leech is even more commonly mentioned than rats. It occurs in *A Political Lecture on Tails* (1820), *Royal Rumping* (1821), *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder* (1820), *The Queen that Jack Found* (1820), and in the cartoons *The Kettle Calling the Pot Ugly Names* (1820), *A New Italian Farce called the Green Bag* (1820), *A Kick Up in a Great House* (1820), and *The Dream* (1820).

It may now be plainly seen that Shelley is in close accord with the other political satirists of the day in mak-

<sup>11</sup> Farmer and Henry: *Slang and its Analogues*, etc.

ing use of the Rat and Leech, as well as in his use of the Green Bag. Whether or not he owes the Gadfly to the same source cannot be definitely stated. The only instance noted in which the word seems to have a significance in the satires of the times is in an allusion to Sidmouth as "the devil of traps and beaks and gadflies and eavesdroppers."<sup>12</sup> It seems more likely that Shelley imported this figure from the Greek story of Io and the Gadfly, which was fresh in his mind from *Prometheus Bound*. Purganax, in fact, says: "The gadfly was the same which Juno sent To agitate Io."<sup>13</sup> The plaguing of the wandering Io is an obvious parallel to that of the wandering Caroline; the Greek form and names of the drama would naturally suggest a Greek parallel, and Shelley needed a new symbol in addition to the two already suggested by the contemporary lampoons, because, as will appear later, he probably had three men definitely in mind.

If Shelley followed contemporary satires in the meaning put upon these figures, then we can reach fairly certain conclusions as to their identity. The Leech is undoubtedly Vice Chancellor Leach, the organizer of the nefarious Milan Commission. This is established by the frequent spelling Leach, with the capital, where, if no allusion were intended, the common noun, leech, would be used; by the frequent appearance of the Leech with the well-known wiggled head of the Vice-Chancellor,<sup>14</sup> and by the verbal description of Leach, in his human character with the attributes of the Vice-Chancellor.<sup>15</sup> His part in the "per-

<sup>12</sup> *A Slap at Slop*, 1822, p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> I, 152.

<sup>14</sup> Toynbee, *op. cit.* p. 66.

<sup>15</sup> See *Royal Rumping*, p. 14, *Queen's Matrimonial Ladder*, *John Bull Peppering the Italian Rascals*, (cartoon) *The Queen that Jack Found*, etc.

secution" of the Queen was so well known that when Othello was being played at Drury Lane during the trial, Emilia's lines "I will be hanged if some eternal villain" etc. "hath not devised this slander," were greeted with a tempest of hoots for the Vice Chancellor.<sup>16</sup> Both his part in the actual proceedings and his place in the pamphlets and cartoons make it extremely unlikely that Shelley, in satirizing the same events after the same general manner as the other political satires, should adopt the figure of the Leech without adopting its meaning. When in addition to this we note that Shelley's treatment of the Leech is in general similar to that in the other satires, and that it is consistent with the part played by the Vice-Chancellor in the actual events, we may safely conclude that Shelley's Leech is Sir John Leach, Vice-Chancellor, and organizer of the Milan Commission.

Shelley's treatment of the Rat, the Gadfly and the Leech together as agents in persecuting Iona, suggests that he may have meant the Gadfly and the Rat for the other prominent English members of the Milan Commission. These two men were William Cooke, a lawyer of good reputation, and Lieut. Col. Browne, of rather shady character.<sup>17</sup> Both were well known as agents of Castlereagh against Caroline and the names of both figured prominently in the proceedings of the trial and in the contemporary satires. Browne is mentioned in *Doll Tear-Sheet* (1820), *Political Lecture on Tails* (1820), and *Gorgeous Whelp* (1820). Cooke is mentioned in *Tentamen*, *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder*

<sup>16</sup> Toynbee, *op. cit.* p. 66.

<sup>17</sup> Two solicitors, a Mr. Powell of London and Vimercati of Milan, were used in the taking of evidence, but they were less conspicuous in both trial and satires than Browne and Cooke. Lewis Melville: *An Injured Queen*, II, 389-96.

(1820), *Doll Tearsheet* (1820) and a number of cartoons, including *Falstaff and His Ragged Crew* (1820), *The Cauldron* (1820), *The Dream*, (1820), *A Peep into the Green Bag* (1820), and *The Royal Rush Light* (1821). In several of the preceding instances and in a number of others, the Milan Commission is specifically attacked. In some instances Cooke and Browne are mentioned together; and in other instances they are mentioned in connection with Leach. In Shelley's drama *Purganax* says his Green Bag is filled with "the Gadfly's venom," "the vomit of the Leech" and "black ratsbane."<sup>18</sup> The contemporary satires prescribe an exactly similar function for the members of the Milan Commission. The passage quoted earlier from *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder* (1820) represents Leach and Cooke as gathering evidence to cram the Green Bag; in *Doll Tear-Sheet* (1820) one of the witnesses is made to say that she received instructions from "the Cook who has given me lessons in English, a certain Colonel Blue, and a very black attorney"; and in the cartoon, *Falstaff and his Ragged Regiment*, the Italian witness, Ompteda, and a kangaroo wearing a collar marked Cook are carrying the bag of evidence between them. In *A Political Lecture on Tails* (1820) the King, as Gorgeous Whelp, is made to sing,

"She wants to crack my crown,  
I'll go to Colonel B . . . n."

In the same satire it is said that "Some time back the Ha . . . r rat [George himself, who had "ratted" from his earlier Whig sympathies] dispatched the Brown rat and some of that species to Italy,"; and in *The Queen that Jack Found* (July, 1820), Leach is presented as a horse-leech, "a time-serving barrator," etc., who "filled his Green Bag with the tales of his spies."

<sup>18</sup> I, 352 ff.

When we consider therefore, the certain identity of Shelley's Leech and Sir John Leach, head of the Milan Commission, the fact that the Milan Commission played an important part in the actual events of the scandal and in the contemporary satires; and the further facts that the functions of Shelley's trio are the same as those of the known members of the Milan Commission in the contemporary satires and that Shelley's general connection with these satires has already been established, there can scarcely be any further doubt that Shelley is attacking the members of the Milan Commission.

The remaining unidentified characters—Solomon, Zephaniah and Moses—have no discoverable parallels in the other satires of the day. Todhunter's suggestion that they may be, respectively, Rothschild, physical force, and the Malthusians is as good a guess as any, but one may doubt whether these characters were intended to represent real persons.

A comparison of Shelley's drama with the contemporary satires therefore, establishes certain hitherto unrecognized facts: it shows that Shelley borrowed largely from his anonymous contemporaries in both manner and idea, and it establishes definite originals for the characters of Mammon, the Leach, the Gadfly, and the Rat in the persons of Liverpool, Leach, Cooke and Browne. From a more general point of view, it shows that the unworldly lover of Emilia Viviani, the solitary and abstracted poet of Trelawney's *Recollections*, was sufficiently interested in the things of this world to acquire a surprising familiarity with the fugitive literature of a national scandal.

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

## XVI.—SHELLEY AND THE ABBE BARRUEL

In *Notes and Queries* for February 10, 1917, John H. Sandham Griffith, Esq., of Llwyndurris, Llechryd, Cardiganshire, announced that he had in his possession Shelley's set of the Hon. Robert Clifford's translation (4 vols., 1797-8) of the Abbé Barruel's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme*. The set, Mr. Griffith believes, was left by Shelley at Horsham after his expulsion from Oxford;<sup>1</sup> and he further explains that "there was such a considerable degree of intimacy existing between the poet's family and my ancestor William Sandham of Horsham, a tenant and near neighbor of Sir Timothy Shelley of Field Place, that the poet was probably a frequent visitor, and obtained a loan of £100 in January, 1811, before being sent down from Oxford, which he never repaid. The unredeemed promissory note is in my possession, and also a holograph letter, requesting a further loan on the plea of 'now being reduced to the very last extremity,' written from Keswick shortly after his marriage to Harriet Westbrook [sic]." Volume II of the set, Mr. Griffith says, "bears the poet's autograph in full, and the date 1810."

This interesting confirmation of Hogg's statement<sup>2</sup> and the evidence offered by Shelley himself in his letter to Elizabeth Hitchener, February 27, 1812, as to the popularity of this book with the poet at the beginning of his literary career suggested a perusal of these volumes with a view to determining the extent to which they influenced Shelley's thought in his first creative period. The study has not been destitute of result. Indeed, it showed that

<sup>1</sup> If Mr. Griffith is correct, Shelley afterwards bought or borrowed another set of Barruel's work. See below, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Shelley*, New Ed., 1913, p. 379.

this work, written by the "expatriated Jesuit" of Shelley's *Proposals for an Association* had been a force in Shelley's thinking (even though a lessening one) to the end of his life.

For those who have not read this now obscure treatise on Jacobinism it may be sufficient to state that the Abbé Barruel undertook the task of writing a history of the men and ideas involved in this revolutionary school of philosophy *not* as a friend and champion of that philosophy, but as its most ardent enemy; that the good Abbé's intent of creating opponents of Jacobinism seems to have been utterly lost upon Shelley, who eagerly declaimed to Hogg and then espoused in his writings the very ideas which the Abbe was holding up to defamation. "Although it [the *Memoirs*] is half filled with the vilest and most unsupported falsehoods," Shelley told Miss Hitchener, "it is a book worth reading. To you who know how to distinguish truth, I recommend it."

To trace that part of the work which mainly affected Shelley is therefore to read those excerpts from the writings of the French revolutionary philosophers (especially Voltaire, Rousseau, and Spartacus Weishaupt—the last, most important of all) which Abbe Barruel inserted in his history. We find, early in the work, mention of Condorcet, whose theory of the progressive improvement of the race had a strong fascination for Shelley; Spinoza, whom Shelley read avidly at this same period; Volney, whose *Ruins* furnished the principal framework of *Queen Mab*; and that book whose authorship was still in doubt in Shelley's day, the *System of Nature* of the Baron D'Holbach.

We are given an account of the rise and advancement of Illuminism, of the prostitution of Freemasonry, in parts of France, to the intrigues of the political revolutionaries; of the spread of the Rosicrucians; and, in brief, to adopt

the Abbé's own summary, of how the French Revolution was first fomented and then consummated as the result of "a coalition of the Sophisters of Impiety swearing to crush the God of the Gospel; of the Sophisters of Rebellion swearing to overturn the thrones of kings; and of the Sophisters of Anarchy conspiring not only against the altar and throne, but swearing to annihilate all laws, property, and society."

And now first let us examine the views of God which are quoted from the revolutionary writers. "The universal cause, that God of the philosophers, of the Jews and of the Christians," says Freret, "is but a chimera and a phantom. . . . Imagination daily creates fresh chimeras, which raise in them that impulse of fear, and such is the phantom of the Deity." We next learn that "in those ancient times when men first began to desert the primitive truths, to follow a religion and morality founded on superstition, some sages were to be met with who segregated themselves from the general mass of ignorance and corruption. These sages . . . transmitted the whole science of the ancient truths and of the discoveries they had made by their profound meditations on the nature, the religion, the polity, and the rights of man. In these lessons some insisted on the unity of God or true Deism, others on the unity of the Great Being, or Pantheism. The morality deduced from these principles was pure; it was grounded on the duties of charity, on the rights of Liberty, and on the means of living peaceably and happily. . . . All those who were admitted to this school . . . were the children of Light and Liberty, while all the rest of mankind were with respect to them but slaves and prophane beings; and hence their contempt for the vulgar."

Rousseau is said to have "conceived no Religion but Deism to be worthy a sovereign, equal, and free people;

and in order to undermine every throne," and to have wished to banish from the state "every altar where the God of Christianity was adored." One reason assigned for the necessitated overthrow of Jehovah is that "it is a most fallacious system to pretend to lead men to wisdom by the frightful description of eternal flames in a life to come," the doctrine of Hell being inseparable, in the eyes of St. Martin, from the God of the Church. That Shelley sympathized with the latter's view is indicated in his *Essay on Christianity*, where he avers that: "It is not to be believed that the most prominent group of this picture [of Paradise] . . . would consist of millions of sensitive beings enduring, in every variety of torture which Omniscient vengeance could invent, immortal agony." And again, in a letter to Elizabeth Hitchener, July 25, 1811, he declares: "I should doubt the existence of a God who if he cannot command our reverence by *Love*, surely can have no demand upon it, from *Virtue*, on the score of terror. It is this empire of terror which is established by Religion," etc.

"In all conspiracies," says the Abbé, "there is generally a secret language or a watchword. . . . The word chosen by Voltaire must have been dictated by some fiend. . . . *Crush the wretch! (écrasez l'infâme!)* and what a signification is attached to these three words in the mouths of D'Alembert, of Frederick or their disciples; constantly they mean *crush Christ, crush the religion of Christ, crush every religion that adores Christ.*" He also states that Voltaire wished to "*die on a heap of Christians*, which he terms Bigots, *immolated at his feet.*" Compare with these passages Shelley's citation of Voltaire's "*Ecrasez l'infâme!*" on the title-page of *Queen Mab*; his assertion to Hogg (letter of December 20, 1810): "Down with Bigotry! Down with Intolerance! In this endeavour your

most sincere friend will join his every power, his every feeble resource"; and later words the Elizabeth Hitchener (letter of June 11, 1811): "To a belief in Deity I have no objection on the score of feeling. . . . My wish to convince you of his non-existence is twofold: first on the score of truth, secondly because I conceive it to be the most summary way of eradicating Christianity." That the *Queen Mab* citation was credited to the *Correspondance de Voltaire* only indicates that Shelley was drawn to the latter, in all probability, as a result of the numerous references thereto in the *Memoirs of Jacobinism*.

Rousseau's affirmations to Vernier that "One may believe in God without being a hypocrite, or deny him without being a rascal," and to Voltaire, "that an Atheist cannot be guilty before God," find several echoes in Shelley's prose. In the *Address to the Irish People* we are told that "you cannot believe or disbelieve what you like," and that "Certainly if you cannot help disbelief, it is not any fault in you"; which doctrine becomes, in the *Declaration of Rights*, this: "Belief is involuntary; nothing involuntary is meritorious or reprehensible. A man ought not to be considered worse or better for his belief." The same vindication of the involuntary nature of belief is twice repeated in the *Refutation of Deism*, published two years later.

That Shelley's antagonism to marriage sprang rather from his reading of Godwin's *Political Justice* than from Abbé Barruel's book I do not doubt. Yet in the latter we read that Montesquieu regarded as ideal that state in which the "natural sentiments are preserved without the tie of son, husband, or father, and where even chastity is denuded of modesty and shame"; that "love . . . between man and women . . . was a sufficient claim on each other without matrimony" (Toussaint's view) and that those

who are married should remember that "the law which condemns them to live together, becomes barbarous and cruel on the day they cease to love each other," which was the opinion of Helvetius.

Francis Ravallac and Charlotte Corday, celebrated in Shelley's *Epithalamium* published in the *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* (1810); the Rosicrucians (of whom an extended account is given) who furnished Shelley with his alternative title for *St. Irvyne, or the Rosicrucian* (1811); the Assassins (also mentioned in Lewis's *Monk*) concerning whom Shelley's fragment, *The Assassins* (1814) was written; the Irish and Scottish Associations of the last decade of the eighteenth century, which probably suggested Shelley's letter to Leigh Hunt, March 2, 1811, and the subsequent Proposals for an Association (1812) all appear within the four volumes of the *Memoirs of Jacobinism*.

The notion of a former Golden Age, from which society had, as a result of Priestcraft and Kingcraft, degenerated into a state of slavery and fear, and of a future Golden Age, to be obtained first by personal regeneration, and then, without unconcerted or violent revolution, by the dissemination of Truth and the concerted power of Mind upon all reigning tyrannies, which, though "thousands and thousands of years may elapse before this happy period of perpetual peace" might come, will at length overthrow them and leave Man free—this philosophy, which is Shelley's in every line, is a composite of matter presented by Abbé Barruel from a study of the French revolutionary school.

The Zoroastrian division of the ruling powers of the universe into "Oromasis or the God GOOD, and Arimanes the God EVIL," with their attendant GOOD and BAD Genii, which interested Shelley, but Peacock even more than

Shelley, is described in Volume II, page 335, where we also read: "Of these good and evil Genii, some are more perfect spirits and preside over the planets, the rising and setting of the Sun, the increase and decrease of the Moon; others, inferior to the first, but superior to the human soul, exercise their empire over the Stars and Constellations. . . . All know the secrets of the past, present, and to come, and can impart this great science to the adepts." The description of the Genii of course recalls Shelley's

And I shall gaze not on the deeds which make  
My mind obscure with sorrow, as eclipse  
Darkens the sphere I guide; but list, I hear  
The small, clear, silver lute of the young Spirit  
That sits i' the morning star.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike Godwin's *Political Justice*, which inflamed more than one of the Romantic poets with revolutionary ardour, the *Memoirs of Jacobinism* seem to have stirred Shelley alone to enthusiasm. In his most imitative period, when he was in fact "going to school" to poetry, its influence seems to have been considerable; but the echoes of the ideas impugned by the Abbé grow fainter in Shelley's work after 1814.<sup>4</sup>

WALTER EDWIN PECK.

<sup>3</sup>*Prom. Unb.* III, ii, 35-9.

<sup>4</sup>Mary Shelley was in her Journal, October 11, 1814: "Shelley reads the *History of the Illuminati*, out of Barruel, to us." Again, on the 23rd and 25th of August preceding, there are statements by Mary in the same Journal recording their joint reading of Barruel's work. *Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, by Mrs. Julian Marshall. (2 vols. 1889). Vol. I, pp. 92, 77, 78.

## XVII.—SAMSON AGONISTES AGAIN

Although Dr. Johnson is one of our best English critics, he has left much that the world would willingly let die. But alas! the written word is imperishable, and will every now and then repair its drooping head, in spite of the opportunities of oblivion. Johnson's strictures on the shorter poems of Milton have now for a good while been taken for what they are worth; even his severity with *Comus* is recognized as more than half perversely irrelevant. I say nothing of *Paradise Lost*, for no other poem so inexorably demands the willing suspension of disbelief which Johnson was incapable of. But recently his obiter dictum that *Samson Agonistes* is not a dramatic whole in the Aristotelian sense, having a beginning, a middle, and an end; that "the intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe" has re-entered the listed field. And "these shifts" must be "refuted."<sup>1</sup>

### I

The method is somewhat pedestrian, and the process need not be more than outlined, but it is altogether pertinent to test *Samson Agonistes* by Aristotle's definitions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See *PMLA*, xxxv (1920), 375-89. Johnson's Haraphaic utterance, "This is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry applauded" bears its own—one might say?—unmistakable warning.

<sup>2</sup>This was, to be sure, in some sort Johnson's method also.—Editors and commentators, so far as I am aware, with the one exception of A. J. Wyatt (with whose division I cannot agree) have said nothing on another point, but the *Samson Agonistes* also conforms closely to the (interpolated) exposition of the formal parts of a tragedy in the *Poetics*: Prologos (1-114), by Samson; Parodos (115-75); four episodes (Manoa, Dalila, Harapha, Officer) with successive stasima; and Exodus (1445-1758). The first episode and

The elements of a tragedy are: plot, character, thought, diction, (song, spectacle.) Milton's work never having been intended for the stage, the last two—which are “embellishments”—may be passed over. On the structure of the choric odes Milton is particularly explicit in his prefatory note. Thought and diction may be granted to *Samson Agonistes* without much debate. In characterization Milton comes off tolerably well. Samson and Dalila are adequately conceived; the rest are types. None of them possesses the living reality of the people of Euripides' plays, but all are sufficiently distinct for the purposes of the story.

The “chief of all,” the “soul of a tragedy,” however, is the plot. Aristotle distinguishes various essentials. The first is “a certain magnitude” such as will admit of a change of fortune from bad to good or from good to bad. This clearly *Samson Agonistes* does not lack. Further, plots are either simple, when the action is continuous, or complex, when the change of fortune involves both a reversal (peripeteia) and a recognition. The plot of *Samson Agonistes* is probably to be classed as ‘simple,’ for there

the Exodus have Kommoi. Among the extant tragedies there is a good deal of structural variety. The Prologoi show very great diversity. Sophocles was specially careful of form, and yet his *Ajax* and his *Electra* have three episodes, while the *Antigone* and *Trachiniae*, which are shorter, have five episodes. The *Philoctetes* is largely kommatic throughout. In the *Ajax* the second episode contains but 49 lines, the third 466 lines. The second episode of Sophocles' *Electra* contains 542 lines, or over a third of the whole play. The following proportions have a certain interest:—

|                            | Prolog. | Par. | All Epis. | All Stas. | Exod. | Total. |
|----------------------------|---------|------|-----------|-----------|-------|--------|
| <i>Oed. Col.</i> . . . . . | 118     | 51   | 1143      | 165       | 202   | 1780   |
| <i>S. A.</i> . . . . .     | 114     | 61   | 1123      | 156       | 214   | 1758   |
| <i>Orestes</i> . . . . .   | 139     | 63   | 1069      | 125       | 392   | 1693   |

Milton follows his model even to the detail of a brief quasi-choric ending, like the anapestic close of most of the tragedies.

is no true recognition and no distinct reversal. In a certain sense, to be sure, all tragedies have a reversal; and in that sense Milton's has one in the unexpected outcome of Samson's going to perform before the Philistines. But the matter is not important here. Aristotle says emphatically that the complex plot is the better, for a dramatist should use all the resources of his art; and the *Poetics* gives no instance of a simple plot. But the latter seems to have more than a theoretic existence, and we can supply examples from Aeschylus.<sup>3</sup> The prime essential, however, is structural unity. The action must be "whole"; the episodes must be "relevant to the action" and must follow one another with "probable or necessary sequence," and must be so arranged that "if any one of them is displaced or removed, the whole will be disjointed and disturbed."

Milton's specific reference to "explicit" and "intricate" plots perhaps betrays some consciousness of a deficiency in his own work. But let us approach the problem from his direction. The choice of the Greek model and of the Samson story involved certain sacrifices. The material presented difficulties some of which were insuperable.

Consider. Samson is one of the Judges of Israel; but he has obviously missed his calling. His undergraduate escapades of the Gaza gates and the torch-bearing foxes; his susceptibility to feminine allurements; his absurd riddle with its humorless consequences, are but poor stuff whereof to make a tragic hero. Down to the final catastrophe there is hardly a dignified moment in his recorded

<sup>3</sup> There are, of course, other points raised by Aristotle, but they are not of interest in the present discussion. The question of catharsis I purposely avoid; though the discussion on pp. 366 ff. approaches it. In the strict Aristotelian (pathological) sense there is, I think, no real catharsis in *Samson Agonistes*, but general purification and 'uplift' are obvious enough.

career. And yet not far beneath the farce lie tears. For this clownish boy is a Nazarite, devoted from birth to the high service of Jehovah; and in the failure of his Nazaritic mission, if there is not tragedy, there is at least the profoundest pathos. He is sincere, but unintelligent. When the spirit of the Lord is not upon him he is helpless, a very Harapha. And sometimes, with a terrible irony, the spirit of the Lord has betrayed him into disaster.

The tragic qualities of all this, if not the comic, Milton of course saw, and its various possibilities he weighed before he chose. What he would have made out of "Samson Hybristes" it is rather hard to see. "Samson Marrying" has manifest romantic opportunities, but Milton was scarcely the man to write another *Antony and Cleopatra*. "Samson Agonistes" was for him the inevitable choice. Though it was clearly but the fifth act of the whole tragedy of Samson's successive failures—or the third part of a complete trilogy (what material, too, for a fourth part!)—it permitted a retrospect and summary of the rest and presented the hero at the peak of his career, his one great heroic moment, the ironic union of self-justification and self-destruction. This choice made, the details of the plot largely determined themselves. Samson being blind, he must be led on the stage (which Milton manages skilfully enough) and must remain there until a motive can be provided for removing him. This is of course inconvenient, but unavoidable. The catastrophe will naturally take place off stage<sup>4</sup>; and the necessary motive is thus easily provided. But there remains the task of creating illustra-

<sup>4</sup>One hardly need say that Milton would regard as a 'rule' the late convention that no death or violent act should take place in view of the audience; though there is Aristotle's clear statement in *Poetics* XI, 6.

tive incidents which will make clear and persuasive the change of fortune from captivity and despair to self-assertion and triumph.

That Milton, given a manageable situation, was capable of great dramatic power no one could deny after reading the first two books of *Paradise Lost*; but it is equally true that when the given material was intractable he could not mould it into genuinely dramatic shape. The invention of characterizing incident was no part of his genius; witness the later books of his epic. Once, however, he had grasped the problem of his theme in *Samson Agonistes* he showed, the critics may reasonably admit, a respectable ability, not markedly inferior to that of his great exemplars. That Dalila should appear goes without saying; for the supreme weakness of his life was seen in his submission to her. And that in the Dalila episode Milton aimed at the only possible dramatic motif, when one considers the dramatic problem, namely, the rousing and strengthening of Samson by the bitter memories of past failure, one will readily concede. But more than a stirring of dormant though unforgotten griefs was necessary. Wherefore Milton devises the figure of Harapha as a most probable means of forcing Samson to action. This invention is not extraordinary, but it is adequate. Finally, the presence of Samson's father is both natural and artistically effective. The Officer and the Messenger are mere traditional conveniences of technique. And a chorus of Samson's friends is the only possible chorus.

Thus the materials are gathered. Can they be worked up in such a way as to satisfy the Aristotelian rules?

The prologos reveals clearly the main theme, Samson's double failure as a Nazarite and as a leader of his people, suggests (ironically) an ultimate recovery—

I must not quarrel with the will  
Of highest dispensation, which herein  
Haply had ends above my reach to know,—

and provides the means of accomplishing it, the solemn feast to Dagon. Samson, however, is weighed down with the gloom of utter defeat, and the Chorus, in offering 'salve to his sores,' only reëmphasizes the completeness of his downfall and increases his melancholy, reminding him both of his past glory and of his sins. Their comfort goes no further than

Tax not divine disposal

and (with a sort of dramatic irony)

Just are the ways of God.

So far there has been little movement, but yet an intensification of the opening situation which comes properly under the term of 'action'; for dramatic action includes not only visible acts but also the invisible mental changes which underlie and mould actual events. Ibsen reminded us of this in the famous third act of *A Doll's House*.

When Manoa enters Samson cries:

Ay me, another inward grief awak't.

But Manoa alters the situation in an unexpected way. Besides rankling the old wound, particularly Samson's "foul effeminacy" and his

former servitude ignoble  
Unmanly, ignominious, infamous

to Dalila (thus preparing somewhat for the next scene), Manoa both introduces the 'complicating moment,' that Samson must take part in the Philistine holiday, and also brings his fatherly hope of ransom. The result is that Samson is roused to still louder self-reproaches for his

"crime"; God's pardon he will implore, but also "oft-invoked death." At the same time there is a suggestion of further possibilities;—

All the contest is now  
'Twixt God and Dagon,

cries Samson, and is reminded of his

redundant locks  
Robustious to no purpose.

Manoa, too, drops a hint (emphasized by its peculiar rhythm)—

Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with that gift  
Which was expressly given thee to annoy them?

Still Samson is but partially awakened from his lethargic despair; all his evils are remediless, he prays only for death.

Enter Dalila, weeping. The drift of this scene is a little hard to understand.<sup>5</sup> Dalila is rather subtly characterized. At least, she is so much a woman as almost to leave us in doubt whether or no she is sincere. Perhaps she even deceived herself for a time. She argues so well, indulges so little in sarcasm, makes out such a strong case for herself without too greatly aggravating Samson's distress, is so appropriately humble and so patient with his rough violence, and makes such a reasonable offer to free him from his bondage to the Philistines, that we are inclined to award her the better of the argument. Even when, in her last speech, she throws off the mask she does not lose her dignity. Samson does not answer her, he only

<sup>5</sup>Certainly it has been understood in various ways not all of which can be right. I hope that my own notion, that Dalila returns to Samson with a passionate woman's desire to renew the old life and a proud woman's pique at having lost what she had won, is not too subtle for the context.

storms. But he feels rightly that notwithstanding her apparent sincerity she seeks to re-ensnare him from selfish motives; and that having deceived him once she would do so again. Milton's dramatic purpose, at any rate, is plainly declared by the words of the Chorus after her exit and by Samson's

God sent her to debase me  
And aggravate my folly.

The situation has changed with Samson's intensified remorse. Another link with the inglorious past is visibly broken. Another possible solution of his distress, deliverance through Dalila is removed,<sup>6</sup> and Samson, once too weak to resist her honied words, is now shown to be past temptation. Thus the unseen catastrophe draws steadily nearer.

The shorter Harapha episode affords suspense, and by focusing on physical conflict recalls to Samson his past strength and goads him to thought of action. It is useful rather than impressive.

The Chorus comments on the joy of victory to the long oppressed, though patience seems to be Samson's lot; and then speaks of the strain to which Samson's mind has been this day subjected;—that is, plays variations still on the dual motifs, the cumulative effect of the preceding incidents on Samson's mind and the gradual approach of a catastrophe.—From this point onward there is no lack of obvious movement, so obvious that it needs no pointing out.

From this short analysis, if there is any virtue in it, two truths emerge: first, that no one can justly say the plot is stationary, or that "the intermediate parts" be-

<sup>6</sup> Sir R. Jebb emphasises this point, but it is a minor one. To be sure, it relates itself to what one may call the sub-plot, Manoa's plan to ransom the hero; but Milton makes little of it.

tween the beginning and the end "have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten or retard the catastrophe"; and, second, that the plot comes close to satisfying Aristotle's requirements. For when we once comprehend that the action is spiritual or 'psychological,' we recognize that the episodes are relevant and are so arranged that "if any one of them is displaced or removed, the whole will be disjointed and disturbed." A single qualification seems necessary. Aristotle requires that the episodes follow one another with probable or necessary sequence. But Manoa's exit does not demand Dalila's entrance, nor does Dalila's exit demand Harapha's entrance; and it would be straining a point to call the sequence probable, though it is not improbable. Milton seems to have been curiously aware of this, for in the Argument he sums up the Dalila and Harapha scenes by saying that Samson "in the meantime is visited by other persons." Let us accept it as a weakness in the structure of the play, but it is no justification of Johnson's strictures. And the simple fact remains that each scene follows naturally *after* the one before, though not *from* it, and advances the action in something like due proportion.

Why then does the plot of *Samson Agonistes* dissatisfy? It is not inferior to that of the *Prometheus Bound* in probability and coherence. It is hardly more simple than that of the *Persae*. The answer lies, I believe, in its tameness. It moves along a straight line, sluggishly perhaps, but irresistibly,—and yet too easily. Nothing threatens to stop it or turn it aside. Since there is almost no complication, there is in consequence no true dénouement. At the opening of the drama Samson's spirit is as a vast weight; to overcome its inertia there are necessary the fatherly solicitations of Manoa, the deep-wounding memories and self-reproaches caused by Dalila's presence, and the

noisy boasting of Harapha. But the essence of tragic action is conflict; and of this Milton gives us too little. Having chosen for his whole play what is really but the *lusis*, the unravelling of a larger plot, he must pay the costs. Whether a more skilful dramatist could, still following the ancient model, have built otherwise, and perhaps have pictured Samson in his glory as well as in his fall and redemption is rather idle speculation.

The structural similarity between *Samson Agonistes* and the *Prometheus* has been frequently noticed. Milton himself can scarcely have failed to see it. The hero is brought in and nailed to the rock; he breaks out in a soliloquy of anger and grief; the chorus entering strive to comfort him; Oceanus comes with a plan of release, and departs; after a kommos of Prometheus and the Chorus, Io comes and relates her story, and when Prometheus discloses her destiny she departs; Hermes enters (a combination of Harapha and the Officer), demands the secret and threatens greater torments; the whole ends in a general disaster. Thus there is no 'middle,' the episodes are perhaps relevant, but follow one another without much probability or necessity, except as they emphasize and strengthen the pride and will of Prometheus. Structural coherence is certainly slight. The *Supplices* is but little more dramatic. The *Choephoroi*, though it has more variety of minor incident is as slow of motion as *Samson Agonistes*. The *Persae* is somewhat similar, but the succession of scenes is more strongly climactic. In the *Hippolytus*, the *Medea*, and the *Bacchae* Euripides also makes use of the 'simple' plot; though in other plays—the *Ion*, for example—he has much of the subtlety of contrast, variety of unexpected incident, and intricacy of motifs which characterize modern tragedy. The Attic master of the 'complex' plot is of course Sophocles. His *Oedipus Rex* is, in

the judgment of such different critics as Aristotle and Coleridge, "perfect." And with such Milton's tragedy cannot for a moment be compared. But even Sophocles is not uniformly perfect, and in the *Ajax* is content with a plot which breaks in the middle with the hero's suicide and for subsequent action relies largely on an exchange of formal speeches.

Defence of Milton it certainly is not, to indicate that he is not alone in using weak plots; but it throws light on both his plan and his result to recall that his models, "the three tragic poets unequalled yet by any, and the best rule of all who endeavor to write tragedy" are not always models of perfection, and that now and then they submitted to the necessities of intractable dramatic material.

## II

Thus much in refutation of the Johnsonian shifts. In what follows I venture upon more dangerous ground, where the positions taken are open to easy attack and cannot be adequately defended without more *matériel* than it is possible to muster in a short article. The ideas must therefore be taken as suggestions which, so far as they commend themselves, may be useful in the attempt to understand *Samson Agonistes*. Being fully developed and expounded they would, I believe, go some way in explaining the general dissatisfaction with Milton's drama. I am conscious also of drawing the lines of 'tragedy' with a very fine pencil, but I trust there is no critical error in testing *Samson Agonistes* by an ideal definition. Certainly I will not be understood as denying the dramatic power of the play if I question its genuinely tragic effectiveness.

Whatever may be said in its censure or extenuation, it is not the plot which is the major deficiency of *Samson*

*Agonistes*, but the theme. The proper subject for tragedy, says Aristotle, is the change from prosperity to adversity of some man who is, like ourselves, neither wholly virtuous nor wholly vicious and yet whose misfortune is brought about not by vice or depravity but by some unconscious error.<sup>7</sup> The great example is of course Oedipus. Samson's misfortune is brought about, however, by his own "effeminacy," his "crime," his "sin,"—in a word, his moral weakness. "Nothing can be more alien to the spirit of tragedy," says Aristotle, again, than the change of fortune of a wicked man from adversity to prosperity; "it possesses no single tragic quality." *Μοχθηρός* is too strong a term for Samson, and the outcome is not unmixed prosperity; but the application of Aristotle's remark is patent. Most of what is 'heroic' in Samson springs from his opportunity for greatness, thwarted by inherent defects which are sub-heroic and almost below the common strength of man,—'all he could never be.' This makes his failure come a little short of tragic failure.

It is of less importance, though not to be overlooked, that in the drama itself Samson is not defeated, but is triumphant. As Jehovah's champion and Israel's defender he is victorious over Dagon and the Philistines. As a

<sup>7</sup> Paraphrased from the *Poetics* XIII. For the last, Aristotle says simply, *δι' ἀμαρτίαν τινά;* but from the context, with, just above, the plain statement that "pity is aroused by unmerited misfortune" and, just following, the mention of Oedipus and Thyestes, it is clear that *ἀμαρτία* signifies here not merely any error of conduct, but unintentional error, a natural human act which only the unmasking of Fate reveals as error; or if the error is not an act but a quality, it is a naturally good quality become evil by exaggeration. Butcher's translation is misleading—unless one interpret "frailty" by aid of the Greek text. Lane Cooper, in his 'Amplified Version' of the *Poetics*, p. 41, suggests "blindness of heart" as an equivalent of *ἀμαρτία*. And Samson's heart was not blind, but flabby.

fallen hero he is restored to honor and dignity. The price, to be sure, is his own death; but death he has prayed for repeatedly. Moreover—

O dearly bought revenge, yet glorious!

chants the Chorus;

Nothing is here for tears,

cries Manoa,

nothing but well and fair,

And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

At the very close the Chorus moralizes: All is best, the Divine Wisdom is magnificently declared by Samson's heroic deed.<sup>8</sup>

It is not necessary, however, to appeal to authority; and indeed the matter goes somewhat beyond Aristotle's note in the *Poetics*. For while the ethical character of tragedy lies in catharsis, the aesthetic lies elsewhere. The great sources of tragic effect are two, the one most frequent in Greek drama, the other in Shakspearean: the failure of a man in his conflict with the shadowy power of Fate, and the failure of a potentially noble character in its conflict with the spirit of evil either within or in some outward manifestation. The former is beyond compare the more poignant, wrings from us a deeper pity and stirs us with a greater fear. The irresistible, irreconcilable forces

Of fate, and chance, and change in human life

fasten a man in their grip, drive him to defeat,—and still he is blameless. The gods have not played fairly with him. Therefore our sympathy is the more spontaneous,

<sup>8</sup>The happy ending is in large measure hostile to greatly tragic effectiveness; but 'averted tragedy' was not unknown to the Greeks. Aristotle instances the *Lynceus* of Theodectes; one might add the two *Iphigeneia's* (each in a different way).

the fuller-hearted. When, however, a man has been "betrayed by what is false within," has sinned against himself and wrought his own disaster, we have for him not so much sympathy or compassion as a condescending pity wholly different from the Aristotelian 'pity'; the various degrees of this feeling being dependent upon the nature of the inner falseness,—the simple ambition of Macbeth, the forced jealousy of Othello, the philosophic indecision of Hamlet. Now in Samson's life as Milton saw it, there was more than one tragic aspect: the great hero destroyed by an evil woman, the wreck of a whole life by one moment of weakness, the overconfidence of too much brawn with too little brain, the consciousness of infidelity to the divinely appointed mission; and though Milton makes use of them all, he does not fuse them in such a way as to obtain the greatest dramatic effectiveness. We lose the keen sense of Samson's failure because we are shown not the act of failing but its logical inglorious results. The essential tragedy of Samson's life was the failure of his will when matched with Dalila's; and this Milton gives us not in vivid representation, but in memory, in an inverted reflection. The Samson that Milton pictures to us is a man broken by sorrow and remorse, heroic still though broken; but we never forget that his suffering is deserved, that he has been traitor to himself. For it is not that his trial was too hard, but that his will was too feeble. The tragic force is thus diminished in two ways. Samson is *to us* only

the shade  
Of that which once was great;

and his fall

To lowest pitch of abject fortune

was just and merited.

Moreover, the problem reaches still further. Man's struggle with the gods is both terrible and pitiful; man's struggle with God is stupid folly. Milton had no real thought of carrying us back to the primitive time when Jehovah and Dagon were mere tribal deities: one god against another and the stronger wins. He wrote as a Christian whose heritage included the Old Dispensation with the New. But to a Christian or to a Hebrew the ultimate decrees of God are righteous and for man's own good; the God of vengeance and punishment is also a just and loving God; and man complains only because of his temporary blindness. When a great hero is caught in the toils of circumstance, and yet has confidence that the Master of all circumstance is loving and just; is balked and defeated by a will which he believes to be wise and holy and doubts only in the agony of revelation of his own impotence, and which he is bound in the end to justify; then the sharp edge of tragedy cannot but be dulled. Thus it is that the story of Oedipus is more tragic than that of Job, and the story of Heracles more tragic than that of Samson. For with both Job and Samson the final catastrophe is not defeat but reconciliation.

In a certain sense this contrast is one which Jebb rather fragmentarily suggested, that between the Hellenic and the Hebraic spirit.<sup>9</sup> That the story of Samson should be Hebraic will surprise no one. It could not be otherwise. Milton could not have made it otherwise. But what is specially significant is that in the fashioning of a thoroughly Hebraic story in dramatic form, much of the tragic quality

<sup>9</sup>Jebb took Heracles as his illustration. Equally interesting, though not so favorable to Jebb's position, would be a comparison of Samson and the Ajax of Sophocles. Each hero failed through a flaw in his own soul, "impotence of mind, in body strong," and each won his rehabilitation through death.

is lost, not because of any antithesis, though a real antithesis exists, between the Hebraic spirit and the Hellenic (for Aeschylus in the *Eumenides* and, no doubt, in the *Prometheus Unbound*, and Sophocles in the *Oedipus Coloneus* preserved the tragic note along with a reconciliation of the human and divine will<sup>10</sup>; and on the other hand there is much that is Hebraic in the whole tone of Aeschylus' dramas), nor because Milton chose the Greek model rather than the Elizabethan (for *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Tamburlane* are as pagan in feeling as the *Electra* or the *Medea*), but simply because there is a gulf between the spirit of tragedy and the spirit of —

All is best, though we oft doubt  
What the unsearchable dispose  
Of highest wisdom brings about,  
And ever best found in the close.

With this belief there can be no properly tragic catastrophe. If this lofty conviction of the fundamental harmony of human life were merely a benedictional close in the *Samson Agonistes*, there would be no difficulty; but Milton insists throughout the drama that the heavenly Disposition is not to be disputed, that the ways of God are both just and justifiable; and the final chorus is a restatement of the prevailing attitude, not a fresh reconciliation won from tragic suffering. Partly the matter is one of emphasis, and it is perhaps as much the Miltonic as the Hebraic attitude—or say rather a complete fusion of the two—which lays the chief stress on the fulfillment

<sup>10</sup> It is partly true, one may admit, that the tragic tone in these dramas is due to the reader's (or hearer's) conscious memory of the antecedent events. On the other hand, the crucial point is that here the reconciliation is *achieved* through the tragic struggle, while in *Samson Agonistes* it is merely a foregone conclusion momentarily lost sight of.

of God's decrees rather than on the individual sin and its unescapable wages. A profound pathos the *Samson Agonistes* certainly has, but the poignancy of great tragedy it certainly lacks. For in fact deep religious feeling *paramount*, a pervading awareness of the divine love and justice, and the high tragic spirit are antithetical. For the moment, perhaps, under the stress of powerful emotions dramatically presented we may be deeply moved, but the effect is immediately undermined by our reflection that these sufferings are—not merely ideal and imaginary, as Aristotle would have it, to spare us the violence of too great pain—but fundamentally unreal because they are the momentary delusions, the temporary unhappiness of an individual who does not see clearly to the end, whose faith has weakened, whose heroism is gone. It is the distinction of Shakespeare and of Euripides (and in a lesser degree of Sophocles) that they submerged in the artistic product whatever profoundly religious convictions they may have had; that their representation of human life remained simply human, without admixture of heavenly omniscience; that the mirror they held was uncurved by any anterior conviction of a doctrine to be maintained or demonstrated against opposition, but flat to reflect life as it is in human not divine eyes. They reveal men as men; whereas Milton both in *Samson Agonistes* and in *Paradise Lost* assumes the attitude: 'I will show you how God feels about it.' Great tragedy and great comedy must be *outside* (neither above nor below) the spiral movement which leads to an ultimate solution of the changes and chances of this mortal life.

One cannot praise the *Samson Agonistes* then as a perfect drama. It has faults that every one recognizes—not merely the cheap jingle of

He all their ammunition  
And feats of war defeats,

and the strange mingling of virtue and the phoenix and the snake robbing a villatic fowl-roost, and similar blemishes; but much more serious faults, most of them readily deducible from the nature of the theme and the "progressive dessication" (to borrow a rather strong phrase) of Milton's genius. Nevertheless one wishes to defend it from perverse misunderstanding and the burden of imaginary faults. As poetry it lacks warmth and color and will not appeal to all tastes, but it has a serene and severe dignity appropriate to an imitation of Attic models. As a drama it is a noble work, though artificial and handicapped by insufficiencies in the subject itself. It fails of the overpowering effect of highest tragedy. But in this and in structure, its most exploited weakness, it compares favorably with all but the best of the works on which it was patterned. And, finally, it was Milton himself who, in his arrogant prefatory manifesto—and was ever an apology more arrogant?—pointed the way for all but blind guides: "they only will judge best who are not unacquainted with Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides."

PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM.

## XVIII.—ARISTOTELIAN 'MIMESIS' IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

Of the many disputed terms in the *Poetics*, *μίμησις* "imitation," has always been one of the most fruitful of discussion and of misconception; and these misconceptions are particularly significant because, for whole periods, they were potent in moulding creative activity not only in literature,<sup>1</sup> but also in painting and in music. When "imitation" is considered in the light of its technical use in Plato and in Aristotle, its real meaning emerges with some distinctness.<sup>2</sup> Far from the naturalistic theory of a direct and slavish copy of objects and actions, Aristotle's *μίμησις* is a distinctly idealistic conception, and signifies "creating according to a true idea."<sup>3</sup> Thus, when we are told that Art imitates Nature, "Nature" is not a particular thing or act, but is the creative force of the universe.<sup>4</sup> With this conception, we can justify Aristotle's declaration that music is the most imitative of all the arts: it is the most fluid; and its flux is governed most completely by the universal laws of unity, proportion, and symmetry. The conception is almost Platonic; and it makes Aristotelian *μίμησις* appear in a sense almost diametrically opposed to the common meaning of the Latin *imitatio* and the English "imitation."

<sup>1</sup> Saintsbury has pointed out the prevalence of literary imitation in his *History of Criticism*, sub Bysshe.

<sup>2</sup> It must, however, be admitted that Aristotle is not perfectly consistent—or that the scribe has not reported faithfully. On one occasion, he seems to include narrative as an "imitative" art, and, on another, to exclude it. See I. Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, 1909, 100-101.

<sup>3</sup> S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London, 1902, 153.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

English critics of the Seventeenth Century, however, following the Italian and French Aristotelians, translated *μίμησις* as "imitation"; and, moreover, they argued, since Homer and Virgil give us a perfect view of "Nature methodized," let us copy them instead of Nature. Thus *μίμησις* was burdened with two false meanings, one making it a copy of actions and things, the other a copy of accepted masterpieces.<sup>5</sup> Until the latter part of the century, both these false meanings passed current in England as vulgate Aristotelianism, and indeed did some injury to the fame of their supposed author among critics of a semi-Romantic stamp. The editors of the Greek text<sup>6</sup> who, one might suppose, would have corrected the error, give it at least tacit support<sup>7</sup>; and the translators regularly render *μίμησις* as "copy" or "imitation." An anonymous English version through the French of Dacier,<sup>8</sup> which held this field alone until 1775, excepted only Bacchic songs from the general idea of copying; and the fact that music had to be made an exception, whereas Aristotle found it the most imitative of all the arts, shows how far "imitation" had wandered from its original meaning. A first-hand knowledge of Aristotle, even in translation, seems to have been exceptional: Walpole mentions him five times in his letters—usually coupled with Bossu and the "Rules"<sup>9</sup>;

<sup>5</sup> On Imitation in Seventeenth Century England, see W. G. Howard, *Ut Pictura Poesis*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xxiv, 44; I. Babbitt, *The New Laokoon*, Boston, 1910, 12; Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Oxford, 1904, I, xxxviii; J. W. Bray, *History of English Critical Terms*, Boston, 1898, 160 ff.; and J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1908, I, xlviii ff.

<sup>6</sup> For a list of these, see Schwab's *Bibliographie d'Aristotle*, Paris, 1896.

<sup>7</sup> Cooke's ed., Cambridge, 1785, is quite definite, iii.

<sup>8</sup> *Aristotle's Art of Poetry*, London, 1709.

<sup>9</sup> Horace Walpole, *Letters*, Toynbee ed., Oxford, 1903, iv, 398; vi, 201; viii, 176; x, 132; xii, 359.

and Cowper, at the age of fifty-three, had "never in his life perused a page of Aristotle."<sup>10</sup> The *Poetics* were much revered, but little read; and the interpretation of *μίμησις* depended almost altogether upon secondary sources. Some writers in fact seem to have used it without any thought of an Aristotelian origin.

The dictionaries shed very little light upon the subject: even Dr. Johnson gave no meaning that approximates the Aristotelian sense.<sup>11</sup> Writers on rhetoric and the severer critics of poetic theory, when they had occasion to treat of "imitation" at all,<sup>12</sup> regularly interpreted it as copying. Bysshe urged the "superior Mind" to "generous Emulation" of Shakespeare, Milton and Dryden, and, by way of auxiliary, appended "A Collection of the Most Natural and Sublime Thoughts," codified in convenient form.<sup>13</sup> Constable advised imitation of the ancients;<sup>14</sup> and the anonymous author of the *Prolusiones*, writing with Aristotle directly in his eye, unquestionably takes "imi-

<sup>10</sup> William Cowper, *Letters*, ed. Wright, London, 1904, II, 196.

<sup>11</sup> Johnson's *English Dictionary*, London, 1755. He gives three senses: the "act of copying, attempt to resemble"; "that which is offered as a copy" (the quotation from Dryden shows that he means this to include literary "imitation"); and "a method of translating looser than paraphrase, in which modern examples and illustrations are used for ancient, or domestic for foreign." Later dictionaries quote Johnson.

<sup>12</sup> Many of them seem to have taken it so completely for granted that they ignored it. William Walker, *Rhetoricae libri duo*, London, 1672, 162, discusses it only as a figure in oratory. Charles Butler, *Rhetoricae libro duo*, London, 1684, leaves it out entirely. So also do William Dugard, *Rhetorices Elementa*, London, 1721, 1741, etc.; and John Ward, *De Ratione Interpugendi*, London, 1739.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Bysshe, *The Art of English Poetry*, 4th ed., London, 1710. See title page.

<sup>14</sup> John Constable, *Reflections upon Accuracy of Style*, London, 1731, 81.

*tatio*” to mean “*copy*.”<sup>15</sup> As late as 1785, moreover, Owen translated *Juvenal* in order that “the young scholar” might learn to superadd his “spirit” to the “correct and graceful ease” of Horace.<sup>16</sup> “Imitation” in the sense of copying was the common conception that the age gleaned from its dictionaries and rhetorics, as well as from the commentators and translators of Aristotle. The rhetoricians, moreover, regularly accepted it as a copy of models, enjoined it in the school-room, and so moulded the taste and the creative production of the age. Very truly did Hurd declare: “The most universal cause, inducing *imitation* in great writers, is the force of early *discipline and education*.”<sup>17</sup>

Many writers on æsthetic theory, moreover, especially in the earlier part of the century, advocated “imitation” in the sense of copying models. Felton’s *Dissertation on the Classics*, which appeared in 1709, and passed into its fifth edition in 1753, discussed “imitation” in the sense of free translation, and then added that “more properly,” it meant “proposing some excellent Writer for a Pattern, and endeavoring to copy his Perfections in the most distinguishing Parts of his Character.”<sup>18</sup> Gildon in his

<sup>15</sup> *Prologus Academiae*, Oxon., 1765. The author’s attitude toward imitation seems inconsistent. He seems opposed to it as contradictory to divine inspiration; but, on the other hand, he declares: “*Perversa nullorum Imitatio cum chamæleonte comparatur*.” p. 89).

<sup>16</sup> Edward Owen, *The Satires of Juvenal*, London, 1785, *Preface*.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Hurd, *A Discourse on Poetical Imitation*, Works, II, 217. For the relation of “imitation” to the theory translation in the Eighteenth Century, see an article by the present author in the current volume of *Neophilologus*.

<sup>18</sup> Henry Felton, *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and forming a Just Style*, 5th ed., London, 1753, 146. For an extended treatment of Felton, see R. S. Crane, *Imitation of Spenser and Milton in the Early Eighteenth Century: A New Document*, *Studies in Philology*, xv, 195 ff.

*Complete Art of Poetry*, declared Aristotle to be based on "Reason, Nature, and the Practice of the Ancients;" apparently one is to imitate the ancients, and follow the rules derived from their work.<sup>19</sup> Lord Lansdowne actually thought that Nature might be imitated by following the rules of Mulgrave and Roscommon.<sup>20</sup> Even in the latter part of the century, there are examples of this point of view. Stockdale distinguished "imitation" from plagiarism,<sup>21</sup> by declaring that an imitation was an "improvement" of the original.<sup>22</sup>

But more important than the force of tradition and the influence of the schools and of the critics was the actual example of recognized authors. According to Johnson, the copying of literary models started with Oldham and Rochester, and was "Pope's favorite amusement."<sup>23</sup> Swift, in *The Art of Sinking in Poetry*, casts satiric shafts at the "universal genius" who "pours forth five or six epic poems with greater facility, than five or six pages can be produced by an elaborate and servile copier after nature or the ancients."<sup>24</sup> Most of Pope's best work, from the *Essay on Criticism* down through the *Epistles*, imitates Horace. Johnson imitated Juvenal; and the *Georgics* and *Eclogues* of Virgil furnished models for the mob of gentlemen who wrote with only too much ease. Many

<sup>19</sup> Charles Gildon, *Complete Art of Poetry*, Dialogue II (1718) in Durham's *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven, 1915, I, 73 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Lord Lansdowne, *Essay upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry*. See Gildon's *Laws of Poetry*, London, 1721, 345.

<sup>21</sup> William Lauder in his *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns*, London, 1750, fastened a bad sense on imitation.

<sup>22</sup> Percival Stockdale, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Genuine Laws of Poetry*, London, 1778, 76.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Johnson, *Life of Pope*, Works, Oxford, 1825, VIII, 295.

<sup>24</sup> Jonathan Swift, *Works*, Edinburgh, 1814, XIII, 43.

of the leisure class translated and paraphrased the classics for enjoyment; and many respectable clergymen and teachers did so for either pleasure or patronage. Example was further enforced by numerous *obiter dicta*. Steele advised imitation.<sup>25</sup> Pope praised Virgil for imitating Homer;<sup>26</sup> and, in the *Preface* to his own *Poems*, he says:

All that is left us is to recommend our productions by the imitation of the Ancients: and it will be found true, that in every age, the highest character for sense and learning has been obtain'd by those who have been most indebted to them.<sup>27</sup>

Even Joseph Wharton, who belongs to an opposing school, allowed a place to literary imitation.<sup>28</sup> Mason declared that the aspiring author is "to take the best models of antiquity for his guides; and to adapt those models, as near as may be, to the manner and taste of his own times."<sup>29</sup>

During the earlier half of the century, *μίμησις*, interpreted as a rather servile copy, sometimes of Nature, more frequently of approved masterpieces, largely dominated English letters. It had been ingrained by a long tradition; it had been fortified by the laxity of the lexicographers and the Aristotelian commentators, by the formalism of the rhetoricians and the schoolmasters, and by the subtle but powerful conditions of book-selling and literary patronage. But literature cannot live indefinitely upon its

<sup>25</sup> *The Guardian*, No. XII, in Durham's *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven, 1915, I, 295.

<sup>26</sup> Alexander Pope, *Preface to the Iliad, Works*, London, 1757, VI, 303.

<sup>27</sup> Alexander Pope, *Preface to Poems, Works, ed. cit.*, I, xv.

<sup>28</sup> Joseph Warton, *Essay on Pope*, London, 1806, II, 36.

<sup>29</sup> William Mason, *Works*, London, 1811, II, 180. By a stroke of irony, Mason prefixed to his *Works*, I, 2, a quotation from the Greek of Dionysius to the effect that copies can never be equal to their archetypes. See Dion. Halicar., *περί Δελφάρχου, Opuscula*, Leipzig, 1899, I, 307.

own vitals. Rymer and Bysshe at the very opening of the century brought the theory of imitation to the *ne plus ultra*; and Pope accomplished in practice the last refinements of literary copying. The later Neoclassicists acknowledged Pope as their master; but his very superiority obliged them to differ somewhat from the detail of his practice: thus reaction became a fact in literature not only with Thomson, Young, Gray, Beattie, Mason and the pseudo-romanticists of the mid-century, but even with men like Churchill, Colman and Lloyd, in subtle matters of diction, versification, and trope.<sup>30</sup>

The reaction of the theorists against "imitation" is foreshadowed even in the Seventeenth Century. Shaftesbury, in his *Tò Καλόν* put Beauty on a par with the Good; he declared, moreover, that nothing was "so improving, nothing so natural, so congenial to the liberal arts, as that reigning liberty and high spirit of a people, which from the habit of judging in the highest matters for themselves, makes them freely judge of other subjects."<sup>31</sup> Such an æsthetic criterion has nothing in common with the copying of models; and Shaftesbury's influence was powerful for many decades.<sup>32</sup> Hutcheson, who popularized and at-

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, J. M. Beattie, Jr., *The Political Satires of Charles Churchill, Studies in Philology*, xvi, 303 ff. Beattie points out that Churchill forsakes the finished artfulness of Pope's versification for the more robustious, freer style of Dryden. Of course, the present paper makes no attempt to cover in any definite or detailed fashion, the actual literary imitations of the Eighteenth Century. The object is merely to note the explanations and applications of Aristotelean *μυμησις* and to explain somewhat the influence and vogue of each interpretation.

<sup>31</sup> Lord Shaftesbury, *Second Characters or the Language of Forms*, ed. B. Rand, Cambridge (Eng.), 1914, 23.

<sup>32</sup> For the tracing of this influence on the purely literary side, see C. A. Moore, *Shaftesbury and the Ethical Poets of England, 1700-1760, PMLA*, xxxi, 264.

tempted to systematize his work, freed himself largely from Aristotle, and declared that there were two sorts of beauty, "absolute" and "relative," the former beautiful because of the "Uniformity in the object itself," the latter, because of the "Resemblance to some Original." In the former class, he put geometrical and mathematical figures,<sup>33</sup> music, architecture, gardening and rural nature, with its plants and animals.<sup>34</sup> Only to the second type of art did he allow the applicability of "imitation."<sup>35</sup> Thus he limited the term, and denied its universal dominance.

Various foreign influences, moreover, especially French, contributed to the movement. Abbé du Bos made "imitation" apply only to the "artist without genius:" it might make him correct, but could not make him great.<sup>36</sup> Estève broke away from the imitation of models to fall into the slavish mimicking of external Nature;<sup>37</sup> he is, however, sentimental enough to submit all writing to "vérité du

<sup>33</sup> By implication, he includes Moorish arabesques and other non-pictorial designs.

<sup>34</sup> Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, London, 1725, 15-37. He allows sculpture also to be an absolute art in so far as it concerns itself with proportion of parts rather than the copying of an original. Hutcheson's distinction is a sound one, although he does not always apply it accurately in matters of detail.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40.

<sup>36</sup> Abbé J. B. du Bos, *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting and Music*, tr. into Eng., London, 1748, II, 43-5. *Ed. princ.*, Paris, 1719, anon. For the relation of du Bos to the history of criticism, see A. Lombard, *L'Abbé du Bos, Initiateur de la Pensée moderne*, Paris, 1913. Du Bos is probably too early to have been influenced by England; but undoubtedly English example had a good deal to do with the rise of Sentimental and Rationalistic æsthetic theories in France in the second and third quarters of the Eighteenth Century. Cf. Joseph Texte, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les Origines du Cosmopolitisme Littéraire*, Paris, 1895, Chapter II.

<sup>37</sup> Pierre Estève, *Esprit des Beaux Arts*, Paris, 1753. Ch. III, 43 ff.; 92 ff.

sentiment.”<sup>38</sup> Batteaux declared: “imiter c’est copier un modèle;”<sup>39</sup> but the “model” turns out to be the existing world, the historic world or the fabulous world.<sup>40</sup> The rationalistic spirit of *l’Encyclopédie*, furthermore, manifested in the psychological investigations of the Abbé de Condillac<sup>41</sup> was inclined to ignore imitation; and Montesquieu<sup>42</sup> and Voltaire<sup>43</sup> agreed in making taste the result of our analysis of æsthetic impressions: the authority of Aristotle and his Renaissance commentators was being replaced by an effort at scientific investigation. The vogue of Longinus, moreover, whose treatise *On the Sublime* went through at least a dozen British editions during the century,<sup>44</sup> and the rise of interest in Plato and Neo-

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 60, 68, etc.

<sup>39</sup> Charles Batteaux, *Principes de la Littérature*, Paris, 1802, I, 16 ff. The complete edition, according to the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* appeared in 1764, and was augmented in 1774-88.

<sup>40</sup> Batteaux applied this theory to painting, sculpture, dancing, music and poetry. In a long note, he attacked Schlegel for excluding the dance from among the “imitative” arts. He gives no satisfactory explanation as to how music can be “imitative.”

<sup>41</sup> Condillac’s work seems to have been very influential in England. His *Origin of Human Knowledge* was translated by Thomas Nugent in 1756. The *Critical* reviewed it at great length, II, 193-219. In general, he looks at the arts from the standpoint of psychology; and he casts aside imitation, except for the imitation of the passions in music, p. 222 *et al. loc.* Cf. Léon Dewaule, *Condillac et la Psychologie Anglaise Contemporaine*, 84 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Montesquieu, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Laboulaye, Paris, 1879, VII, 116. The *Essai sur le Goût* was posthumously published in *l’Encyclopédie*, ed. 1775, VII, s. v.; but it doubtless represents the views of the entire group for many years before.

<sup>43</sup> Voltaire, *Œuvres Complètes*, Paris, 1879, XIX, 270 ff. This article first appeared in *l’Encyclopédie*, ed. 1757, VII, s. v.

<sup>44</sup> The *Brit. Mus. Cat.* lists one edition of the Greek text alone, Oxford, 1718, a translation into Latin by J. Hudson, Oxford, 1710, a “third edition” in 1730 and another at Edinburgh in 1733. Another translation into Latin by Z. Pearce appeared at least eight

Platonism,<sup>45</sup> did not contribute to support any contracted and false theory of *μίμησις*.

As early as the fourth decade of the century, writers can be found who ignored "imitation" entirely,<sup>46</sup> but more common are those who discuss imitation either to attack, to limit, or to re-define it. A rather large number of authors rejected "imitation" entirely in its more extreme interpretation of copying models. As early as 1713, Felton in his *Dissertation on the Classics* had advised that the aspiring author "imbibe their Sense" without "tying himself up to an Imitation of any of them; much less to copy or transcribe them."<sup>47</sup> Blackwall praised Theocritus for having "the Air of genteel Negligence and unforced Easiness which no Study or Imitation can reach."<sup>48</sup> In 1724, Welsted declared: "Imitation is the Bane of Writing, nor ever was a good Author, that en-

times in England, 1724, 1732, 1751, 1752, 1763, 1773, 1778, and at least once in Amsterdam, 1733. English translations from the French of Boileau were common; there were besides one by Welsted, 1712, 1724, and one by Smith, sec. ed., 1743, 1751, 1756, and 1770. References to Longinus are numerous in writers on æsthetic theory; and Edward Burnaby Greene incorporated *Observations on the Sublime* in his *Critical Essays*, London, 1760 [1770?]. J. Churton Collins briefly discusses the vogue in *Longinus and Greek Criticism, Studies in Poetry and Criticism*, London, 1905, 215 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Plato's influence on Harris' *Three Treatises* is noted by Sarah Coleridge. S. T. Coleridge's *Works*, New York, 1853, III, 391.

<sup>46</sup> For example, Henry Brooke, *Universal Beauty*, 1735. He seems to be under the influence of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. See also Anselm Bayly, *Introduction to Languages*. London, 1758, 102. His work shows the influence of Longinus, and favors original genius.

<sup>47</sup> Henry Felton, *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style*, 5th ed., London, 1753, 33 ff. The *ed. princ.* appeared in 1713.

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Blackwell, *Introduction to the Classics*, London, 1746, 21. *Ed. princ.* 1718.

tirely formed himself on the Model of another. . . ." <sup>49</sup> Fielding would have nothing of "the abominable rules of Aristotle." <sup>50</sup> Byrom pointed out the danger of imitating faults as well as good qualities; and he adds that, even when the archetypes are of the best, "Barely to imitate is not so well." <sup>51</sup> Lloyd ridiculed the whole process:

While those who grasp at reputation,  
From imitating imitation,  
Shall hunt each cranny, nook and creek,  
For precious fragments from the Greek,  
And rob the spital and the waste,  
For sense and sentiment and taste.<sup>52</sup>

Young found two kinds of "imitation," one of nature, one of authors; and he devoted several pages to a comparison, much to the disadvantage of the latter.<sup>53</sup> Armstrong thought the copying of models of use only for the tyro.<sup>54</sup> Greene put the case at length:

The garden of Criticism has almost constantly been over-run with the weeds of Ill-management. The earlier laborers, who have ranged its walks with a methodical exactness, have sacrificed beauty to decorum, while the finical conceits of modern refinement have turned

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<sup>49</sup> Leonard Welsted, *A Dissertation concerning the Perfection of the English Language*, in Durham, *op. cit.*, I, 377.

<sup>50</sup> Henry Fielding, *Covent-Garden Journal*, No. LXI, Aug. 29, 1752, ed. Jenson, New Haven, 1915, II, 93.

<sup>51</sup> John Byrom, *Epistle to a Friend on the Art of English Poetry*, in Alexander Chalmers, *English Poets*, London, 1810, xv, 213.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Lloyd, *The Poetry Professors* in Chalmers, *op. cit.*, xv, 79.

<sup>53</sup> Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, London, 1759, 9. Cf. J. L. Kind, *Edward Young in Germany*, New York, 1906, Chapter I; and cf. M. W. Steinke, *Edward Young's "Conjectures on Original Composition" in England and Germany*, New York, 1917, 10 ff. Kind is inclined to overestimate the novelty both of Young's ideas and of his influence in Germany. Steinke corrects these impressions.

<sup>54</sup> Launcelot Temple, *pseud.* for John Armstrong, *Sketches*, London, 1758, 44 ff. See also *Mon. Rev.* XVIII, 580 ff.

them into an open lawn, preserving only in favorite corners some inelegant ornaments. . . .<sup>55</sup>

Sterne felt that the truth of imitation in both painting and poetry should, if needs must, be sacrificed to beauty.<sup>56</sup> *The Circle of the Sciences* declared that "the rules observed by ancient poets" do not apply;<sup>57</sup> and, in 1781, Cowper unequivocally stated: "Imitation even of the best models, is my aversion; it is servile and mechanical, a trick that has enabled many to usurp the name of author. . . ." <sup>58</sup>

The repudiation of models was intimately connected with the discussion of "imitation" as a transcript of Nature; and a large number of writers, especially in the mid-century, tried to adjust this conception to *dicta* borrowed from Sentimental or from Rationalistic sources. Dacier had opened the way by his vague definition of "imitation;" and Addison had excepted "the fairy way of writing" from all ordinary rules.<sup>59</sup> Trapp and Pemberton were disturbed that Aristotle had made "action" the subject of "imitation." The former extended imitation to include the copying of static objects;<sup>60</sup> the latter declared art to be the imitation of men, and called Aristotle "this presumed oracle of criticism."<sup>61</sup> Brown admitted degrees

<sup>55</sup> Edward Burnaby Greene, *Critical Essays*, London [1770?], i ff. As his notes show, Greene is deeply indebted to Longinus.

<sup>56</sup> Lawrence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. II, Chap. IV. He adds, however, that this is to be understood "*cum grano salis*."

<sup>57</sup> *The Circle of the Sciences*, London, 1776, 95.

<sup>58</sup> William Cowper, *Correspondence*, ed. Wright, London, 1904, I, 386.

<sup>59</sup> *Spectator*, No. 419.

<sup>60</sup> Joseph Trapp, Prof. of Poetry at Oxford, *Prælectiones Poeticæ*, London, 1736, I, 26-31. The book was translated under the title, *Lectures on Poetry*, London, 1742.

<sup>61</sup> Henry Pemberton, *Observations on Poetry*, London, 1738, 5-7. This is a characteristically Neo-classical variation of Aristotle to conform with Pope's dictum: "The proper study of mankind is Man."

of imitation in various arts, according to their ability to give a literal transcript of life. He found tragedy more imitative than epic, and pure description the most imitative of all poetry.<sup>62</sup> According to Francklin, all that "Art hath called her own" is imitation:

Great Nature only is Original.<sup>63</sup>

The late '50's and the early '60's are full of discussion of "imitation." Joseph Warton took a stand<sup>64</sup> somewhat similar to that of Trapp and Pemberton, and applied "imitation" to "the internal constitution of man," to "characters and manners and sentiments."<sup>65</sup> Burke, on the other hand, felt that no poetry but dramatic could be classed as "strictly imitation."<sup>66</sup> Hume sought the basis of good taste in the critic's delicacy of imagination.<sup>67</sup> Dr. Johnson's common-sense Neo-classicism disapproved entirely of anything smacking of plagiarism; he expressed doubt about the copying of models—although he indulged in it himself in *London*, and he allowed extensive borrow-

<sup>62</sup> John Brown, *Essays on the Characteristics*, London, 1751, 19-20. Perhaps this latter attitude together with the veneration for Aristotle, helps to explain the vogue of descriptive poetry in the Eighteenth Century.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas Francklin, *Translation a Poem*, London [1753], 8. He also treats of imitation as translation and copying of approved masterpieces. Francklin was Professor of Greek at Cambridge.

<sup>64</sup> Perhaps this implies a more conscious consideration of the subject than Warton actually gave. As a matter of fact, many of the interpretations here quoted are chance *obiter dicta*, thrown off on the spur of an occasion. They serve, however, to illustrate the general attitude toward imitation.

<sup>65</sup> Joseph Warton, *Essay on Pope*, London, 1756, 51.

<sup>66</sup> Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Inquiry into the Sublime and the Beautiful*, London, 1757, 29, 179 ff.

<sup>67</sup> David Hume, *Four Dissertations*, London, 1757. The *Monthly Rev.* gave it a long and rather appreciative review, xvi, 122-140.

ing.<sup>68</sup> Armstrong tried to conciliate "imitation" of Nature with a thoroughly sentimental theory of art: he paints the genius as a paragon of moral and æsthetic sensibility, and gives him the task of depicting the passions and emotions of Man.<sup>69</sup> Gerard thought that "exactness of resemblance" could "degenerate into disagreeable servility."<sup>70</sup> Goldsmith, in like manner, expressed the opinion: "It is the business of art to imitate nature, but not with a servile pencil."<sup>71</sup> Webb tried to classify the arts according to their ability to imitate, and found painting inferior to poetry and music inferior to painting.<sup>72</sup> Ogilvie quoted Dacier's vague definition, and referred the reader to his translation of the *Poetics*.<sup>73</sup> Lord Kames

<sup>68</sup> *Rambler*, No. 143. Johnson's objections to plagiarism probably arose, not from any dislike of literary imitation but from disgust at the thievery of book-sellers. Some of his *Idler* papers appear to have been stolen. See his letter of protest to the *Univ. Chron.* 1759, 149.

<sup>69</sup> L. Temple, *pseud.*, *op. cit.*, 4 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Alexander Gerard, *Essay on Taste*, London, 1759, 49-56. The reference to Hutcheson's *Inquiry* suggests that Sentimentalism accounts for his unwillingness to subscribe to utter Neo-classical copying. Gerard's *Essay* was "very well received in London" according to Hume. Hume to Robertson, May 29, 1759, in Dugald Stewart, *Life of Robertson*, London, 1802, 252.

<sup>71</sup> O. Goldsmith, *Works*, N. Y., 1850, I, 275, Essay XVIII, *On the Cultivation of Taste*, et seq. This sounds like a rather liberal view of *μυμησις*; but the second clause turns out to mean only that the artist is to avoid the disgusting. These essays first appeared in *The Bee*, 1761-2-3.

<sup>72</sup> Daniel Webb, *Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry*, London, 1762, 102 n. q.

<sup>73</sup> John Ogilvie, *Poems*, London, 1762, vii ff. In his *Philosophical and Critical Observations on Composition*, London, 1774, I, 295-6, Ogilvie took up the matter again. He referred "imitation" either directly to sense impressions or to "such materials as are more generally supplied by reflection and experience." He seems to have had in mind a less stringent copying; but it was hardly a creative expression of the Universal.

distinguished at least two different sorts of imitation, epic and dramatic;<sup>74</sup> and Akenside, in 1763, called imitation of models only as a "secondary pleasure" in works of imagination, but seemed to consider all art a mere transcript of Nature: "... painting and sculpture directly copy external appearances . . . music and poetry bring them back to remembrance by signs universally established and understood."<sup>75</sup>

During the last third of the century, "imitation" lost ground very rapidly. Hurd found poetry "above all *other modes of imitation*," because it "conveys distinct and clear notices of this class of *moral and religious* conceptions;"<sup>76</sup> but he looks to "experience" as the material upon which the mind of the artist is to work. In 1772, Sir William Jones seemed to attach a certain slur to "imitation," and he tried to prove from an examination of their origins that poetry and music are not imitative arts.<sup>77</sup> Aikin called "imitation" "as great an air of reality as possible," and in this sense applied it especially to descriptive poetry.<sup>78</sup> Mason felt that "imitation" should

<sup>74</sup> Henry Home, Lord Kames (or Kaims), *Elements of Criticism*, 2nd ed., "with additions and improvements," Edinburgh, 1763, III, 244-5. The *Preface* is dated 1761.

<sup>75</sup> Mark Akenside, *Pleasures of the Imagintiaon*, London, 1884, I, 46.

<sup>76</sup> Richard Hurd, *On Poetical Imitation*, Works, London, 1811, II, 171-2. He says: (p. 176) "The *objects* of imitation, like the *materials* of human knowledge, are a common stock, which experience furnishes to all men. And it is in the *operations* of the mind upon them, that the glory of *poetry*, as of *science* consists." This seems like an idealistic, and almost Shelleyan, view of poetry, until one notes, from the passage quoted in the text, that to Hurd the most important of these "*operations* of the mind" are of the didactic sort, to convey "distinct and clear notices . . . of moral and religious conceptions."

<sup>77</sup> Sir William Jones, *Poems*, Oxford, 1772, Essay II, *On the Arts Commonly Called Imitative*, 201-2.

<sup>78</sup> John Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing*, 2nd ed., Warrington 1774, 7-8.

be supplemented by "the original."<sup>79</sup> In 1782, the *Monthly* declared itself against copyist poets who confine themselves "like packhorses, to the same beaten track;"<sup>80</sup> and in the same year hedged on the application of *μίμησις* to comedy;<sup>81</sup> and by 1809 Walker classified theatrical "representations" according to "their effects upon the heart;" and, although he quoted and discussed the Abbé du Bos, he managed largely to ignore Aristotelian "imitation."<sup>82</sup>

During the first third of the century, "imitation" was triumphant, especially in the guise of copying models; during the second third, this interpretation gave place in most writers to "imitation" of Nature. The Aristotelian theory was sharply criticized; and numerous efforts were made to adjust it to Sentimental theories of æsthetics and to the psychological and historical contributions of the Rationalistic philosophers. Some critics, like Pemberton, limited "imitation" to the copying of certain types of things; some, like Burke, applied the term only to certain *genera* or species of art, or like Goldsmith and Lord Kames, admitted kinds or degrees of "imitation;" and some, like Gerard, felt vaguely that "imitation" could "degenerate into disagreeable servility." During the last third of the century, "imitation" became a less and less vital part of literary criticism.

The æsthetic problem, moreover, quickly made itself evident in other arts. The "Ut pictura poesis" of Horace had long united painting and poetry as imitative arts of a like nature.<sup>83</sup> Painting itself was looked

<sup>79</sup> William Mason, *Works*, London, 1811, I, 315-6.

<sup>80</sup> *Mon. Rev.*, LXVII, 262.

<sup>81</sup> B. Walwyn, *Essay on Comedy*, see *Mon. Rev.*, LXVI, 308-9.

<sup>82</sup> George Walker, *Essays*, London, 1809, 41 ff.

<sup>83</sup> For a tracing of this æsthetic alliance, see W. G. Howard, *Ut Pictura Poesis*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIV, 40 ff.

upon as the handmaid of history;<sup>84</sup> and, even in making contemporary portraits and landscapes the painter strove for a copy, the closer the better, of objective reality. Even Shaftesbury accepted this view, and implied that painting is the mere adjunct of sculpture<sup>85</sup> or of poetry. Addison mentioned painting as one of the arts that depended for its effect on copying life.<sup>86</sup> Welsted objected to the copying of one painting by another; but he leaves one to infer that he saw nothing in originals but the reproduction of external objects.<sup>87</sup> During the entire century, Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*, translated by Dryden and others and annotated by de Piles and Sir Joshua Reynolds, was a paramount influence upon the æsthetics of painting.<sup>88</sup> Although he does not wish to "fetter Genius," Dufresnoy is strongly classical:

<sup>84</sup> The classicists of course looked upon historical painting as painting *par excellence*. In this way the art became subservient to a literary text actual or implied. The situation is well illustrated in T. Rowlandson's *The Historian Animating the Mind of a Young Painter*, reproduced in George Paston's *Social Caricature of the Eighteenth Century*, plate cvl.

<sup>85</sup> Lord Shaftesbury, *Second Characters*, ed. Rand, Cambridge (Eng.), 1914, 117, "Statuary the mother art to painting," and 167, "A painter therefore must imitate the dramatic and scenical, not the epic and merely recitative poet."

<sup>86</sup> *Spectator*, No. 416. The essential difficulty with this point of view is the definition the Neo-classicists gave to "life": They took little account of color and almost none of light and air.

<sup>87</sup> Leonard Welsted, *The State of Poetry*, in Durham, *op. cit.*, I, 377.

<sup>88</sup> The poem was composed at Rome between 1633 and 1653 and first published in 1668, annotated by Roger de Piles. Dryden made a translation in 1695; J. Wright, in 1728; James Willis, in 1754; and William Mason in 1781. To Mason's translation Sir Joshua Reynolds added notes. For bibliography on Dufresnoy and his influence, see Paul Vitry, *De C. A. Dufresnoy Pictoris Poemate quod "De Arte Graphica" inscribitur*, diss., U. of Paris, Paris, 1901; and see L. Gillet, *La Peinture, XVII et XVIII Siècles*, Paris, 1913, 314 ff. The influence of Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, *Lib.* xxx, was also important.

Præcipua imprimis artisque potissima pars est,  
 Nôsse quid in rebus natura creârit ad artem  
 Pulchrius, idque modum juxta, mentemque vetustam. . .<sup>89</sup>

Harte, who claims to have written independently of Dufresnoy, arrived at the same conclusion, and spoke of "a Titian or a Pope" as "The forming glory of a thousand years."<sup>90</sup> At last, however, this facile theory was challenged; and Hogarth wrote his *Analysis* without even mentioning "imitation" in his list of "principles" that "co-operate in the production of beauty."<sup>91</sup> The old opinion, nevertheless, still persisted; and John Scott spoke of painting as "mimic Being."<sup>92</sup> "Imitation" was applied to various things, and defended in various ways. Webb based his Romantic apology for color on a Neo-classical appeal to vivid "imitation."<sup>93</sup> Count Algarotti urged imitation of a general style or manner, like the poetic imitations of Horace or Virgil;<sup>94</sup> and Pott, in direct contradiction, lamented that the English "have contented themselves with imitating the ideas of other masters when they should have copied nature only."<sup>95</sup> Sir Joshua Reynolds, with the attitude of the professional creator rather than of the literary theorist, advised the artist to follow

<sup>89</sup> William Mason, *Works*, ed. cit., III, 26, ll. 37-40.

<sup>90</sup> Walter Harte, *Essay on Painting*, Chalmers, op. cit., xvi, 320.

<sup>91</sup> William Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, London, 1753, 12. Hogarth agreed with Welsted in objecting to the copying of masterpieces; and Thomas Bardwell in his *Practice of Painting*, London, 1756, defended both not only in the trade but also as a pedagogical method. (See *Mon. Rev.*, xv, 284 ff.)

<sup>92</sup> John Scott, *Essay on Painting* [c. 1770?]. Chalmers calls the work Scott's "feeblest effort," op. cit., xvii, 451.

<sup>93</sup> Daniel Webb, *Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting*, London, 1760, 1761, 1769, 1777, p. 70.

<sup>94</sup> Count Algarotti, *Essay on Painting*, translated into English, London, 1774, 171.

<sup>95</sup> J. H. Pott, *Essay on Landscape Painting*, London, 1782.

Nature, but not "at second hand;"<sup>96</sup> and by following Nature he did not mean servile copying; for he tells us to proceed from a model and to depart from it,<sup>97</sup> and his concept of the creative impulse was essentially spiritual.<sup>98</sup> Reynolds would doubtless have denied that his art, in such a sense, was "imitative."<sup>99</sup> In short, "imitation" came into painting in both senses: the copying of models and of external Nature. Hogarth, however, ignored it; and Reynolds left room for pure creation.

In music, the revolt was earlier and much more determinate; for "imitation," in either of the contemporary senses, applies to it but poorly. There seems to have been no attempt to introduce the copying of accepted masterpieces; but a number of writers—especially those whose knowledge of the art was limited—tried to make music merely an imitation of human feelings or of natural sounds. Addison attempted to justify it by the "imperfect notions" that it raises and by its power to "set the hearers in the heat and hurry of battle" or to "overcast their minds with melancholy scenes and apprehensions of deaths and funerals."<sup>100</sup> Armstrong declared that all

<sup>96</sup> *Vide* Reynolds' *Notes* to Mason's translation of Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*, Mason's *Works*, III, 101 ff. For an analysis at length of Sir Joshua's point of view, see E. N. S. Thompson, *Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXII, 339 ff.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 105-6.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>99</sup> The utter decadence of stained glass in the Eighteenth Century is largely explained as part of the general distaste for Gothic. An additional reason, however, is the dominance of "imitation" over æsthetic theory. The materials and the purpose of glass-painting make Realistic portrayal of Nature ineffective if not impossible; and the copying of models intrenches the pictorial technique, proper to canvas and fresco, which has so injured the glass of the Renaissance.

<sup>100</sup> *Spectator*, No. 416. As Hawkins very truly pointed out, *History of Music*, London, 1776, I, v ff., Shaftesbury, Temple and Addison knew very little about music.

music imitated the passions, and ruled out "mere Harmony" as being no more music than versification is poetry.<sup>101</sup> Moor also seems to apply "imitation" to music;<sup>102</sup> and Busby declared that music, when it tries to represent "operations of nature, art or human passion; as the rolling of thunder . . . the clashing of swords . . . and the tones of sorrow, love . . . or triumph . . . ; exerts some of its sublimest energies; transports us to the very scenes it describes, or kindles the feeling of those expressions it copies."<sup>103</sup>

Much more commonly, however, even those writers who might have insisted on poetry and painting as "imitative," were inclined to make an exception of music. Among these may be numbered several really competent critics. Dacier admitted that "players on the Flute and Harp, play often on those Instruments, without Imitating anything."<sup>104</sup> Hutcheson, in interpreting Shaftesbury, likewise made allowance for absolute music.<sup>105</sup> Avison, who wrote with professional knowledge, declared himself opposed to copying, and called the composer "culpable" who, "for the Sake of some low and trifling *Imitation*, deserted the Beauties of Expression."<sup>106</sup> The Italian librettist Metastasio, whose vogue was considerable in

<sup>101</sup> L. Temple, pseud., *op. cit.*, 26 ff.

<sup>102</sup> James Moor, *Essays*, Glasgow, 1759, 3, 133 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Thomas Busby, *A Complete Dictionary of Music*, London [1800?], s. v.

<sup>104</sup> Dacier, *op. cit.*, 7. According to his view, some music, on the other hand, represents an "Action or a Passion." 6-7.

<sup>105</sup> Hutcheson, *op. cit.* 25.

<sup>106</sup> Sir Charles Avison, *Essay on Musical Expression*, London, 1752, 61, 90 etc. Watt in *Bibl. Brit.* suggests that Brown supplied the content of this work—an improbable theory in view of his attitude toward imitation in his *History of Poetry*. See following.

England,<sup>107</sup> excepted music from among the imitative arts.<sup>108</sup> Harris, whose *Three Treatises* appeared in 1744, and passed into their fifth edition in 1792, tried to reconcile Aristotle to Shaftesbury: painting and poetry he called "imitative" in that they copy Nature; but of music he was obliged to make an exception.<sup>109</sup> Sir William Jones, also, could find no "imitation" in music;<sup>110</sup> but his *Treatise of the Art of Music*<sup>111</sup> seems to allow imitation, a stand to which the reviewer took definite exception.<sup>112</sup> Burney, the greatest musical critic of the age, discussed the theory of his art "unshackled by the trammels of authority,"<sup>113</sup> and hardly referred to imitation,

<sup>107</sup> The *Brit. Mus. Cat.* lists twenty-six English editions before 1800 of various libretti by Metastasio, some set to music, some with Italian text, some with English, some with both. This includes Arne's famous setting of *Artaxerxes* which passed through at least seven editions before 1800 and four more during the fifteen years following. There is also Anna Williams' *The Uninhabited Island*, 1766 (*L'Isola Desabitata*), not listed in *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Hoole translated his *Works* in 1767 (another ed. 1800); some of his *Poems* appeared, Coventry, 1790, his sonnets, 1795; Burney published his *Life* in 1796 (sec. ed. ?1810). His fame extended throughout the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

<sup>108</sup> Pietro Metastasio, *Opere*, Florence, 1831, XIII, 37. But he called poetry "imitative" because it expresses emotions and embellishes Nature, *ibid.*, 25. *A priori*, we might expect one like Metastasio who was accustomed to think of music in conjunction with words, to urge the imitating of the words by the music; but it is to be remembered that the composers of Italian *opera seria* of the Eighteenth Century, the musicians with whom Metastasio came in contact, regularly sacrificed relation of sense and sound—and even coherence of organic structure—to opportunities of vocal display for the *prima donna* and *primo uomo*.

<sup>109</sup> James Harris, *Three Treatises*, London, 1764, 95.

<sup>110</sup> Sir William Jones, *Poems*, Oxford, 1772, 201-2.

<sup>111</sup> W. Jones, *Treatise of the Art of Music*, London, 1786, *Preface*.

<sup>112</sup> *Monthly Rev.*, LXXV, 105 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, London, 1776-89, *Preface*, I, xiii.

even in treating of opera and oratorio.<sup>114</sup> The historian Hawkins, who allowed painting to be entirely imitative, and poetry largely so, ruled out music almost altogether.<sup>115</sup> By degrees the opinion spread from professional circles into the intellectual world at large; and, in 1778, the poet Beattie felt certain that music could not be classed as an imitative art.<sup>116</sup> By 1789, music was no longer looked upon necessarily as a copy of either natural sounds or human passions; and Bayly declared it the basis of poetry and oratory and the criterion by which they should be judged:<sup>117</sup> music had emerged from a dependent to a predominant æsthetic position.

Music as such cannot, indeed, be called imitative; but, ever since the days of Gluck and certainly since those of Wagner and Schubert, vocal and dramatic music have been thought of as the close associates, if not actual imitations, of their texts. The vocal and even the operatic settings of the early and middle Eighteenth Century are almost unrelated to the accompanying words; but a few writers, even of that period, anticipated in their theories the music of the Nineteenth Century. Most important of these was Rousseau. In his *Dictionary of Music*, which

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 153 ff.

<sup>115</sup> In a long note, Hawkins gives a list—to which additions might easily be made from Haydn's *Creation* and other well-known works of the period—of musical imitations of natural sounds, scenes and events; "but these powers of imitation," he adds, "... constitute but a very small part of the excellence of music. Hawkins, *General History of Music*, London, 1776, *Preliminary Discourse*, I, ii-iii.

<sup>116</sup> James Beattie, *Essays*, London, 1778, 128. See also Sir William Forbes, *Life of Beattie*, London, 1806, 542.

<sup>117</sup> Anselm Bayly, *The Alliance of Music, Poetry and Oratory*, London, 1789, 2. Of course, there were still exponents of the more conservative attitude; and, in the same year, the *Monthly*, I (n. s.), 38, objected to the idea that music was "the first and immediate thought of Nature."

reached its second English edition in 1779, he pointed out:

La musique dramatique ou théâtrale concourt à l'imitation, ainsi que la poésie et la peinture: c'est à ce principe commun qui se rapportent tous les beaux-arts, comme l'a montré M. Le Batteux.<sup>118</sup>

And because dramatic music is "imitative," he exalts it above all music that is not.<sup>119</sup> At least one contemporary English writer suggested the same point of view. Webb urged that poetry be united with music in order that the latter might be truly imitative.<sup>120</sup> Brown tried to defend instrumental music, and declared:

Musical Instruments . . . are but *Imitations* of the human Voice, or of other natural Sounds, produced gradually by frequent Trial and Experiment.<sup>121</sup>

In the 1780's, Mason thought that "music as an imitative art" was so far inferior to poetry and painting, that it could "hardly be so termed with propriety;"<sup>122</sup> but he elsewhere urged that sacred music should reproduce the cadence and meaning of the text.<sup>123</sup> Gluck was even then struggling for instrumental recognition of libretti; but the theory was not fully accepted and developed until the Nineteenth Century, and then without any thought of Aristotle or of *μίμησις*.

<sup>118</sup> J. J. Rousseau, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1824, XII, *Dictionnaire de la Musique*, I, 376 ff.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sub Harmonie*, 365.

<sup>120</sup> Webb, *op. cit.*, 102, n. q. Webb's *Remarks* appeared in 1762; and the *ed. princ.* of Rousseau's *Dictionary* in 1767.

<sup>121</sup> Brown, *History of Poetry*, Newcastle, 1764, 12. This work also antedates Rousseau. His theory seems to be that instrumental music originally arose as an imitation of the human voice. The facts of primitive life do not seem to support it.

<sup>122</sup> Mason, *Works*, London, 1811, III, 287. This *Essay* first appeared at York, 1795.

<sup>123</sup> Mason, *op. cit.*, III, 393 ff. The idea appears throughout his four *Essays* on music.

The application of Aristotle to music was, on the whole, that which gave the most trouble throughout the Eighteenth Century. The canons and fugues of Bach, the Handel and Haydn symphonies, even the opera, music that pleased by no pictorial (or emotional) quality but by sheer beauty of design, in short, absolute music, was characteristic of the age; and absolute music could not be justified as any form of copying. At last, a reinterpretation of Aristotle came in the light of his exaltation of music as an "imitative" art. In 1789, Twining brought out his *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry, translated with notes, and Two Dissertations on Poetical and Musical Imitation*. He was well read in the æsthetic philosophers of the school of Shaftesbury and Rousseau.<sup>124</sup> He was deeply interested in music and an intimate friend of Burney.<sup>125</sup> He was an accomplished Grecian,<sup>126</sup> and had become interested in Aristotle on music as early as 1761. He seems to have started to work seriously about 1779,<sup>127</sup> and he published ten years later.

*The Dissertation on Poetry Considered as an Imitative*

<sup>124</sup> His interest in Rowley, in Percy's *Reliques* and in Welsh scenery shows him abreast of the rising tide of Romanticism; the titles of two of his published sermons (see *Brit. Mus. Cat. and Mon. Rev.*, LXXVII, 176) show a philosophic background in Shaftesbury and Hutcheson; and he refers in his notes to the writings of Rousseau and Hutcheson, and criticises Lord Kaims, Harris, Beattie and Avison.

<sup>125</sup> He and Burney exchanged letters; Burney asserted that Twining's "least merit" was "being perfectly acquainted with every branch of theoretical and practical music," and, furthermore, Burney relied on him for much of the Greek and Latin material in his *History of Music*. Burney, *op. cit.*, I, xix.

<sup>126</sup> Dr. Parr said that his Greek scholarship was excelled by "no critic of his day." See *Recreations and Studies of a Country Gentleman*, London, 1882, 11-12. This book contains a *Memoir of Twining* and a number of letters.

<sup>127</sup> *Recreations and Studies*, 14, 57.

*Art*, points out that poetry by its onomatopœia and by its denotative and connotative faculties, can represent, portray, "imitate," both objective sense-impressions and subjective feelings and passions. This attitude is at once liberal and definite; and the inclusion of feeling as an object of imitation largely relieves *μῦθος* of the stigma of the photographic, but it gives instead a sentimental tinge, certainly not inherent in Aristotle or in the idea of creating art according to Universal Truth. The *Dissertation on Musical Imitation* is even more significant. To music, he assigned "three distinct effects:" an effect upon the ear, in "simply delighting the *sense*;" an effect upon the passions, in "raising the *emotions*;" and an effect upon the "imagination," in "raising ideas." An analysis of this first type, which he dismissed as merely sensuous, comparing it to the "smell of a rose" or the "flavor of a pineapple," might have led him to the idealistic sense that Aristotle seems to have intended;<sup>128</sup> but, unfortunately, he passed rapidly on to a discussion of the second category, the emotional power of music. By the third type, he understood program-music, that which copies directly sounds or motions or things; and he agreed with the large body of æsthetic critics in finding it very "imperfect."<sup>129</sup> It was music as an emotional force that ap-

<sup>128</sup> Of course, such musical literature is not to be classified with the mere "flavor of a pineapple." Schopenhauer recognized this; and it was probably to absolute music that he referred when he declared that Music *was* the Will, the essence of life, whereas the other arts merely pictured it. *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Leipzig, 1873, II, 512. Schopenhauer's view was largely anticipated by Bayly, *op. cit.*, 2: "Music, indeed, if traced to its origin, will be found the first and immediate daughter of nature, while poetry and oratory are only near relations of music, mere imitations of nature. . . ."

<sup>129</sup> He very justly remarked that a musical resemblance "cannot be seen till it is, in some sort, pointed out," and that "even when it is so, it is not very evident."

pealed to Twining. Whereas such a writer as Bysshe represents the thorough Neo-classicizing of "imitation," Twining uses the same word largely emptied of its former meaning, emotionalized and sentimentalized in conformity with the Romantic *Zeitgeist*.

Twining's Aristotle re-appeared in 1812 and 1851; and the *Dissertations* were widely read. The *Monthly* gave it a long and enthusiastic review.<sup>130</sup> In the early 1790's, Mason referred to "Twining" as if the work were a recognized standard.<sup>131</sup> Cowper mentioned "Mr. Twining's valuable volume," and found the writer "sensible, elegant and entertaining."<sup>132</sup> More recent scholarship has taken cognizance of Twining.<sup>133</sup> Moore,<sup>134</sup> Sandys,<sup>135</sup> Bywater,<sup>136</sup> and Carroll<sup>137</sup> have recognized his importance.<sup>138</sup> Alison's two sorts of "imitation," that of "beautiful forms" and that of "Passions or Affections,"<sup>139</sup> and Hazlitt's idea of imitation applied especial-

<sup>130</sup> *Mon. Rev.*, IV (N. S.), 383-8; VII, 121. The reviewer did not, however, pay particular attention to "imitation."

<sup>131</sup> William Mason, *Works*, London, 1811, III, 287. Mason brackets Twining and Harris; and he seems to fail to realize that the two are not altogether agreeable in their interpretations. Mason, in his text, seems to follow Harris.

<sup>132</sup> William Cowper, *Letters*, *op. cit.*, III, 372-3.

<sup>133</sup> Tyrwhitt made no mention of Twining, apparently thinking a mere translator beneath his notice. T. Tyrwhitt ed., *De Poetica Aristotelis*, London, 1794.

<sup>134</sup> Edward Moore, *Aristoteles*, *περὶ ποιητικῆς*, Oxford, 1875, *Preface*.

<sup>135</sup> J. E. Sandys, *Hist. of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, 1908, II, 420-1.

<sup>136</sup> I. Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, 1909, *Preface*, x.

<sup>137</sup> M. Carroll, reviewing Bywater in the *Am. Jour. of Philol.*, XXXII, 86.

<sup>138</sup> None of these writers, however, seem to appreciate the importance of Twining's work on "imitation."

<sup>139</sup> A. Allison, *Essays on Taste*, London, 1790. Blair, on the other hand, seems to lapse back to the idea of "imitation" as a mere copy.

ly to man's imagination and passions,<sup>140</sup> probably derive from him; but the Romantic Movement, even as early as the 1790's, was too much interested in original genius to care for Aristotle—even interpreted according to its own views.<sup>141</sup> The historical criticism of Warton and Ritson was not primarily interested in him; and the psychological criticism of Lord Kames and of Priestley looked to the empirical sciences for a basis of æsthetic judgment.<sup>142</sup> The Neo-Platonic critics,<sup>143</sup> moreover, and the impressionistic followers of Longinus<sup>144</sup> cared little about imitation. Upon creative literature, Twining's work seems to have had no more influence than upon æsthetic theorists, although Coleridge certainly knew of the book, at least

See *Essays on Rhetoric and Science*, Boston, 1793, 209. Knight defined "imitation" vaguely as "the faculty of improved perception." See *Principles of Taste*, London, 1805, 100. Taylor noted three sorts of imitation, corresponding to Plato's three states of the soul: divine, scientific or intellectual, and reproductive in a mere literal fashion. Which of these he conceived Aristotle to have meant, is uncertain. Indeed, he prided himself on leaving *minutiae* to the "critical vermin." See *Aristotle's Poetic*, ed. Taylor, London, 1812, II, viii ff.

<sup>140</sup> William Hazlitt, *On Poetry in General, Lectures*, Philadelphia, 1818, 5.

<sup>141</sup> E. g. George Walker, *Essays on Various Subjects*, London, 1809, II, 76-7.

<sup>142</sup> *Mon. Rev.* LVII, 89 ff. attributes the origination of psychological criticism to Lord Kames. Priestley in his *Lectures on Oratory and Criticism*, London, 1777, followed his lead, and tried to find a more scientific basis in Hartley's psychology.

<sup>143</sup> E. g. Thomas Taylor, translator of Plotinus' *Concerning the Beautiful*, London, 1787.

<sup>144</sup> One of the most notable of these was Thomas Robertson, Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, who, in his *Inquiry Concerning the Fine Arts*, London, 1784, called Scotch folk songs "some of the finest melodies in Europe." The *Review* sneered at them as "ploughman's language," *Mon. Rev.*, LXXIV, 191 ff.

through Pye's *Commentary*,<sup>145</sup> and it may have contributed to his early thought.<sup>146</sup> In Germany, Twining received some immediate recognition. C. H. Heyne, of Göttingen, to whom Tyrwhitt refers as "*vir eruditissimus*,"<sup>147</sup> wrote Twining a long and appreciative letter, in which he declared:

Valde delectavit me opera a te posita in notione *imitationis* accurate constituenda. Turbavit illa vox non minus populares meos: verum nos adsciscimus aliam vocem eamque minus in fallaciam et fraudem indescentem, *Darstellung*. . . .<sup>148</sup>

He promised, moreover, to review the *Dissertations*<sup>149</sup> and to speak of them in a course of lectures; and J. T. Buhle of Göttingen in his *Opera omnia* of Aristotle, published in 1791, made numerous references to "Twiningius" in his *Animadversiones criticae* of the *Poetics*.

The early Eighteenth Century is the period of the application of the theories of Renaissance scholarship to

<sup>145</sup> H. J. Pye, *A Commentary Illustrating the Poetic of Aristotle*, London, 1792. (Sara Coleridge certainly knew Pye (see her note to *Biog. Lit.*, Coleridge's *Works*, N. Y., 1853, III, 399); and probably Coleridge drew from Pye (182-3), his *obiter dictum* on the perfection of the plot of *Tom Jones* (*Table Talk*, July 5, 1834). Pye refers constantly to Twining, praises him and quotes him especially on "imitation." See Pye, *Preface*, x-xi, 91. It is of interest to note that Pye drew heavily on Lessing's *Hamb. Dram.*, "a work not generally known." *Pref.*, xv.

<sup>146</sup> Of course in his later years, Coleridge went far beyond Twining, and recognized "imitation" as an exalted act of artistic creation. See for example, *Lecture XIII*, *Works*, New York, 1854, IV, 330.

<sup>147</sup> T. Tyrwhitt, *De Poetica Aristotelis*, London, 1794, xi. Heyne was the best classical scholar of the day in Germany.

<sup>148</sup> *Recreations and Studies*, 252.

<sup>149</sup> I have been unable to find anything of this review either in C. G. Heyne, *Opuscula Academia*, Göttingen, 1785-1802, or in A. H. L. Heeren, *Christian Gottlob Heyne, Biographisch Dargestellt*, Göttingen, 1813, bibl. of Heyne's works, 489 ff. I have not had access to a complete file of the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*.

creative endeavor. The enthusiasm of the Elizabethan Age and the strained affectation of the Jacobean had at last given away before common sense and the "Rules." Neo-classicism saw the triumph of restraint, of authority, of decorum, of all-too-reasonable compromise. "Imitation" received the simplest—and most mistaken—interpretation: in poetry, it meant primarily the copying of models; in painting, the copying of old masters or of natural objects; in music, it was interpreted in any way that the ignorance or the ingenuity of the writer might suggest. There was little room for the emotional, for the ideal, or for artistic progress. But even during the triumph of Neo-classicism, the Sentimental revolt was under way; and, at an early stage, the "imitation" of emotional values was suggested as a justification of poetry and music. During the middle of the century, "imitation" was interpreted and re-interpreted, in an effort to adapt it to Sentimental and to Rationalistic thought. After the 1760's, its definition became only a minor phase of the conflict; for the discredit of "the Rules" carried with it a discredit of all Aristotelian theories. More and more of the writers ignored "imitation" entirely; and the interpretation of Twining, even had it been less timid, would probably have had little actual effect upon either the poets or the æsthetic philosophers. The semantic history of *μίμησις* reflects the period of authority during the first third of the century, and the period, during the middle decades, of scientific inquiry and of sentimental reaction, which later passed into the age of Romantic revolt.

JOHN W. DRAPER.

## XIX.—RHYTHM AND RIME BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

The orthodox view regarding the introduction of end rime into English verse is succinctly set forth in the following quotations: "Endrime, being a stranger to the early Germanic languages, its appearance in any of them may commonly be taken as a sign of foreign influence. In general, of course, rime and the stanza were introduced together into English verse, under the influence of Latin hymns and French lyrics."<sup>1</sup> "Die alliterierende Langzeile war die einzige in der ags. Poesie bekannte Versart und blieb in derselben bis zu ende der ersten ags. oder altenglischen Sprachperiode in Gebrauch."<sup>2</sup> "The transformation of the O. E. alliterative line into rhyme verse did not take place before the Middle English period. It was due to the influence of the rhymed French and Latin verse."<sup>3</sup> "Alliterative verse was remodelled on Latin and French verse—or foreign verses were directly imitated."<sup>4</sup> The implication is that there never existed in Anglo-Saxon any verse of a form different from that of the five-type alliterative verse which prevails in the corpus of extant Anglo-Saxon poetry.

Nevertheless, this view of the case appears upon examination to be highly improbable, not to say preposterous. For, unless the Anglo-Saxons were quite abnormal in their humanity, they must have composed many unpretentious songs and ballads—hymns, prayers, work songs, war songs,

<sup>1</sup> R. M. Alden, *English Verse*, N. Y., 1903, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Schipper, *Grundriss der Eng. Metrik*, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Kaluza: *A Short History of English Versification*, tr. by A. C. Dunstan, London, 1911, p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> Kaluza: *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

songs of joy and grief—with simple strongly marked rhythm, often with considerable alliteration, assonance, end rime, parallelism, and repetition: songs to be *sung*, not recited, by the individual or by the group. It is hardly conceivable that songs of such import, simple and popular lyrics, were ever composed in the stately five-type alliterating line with its irregularly shifting rhythms, which (however well adapted to chanting recitative) had little or no singing quality, and which, moreover, were quite possibly little known among the common people. In fact, the whole body of Anglo-Saxon literature that has come down to us does not reflect or interpret the life of the whole people: from the poetry as from the prose—including the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Bede's *History*—we learn a good deal of priest, king, eorl, and warrior, but little indeed of the simple annals of the poor and humble.

The existence, to be sure, of popular verse, of ballad-like form, with strong and simple rhythm, assonance, and rime (not exact or systematic) has been suggested; though the statements have been for the most part brief, allusive, and vague, and have not been supported by evidence which might have been adduced. For example, Kluge: "Aber diese eigenart [rime] Cynewulfs der von lateinischen hymnen gelernt haben muss, war für die weitere entwicklung der volkstümlichen poesie im ags. zeitalter ohne folgen. Dagegen die bisher wesentlich ausgehobenen fälle von sporadisch gebrauchten reimen sind . . . von weitragender wirkung gewesen: sie bilden den anfangspunkt einer entwicklungsreihe, an deren ende Layamons dichtung steht."<sup>5</sup> And later: "In der entwicklung dieses endreimes erkennen wir genau die fortschritte; von der volksdichtung nur gelegentlich als versschmuck gebraucht,

<sup>5</sup> F. Kluge, "Zur Geschichte des Reimes," *P. B. B.*, ix, 444.

steigert sich sein sporadisches auftreten numerell und ermöglicht uns in der geschichte der metrischen technik von Caedmons hymnus an bis auf Layamon die allmähliche ausbildung eines neuen versprincipes zu verfolgen, das seinen echt germanisch charakter in Layamon jedenfalls klar zu schau trägt." <sup>6</sup> One may cite also the statements of Mr. John S. Westlake in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*: "During the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries the classical rhetorical metre had already begun to deteriorate, and was being replaced by the sung metre of the popular ballad. . . . Judith contains a fair number of lines which are undoubtedly clear types of sung verse. . . . The adoption of this metre, which, although ancient, here exhibits what are practically its first known traces in Old English literature, is carried to much greater lengths in the poems imbedded in the Chronicle." <sup>7</sup> This Old English sung or ballad metre is fundamentally "a four-beat rhythm which must end in a stress." <sup>8</sup>

"Vulgar ballads of all descriptions were in this metre originally, and what epic classical matter was drawn from them was transformed into the rhetorical courtly metre. In England the popular metre remained deposed in favor of its younger sister, the rhetorical metre, longer than elsewhere, and its sphere must have been exclusively the vulgar." <sup>9</sup>

In the middle of the last century Wilhelm Grimm in his essay on the history of rime, without marshalling and reviewing the evidence, arrived at a definite opinion:

<sup>6</sup> Kluge, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

<sup>7</sup> *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, I, 151.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 661.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 468.

Das wenige was sich aus der zeit vor Otfrid erhalten hat ist mythischen oder epischen inhalts und bei dem vortrag dieser dichtungen wird singen und sagen noch keinen eigentlichen gegensatz ausgemacht haben. Bloss gesungene lieder jener zeit, *vulgares cantilenae*, sind nicht auf uns gelangt, doch bestimmte zeugnisse lassen an ihrem dasein nicht zweifeln. Die *cantica rustica et inepta* oder *turpida et luxuriosa* wie die geistlichen in ihrem widerwillen sie schalten, mögen sich auf wirkliche, nicht absichtlich vorausgesetzte ereignisse bezogen haben, wie dies bei echten volksliedern geschieht. Da sie aber meiner meinung nach bei dem gesang nicht konnte entbehrt werden, so ist wohl glaublich, dass jene *cantilenae vulgares* schon darin ihre form gefunden hatten, nemlich in jenen einfachen, meist aus vier, manchmal aus sechs oder drei zeilen bestehenden absätzen, die beim volkslied nachweislich bis zum 13. jahrhundert fortgedauert haben.<sup>10</sup>

But up to the present time little has been done to substantiate Grimm's hypothesis of the *vulgares cantilenae*; no manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon *cantica rustica* have turned up, and probably none ever will. And the present orthodox view of the hypothesis is doubtless expressed by Verrier in his admirable study of English metrics:

"On pourrait supposer que chez tous les peuples germaniques il existait ainsi un mètre des chansons libre et varié, à côté du mètre plus fixe et plus savant des cinque types, et qu'il s'est perpétué jusqu'à nos jours . . . dans la poesie populaire de tous les pays germaniques. Cette hypothèse, quoique plausible, n'est pas nécessaire: les formes de cette poésie populaire ont pu naître du vers allitéré normal par une transformation nouvelle, qui apparaît clairement en Allemagne dès la première moitié du IXe siècle, chez Otfrid, et en Angleterre dès la fin du Xe, dans la Chronique Anglo-Saxonne."<sup>11</sup>

And yet there are arguments based upon antecedent probability, analogy, and documentary evidence, which, if assembled would strengthen the "plausible hypothesis" to such a degree as to qualify materially the implications

<sup>10</sup> Wilhelm Grimm, *Zur Geschichte des Reims*, Königl. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1852, p. 179 f.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Verrier, *Métrique Anglaise*, Paris, 1909, II, p. 165 f.

of Alden, Schipper, and Kaluza with regard to rime, rhythm, and stanza, and to modify and limit the influence assigned by them to the Latin hymns and French verse.

In the first place, without touching on the psychology of the matter, it may be said that simple, popular lyrics the world over are and always have been strongly rhythmical, that is, characterized by the regular recurrence of stress or accent at sensibly equal time intervals; that this rhythm of stress is naturally accompanied and re-enforced by the rhythm of homophony (alliteration, assonance, or rime), which not only emphasizes the stress rhythm but also creates the larger rhythms of verse and strophe.<sup>12</sup> If then there ever existed among the Anglo-Saxons any songs or ballads of popular origin, the overwhelming probability is that they were characterized by appreciably regular stress-rhythm and homophony, so that end rime was by no means, to use Professor Alden's phrase, "a stranger."

That such songs are not preserved in the manuscripts is not surprising. Why should we expect to find written texts of them? The authors could not write. Who would have collected them and written them down? Who would have read them if written? The people that made them know them by heart, and there were no folklore or ballad societies in those days. Asser's pretty story of how King Alfred when a boy competed for, won, and memorized the book of Anglo-Saxon poetry offered by his mother would seem to offer evidence of the prince's interest in vernacular verse of popular origin. What interested him was perhaps the same kind of thing

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Verrier, II, p. 212: "L'homophonie sert à mettre en relief le rythme proprement dit, le rythme intensif, dont elle souligne les temps marqués principaux, dont elle aide à signaler la division en vers, en strophes, en poèmes."

that interested Charlemagne: "Item," says Eginhard, "*barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriaeque mandavit.*"<sup>13</sup> These *carmina*, to be sure, *may* have been of simple ballad-like nature, arising from the people, and celebrating the feats of ancient kings, though the probability is rather that they were longer poems in epic style which had grown out of earlier popular songs. We don't know. Light would be shed on many vexed points of literary history if we once might have a glimpse of that Anglo-Saxon book with its beautiful initial letter which caught Prince Alfred's eye, or study that collection of *barbara et antiquissima carmina* which held so much interest for Charlemagne. But of the existence of simple lyrics other than the ballad there can be no doubt: the name is *leoþ* or *sang*. And they were of many kinds: *sorhleoþ*, *licleoþ* or *licsang*, *giftleoþ*, *brydleoþ* or *brydsang*, *fyrdleoþ*, *guþleoþ*, *hildeleoþ*, *wigleoþ*, *fusleoþ*, and the like.<sup>14</sup> Doubtless there were love songs also, for we find *winnileod* included among the popular songs in the vernacular: "Plebios psalmos seculares cantilenas aut winnileod; plebios psalmos seculares cantilenas vel rusticos psalmos sine auctoritate vel cantus aut winnileod; plebios psalmos rustigiu sane vel winnilioth; plebios psalmos cantica rustica et inepta odo winnileod."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, from their nature it may be inferred that *leoþ* and *sang* were sung by the group as well as by the individual—probably that in the main they were choral songs. And one of the specific meanings of *dream* is choral song, for the glosses give as its equivalent: *efenhleoþrung*, *concentus*,

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. M. Warren, *P. M. L. A.*, XXVI, 299.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Pauls *Grundr.*, 2nd ed., II, 958 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Grundr.*, II, 69 f., also 37-43.

*adunationes multarum vocum, jubilatio, melodia, duplex sonus, harmonia.*<sup>16</sup>

Whatever may have been the status of folk-lyric and ballad before the conversion to Christianity, after that event these songs of the people were frowned upon by the Church and regarded with contempt by the learned, who now became acquainted with Latin poetry—with Vergil, Lucan, and Statius, as well as with Ambrosius and the other hymn writers, and with the fourth century grammarians, who had much to say on Latin metrics. The terms *cantica rustica et inepta, vulgares cantilenae, barbara carmina*, connote disapproval, even though *rustica* and *vulgares* may possibly be translated by the word *vernacular*. “Gegen den Volkesgesang freilich in allen seinen Gestaltungen verhielt sich die Kirche ablehnend, ja feindselig, und so ist es nicht zu verwundern, dass davon nur Weniges auf uns gekommen ist.”<sup>17</sup> This hostility was common.

Granting then, as we must, that simple songs of popular origin existed both before and after the conversion to Christianity, and that there was much group or choral singing of these songs, which often accompanied the dance,<sup>18</sup> what was the form of this humble poetry? Was it the same as that which prevails in the body of Anglo-Saxon and with which we are familiar—alliterating long lines of the five types, without stanza, end rime, or uniformity of rhythm? Or was it essentially different? Can one imagine a group singing and dancing to the tune of Sievers' five types? Or can one picture a mother soothing her baby with a five-type cradle song?

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Grundr.*, II, 973, also 47-50.

<sup>17</sup> *Grundr.*, II, 62 f., also 973 f.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Grundr.*, II, 47 f.

In the discussion of this question there has been much fallacious argumentation, which amounts to plain begging the question. The fallacy lies in the assumption that *all* early Germanic poetry was composed in the alliterative verse. For example, Verrier, *assuming* that the alliterative verse was the only form, proceeds to argue that it was sung as well as recited. "Rien ne s'oppose donc," he says, "à ce que les Germains, après l'époque des grandes invasions, aient continué non seulement à réciter en mesure leur vers allitéré, mais encore à le chanter, comme au temps de Tacite leurs aïeux le chantaient en l'honneur des dieux et à la gloire des héros. L'historien latin y revient en plusieurs endroits. Il s'agit presque partout du chant choral (*concentus*, Germania, III), qui exige la mesure isochrone, en particulier le chant de marche. Il y avait aussi des danses chantées, comme en temoigne Sidoine Apollinaire:

Barbaricos resonabat hymen scythicisque choreis  
Nubebat flauo similis noua nupta marito.

Julien avait entendu les Alamans chanter en choeur des chants sauvages, dont la mélodie manquait de charme pour ses oreilles, mais ne laissait pas de ravir les chanteurs."<sup>19</sup> And he quotes Jordanis: "Ante quos etiam cantu maiorum facta modulationibus citharisque canebant."<sup>20</sup>

Thus, *assuming* that alliterative verse was the only form, and reasoning from *cano* and *cantus*, he arrives at the conclusion that all early Germanic verse was sung. Even granting, for the sake of the argument, that the assumption is correct, the conclusion would be doubtful, for *cano* and *cantus* might well enough refer to a chanting recita-

<sup>19</sup> Verrier, *Métrique Anglaise*, II, 163.

<sup>20</sup> Verrier, *op. cit.*, II, 163 n.

tive with cithara accompaniment. On the other hand, *concentus* can refer to nothing but *group singing*, as for example in dance songs, wedding songs, and the like. But choral singing demands and presupposes simple, regular, strongly marked stress-rhythm. One can not march or dance to the rhythms of the alliterative verse.

Verrier thinks the Caedmon story related by Bede to be conclusive evidence that the alliterative verse (assumed to be the only form) was sung. Caedmon "chanta en rêve des vers qu'il put répéter à son reveil. Bède (672-735) en donne une traduction latine dans son *Histoire Ecclésiastique*. Dans le manuscrit d'Ely de cette histoire, écrit en 737, le copiste a mis en marge le texte original, et nous le trouvons reproduit en saxon occidental dans la traduction de Bède qu'a fait ou fait faire Alfred le Grand. *Qu'il soit authentique ou non, peu importe. Tout ce que je veux conclure, c'est que pour Bède et pour Alfred il pouvait se chanter: or il est en vers allitérés de forme normale* (types A. B. D. E.)" <sup>21</sup> Conceding that the authenticity of the vernacular texts is doubtful, he maintains that both Bede and his Anglo-Saxon translator, in describing the poem of Caedmon, use terms that mean singing, not chanting recitative. And he quotes Bede's Latin *cano* and *carmen* and the Anglo-Saxon *singan*, though he does not show that these terms might not also describe a rhythmic recitation with harp accompaniment. But the fallacy of the whole argument appears in Verrier's last two sentences: "Whether it [the vernacular version] be authentic or not—it is in the alliterative verses of normal form, types A. B. D. E." As if for the purpose of his argument the form is of any significance whatever *unless it is the original, authentic form*. As a matter of

<sup>21</sup> Verrier, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

fact, there is very considerable evidence that neither of the vernacular versions is authentic, for they both follow closely the Latin of Bede, who expressly declares that he is giving only the substance or *sensus* and not the order (*ordo*) of the Caedmon poem. “. . . ipse coepit cantare,” says Bede, “in laudem dei conditoris versus, quos numquam audierat, quorum iste est sensus: ‘Nunc laudare debemus auctorem regni caelestis, potentiam creatoris et consilium illius, facta patris gloriae. Quomodo ille, cum sit aeternus deus, omnium miraculorum auctor extitit, qui primo filiis hominum caelum pro culmine tecti, dehinc terram custos humani generis omnipotens creavit.’ Hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse verborum, quae dormiens ille canebat.”<sup>22</sup> A glance at the Anglo-Saxon—Northumbrian or West Saxon—suggests strongly that it is a close translation of Bede’s *sensus* verbatim et ordinatim as far as possible. In other words, neither Bede’s account nor the so-called Caedmon hymn in the vernacular is worth anything as evidence with regard to the original form of the hymn.<sup>23</sup> Even granting for the sake of the argument that the extant vernacular hymn is authentic in form, we should have no more knowledge than before of the *popular* verse forms; for the angel would never—humanly speaking—have permitted Caedmon to compose a doxology in the undignified and despised form.

In Bede’s account there is another point that should be noted: because of his divine inspiration, Caedmon was never able to compose any *frivolous* or *idle* poetry: “Unde nil umquam frivoli et supervacui poematis facere potuit, sed ea tantummodo, quae ad religionem pertinent, religio-

<sup>22</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, cap. 24.

<sup>23</sup> I refrain from discussing the mythical, folklore quality of Bede’s account and of poetic inspiration through dreams.

sam eius linguam decebant.” A legitimate inference is that vernacular poetry of the kind that seemed to Bede frivolous and idle was common enough at the beginning of the eighth century; and if Caedmon could not sing such songs *in gebeorscipe (in convivio)*, there were many who could. But here again, in default of any affirmative evidence, it is hard to believe that these feasting and drinking songs were ever composed in alliterating five-type verse.

The story of Aldhelm standing on the bridge and singing *quasi artem cantitandi professus* is also pertinent evidence that popular songs were common in the eighth century. For William of Malmesbury says that Aldhelm substituted in his song (*carmen triviale*) scriptural words for the original (*sensim inter ludicra verbis scripturarum insertis*) and that the song was still sung in the twelfth century (*adhuc vulgo cantatur*).<sup>24</sup>

There can be no doubt then of the existence of much popular verse and song not represented in the manuscripts which have come down to us—all sorts of *vulgares cantilenae* and *cantica rustica*, feasting songs, wedding songs, war songs, songs of grief. And further there can be no doubt that many of these songs were adapted to group singing (*dream, efenhleofrung, concentus*) which presupposes a rhythmic form quite different from that of the body of extant Anglo-Saxon poetry, that is, a form characterized by the regular recurrence of stress at sensibly equal time intervals and by the employment of homophony (assonance, end rime, and alliteration) to re-enforce this rhythm and to create the larger rhythms of verse and stanza. This is indeed a plausible hypothesis and one that we are bound to arrive at by *a priori* reasoning—the spon-

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Grundr.*, II, 974; also Verrier, *op. cit.*, II, 164.

taneous origin and development of regular rhythm and homophony in simple lyrics.

But we may go a step further. It is instructive to consider the history of rhythm (accentual verse) and homophony in Latin poetry. Just as "classic" Anglo-Saxon poetry is in the five-type alliterating verse, so classic Latin poetry is in *quantitative* verse. But there is conclusive evidence to show that from the earliest times there existed in abundance *popular* Latin verse of a different form, characterized by regular stress-rhythm and homophony.<sup>25</sup> "Itaque duplex Poeseos genus olim exsurrexit, alterum antiquius, sed ignobile ac plebium, alterum nobile et a doctis tantummodo viris excultum. Illud *rhythmicum*, illud *metricum* appellatum est. Sed quod potissimum est animadvertendum quamquam Metrica Poesis primas arripuerit, omniumque meliorum suffragio et usu probata laudibus ubique ornaretur: attamen Rhythmica Poesis non propterea defecit apud Graecos atque Latinos. Quum enim vulgus indoctum et rustica gens Poetam interdum agere vellet, nec legibus metri addiscendis par erat; quales poterat, versus efformare perexit: hoc est, Rhythmo contenta, Metrum contempsit: Metrum, inquam, hoc est, rigidas prosodiae leges quas perfecta Poesis sequitur."<sup>26</sup> *Rhythmus* was the regular word used to describe this popular accentual verse in vulgar use and to distinguish

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Verrier, *op. cit.*, II, 191: "Il semble bien que dans les dictons et formules de toute sorte les Italiotes aient voulu rattacher les idées par la ressemblance du son, afin d'en mieux marquer le lien logique ou émotionnel et de le mieux graver dans la mémoire." E. g.: "Terra pestem teneto, saluo hic moneto," or "Nec huic morbo caput crescat aut si creverit tabescat." Cf. Verrier, II, ch. VII (L'Homophonie).

<sup>26</sup> Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Diss.* 40, quoted by Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 21.

it from the dignified and learned *metrum*.<sup>27</sup> The grammarians are explicit in making the distinction.<sup>28</sup>

It will be sufficient to note here what Bede says on this point in his *De Arte Metrica*, which of course deals with Latin, not with vernacular, poetry. After explaining the structure of the principal Latin classic meters and referring to others, he continues:

Videtur autem *rhythmus* metris esse consimilis, quae est verborum modulata compositio non metrica ratione sed numero syllabarum ad iudicium aurium examinata, *ut sunt carmina vulgarium poetarum*. Et quidem *rhythmus* sine metro esse potest, metrum vero sine *rhythmo* esse non potest: quod liquidius ita definitur. Metrum est ratio cum modulatione: *rhythmus* modulatio sine ratione: plerumque tamen casu quodam invenies etiam rationem in *rhythmo* non artificis moderatione servatum, sed sono et ipsa modulatione ducente, quem *vulgares poetae* necesse est rustice *docti* faciant docte: quomodo et ad instar iambici metri pulcherrime factus est hymnus ille praeclarus:

Rex aeterne Domine  
Rerum creator omnium  
Qui eras ante secula  
Semper cum patre filius.

Et alii Ambrosiani non pauci. Item ad formam metri trochaici canunt hymnum de die iudicii per alphabetum:

Apparebit repentina  
Dies magna Domini,  
Fur obscura velut nocte  
Improvisos occupans.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Forcellini; *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*: "Rhythmus . . . in rhythmis non servatur ordo, modo eadem quantitas: idem enim *rhythmus* est in anapaesto *superant* quod in dactylo *conterit*."

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*: IV, 533; VI, 41 f., 206 f., 282, 374, 631.

<sup>29</sup> Bede, *Miscellaneous Works*, Giles ed., VI, 77 ff. Cf. also Lingard, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, II, 146 f.: "Among the Latins, there had long existed poets of an inferior class, who had emancipated themselves from the shackles which had been imposed upon them by their classic masters, and had adopted a more easy

This shows clearly enough that Bede was familiar with the accentual rhythms of the "vulgar," popular Latin poetry and that he considered certain hymns in this popular style admirable.

Just why the hymn writers from Ambrosius on adopted and increasingly used the popular accentual verse with time in preference to the quantitative form may be a question for debate. The fact is, they did. There can be no doubt, however, that strong accentual rhythm is well adapted to choral singing and that homophony not only re-enforces this rhythm but is also a great aid to the memory. We get some light from St. Augustine, who explains why he uses accentual rhythm in his verses against the Donatists: "*Volens etiam causam Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimi vulgi et omnino imperitorum atque idiotarum notitiam pervenire et eorum, quantum fieri per nos posset, inhaerere memoriae, psalmum, qui eis cantaretur, per latinas litteras feci . . . ideo autem non aliquo carminis genere id fieri volui, ne me necessitas metrica ad aliqua verba, quae vulgo minus sunt usitata compelleret.*"<sup>30</sup> It is

system of versification, by substituting the harmony of emphasis or accent for the harmony of metre. It might indeed happen that both would coincide; but that was a matter of chance: the poet judged of the melody by the ear, attending to the artificial distribution of the accent, and not to the measure of the syllable. Thus in a line of eight syllables, by placing the ictus on every second syllable, he formed an imitation of iambic tetrameter verse; and by placing it on the first and every second syllable afterwards in succession, an imitation of the trochaic." Here, however, it should be noted that, in view of the evidence furnished by Verrier (*op. cit.*, II, ch. VII) with regard to the antiquity of homophony, the *vulgares poetae never had been bound* by the shackles of classic meter, and that therefore it is not correct to say that they *emancipated* themselves from these shackles.

<sup>30</sup> Augustini Retractationum Lib. I, cap. XVIII (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 51, p. 16). In this interesting

legitimate to infer that accentual, homophonous verse was long familiar to the common people and would therefore appeal to them.

Indeed at the very beginning of Latin literature, before, through imitation of the Greek, classical verse forms had become fixed, we find homophony in Ennius, e. g.:

Caelum nitescere, arbores frondescere,  
Vites laetificae pampinis pubescere,  
Rami bacarum ubertate incurlescere.

—(Cf. Verrier, II, 193 f.).

But accentual verse with rime or alliteration was early abandoned by literary poets and banished from polite society. It was regarded as vulgar and barbarous by the "docti." Rime in particular was regarded with contempt. As Verrier says, "L'homophonie s'associait dans l'esprit des poètes lettrés aux dictons triviaux ou au moins prosaïques, à la poésie populaire et vieillotte, de forme inculte, comme aux jeux de mots de Plaute: elle ne pouvait laisser d'avoir pour eux quelque chose de vulgaire; ils ne pouvaient manquer de la bannir au fur et à mesure qu'ils imitaient avec plus d'exactitude leurs modèles grecs."<sup>31</sup> The attitude of the grammarians is shown by Pompeius: "Homoeoteleuton est quotiens in verba exitus est unius soni. . . . Antiquum est hoc totum, hodie nemo facit; siqui fecerit, ridetur."<sup>32</sup>

composition, as aids to memory the author uses accentual syllabic rhythm, rime, stanzas in alphabetical order, and the refrain.

<sup>31</sup> Verrier, *op. cit.*, II, 193 f.

<sup>32</sup> Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, v, 304. The quotation sounds familiar: it is substantially what the free verse enthusiast thinks today about rime. Indeed, contempt for rime is no new thing: it seems to be a recurrent phenomenon. Recall Ascham: "... rude beggarly riming . . . to follow rather the Goths in riming than the Greeks in true versifying were even to eat acorns with swine, when we may freely eat wheat bread among men." Or Milton's characterization

Regardless of the contempt of the *docti*, rime in accentual Latin verse persisted in the poetry of the people, and was destined to achieve in the fourth and following centuries a sanction which later made it tremendously influential in all Christendom. “. . . l’usage de la rime se développa dans la poésie latine populaire. Elle y existait certainement au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les poètes chrétiens la lui empruntèrent en même temps que le mètre de leurs hymnes accentuelles. . . . C’est saint Ambroise (333-397) qui introduisit dans cette église [Milan] le chant des hymnes. Il en composa lui-même un certain nombre. En voici quelques vers:

Sic quinque millibus viris  
Dum quinque panes dividis,  
Edentium sub dentibus  
In ore crescebat cibus. Hymne V.

Somno refectis artibus  
Spreto cubili surgimus;  
Nobis, pater, canentibus  
Adesse te deprecimur.

Te lingua primum concinat,  
Te mentis ardor ambiat;  
Ut actuum sequentium  
Tu, sancte, sis exordium. Hymne IX.”<sup>33</sup>

It is hardly necessary to trace here the use of rime in accentual verse from the time of Ambrosius, Hilary and Prudentius in the fourth century down through the Middle Ages. Of the 153 Latin hymns of the Anglo-Saxon church, derived chiefly from a manuscript of the eleventh century,<sup>34</sup> at least one-third show rime which is fairly regu-

of rime as “the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre; . . . a thing of itself to all judicious ears trivial and of no musical delight.” (Introduction to *P. L.*)

<sup>33</sup> Verrier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 194.

<sup>34</sup> *Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Surtees Society, vol. XXIII.

lar and apparently not accidental, while many others show sporadic rime. One of the oldest Latin rhythmical compositions which originated in Britain is the prayer of Gildas (*ca.* 550), which consists of 40 eleven-syllable lines in rimed pairs, and begins:

Dei patris festinare maximum  
Mihi cito peto adiutorium.  
Iesu Christi imploro suffragia  
Qui natus est ex virgine Maria.<sup>35</sup>

And Bede not only looked with favor upon accentual hymns (as we have seen), but apparently wrote them himself; for in the list of his works at the end of his *Ecclesiastical History* he mentions a *Librum hymnorum diverso metro sive rhythmō*.<sup>36</sup> But since Bede's hymns have not been positively identified, it is not possible to determine whether or not he used rime. It is fairly certain that Aldhelm, besides the vernacular songs referred to above, composed also accentual Latin verse with rime.<sup>37</sup> And the following passage from St. Boniface shows that as early as the eighth century *rhythmus* connoted *rime*: "Tertium quoque [carminis genus] non pedum mensura elucubra-

<sup>35</sup> Ed. by Wilhelm Meyer, "Gildae Oratio Rhythmica," *Nachrichten*, k. Gesells. der Wissensch., Philol.-Hist. Klasse, Göttingen, 1912, p. 48 ff.

<sup>36</sup> In view of the distinction which Bede is at pains to make between *metrum* and *rhythmus* in his *De Arte Metrica*, it is hard to understand the use of *sive* here.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Du Cange, sub *rythmici versus*: "Epist. 4 inter eas quae S. Bonifacio Moguntino adscribuntur: Obsecro ut mihi Aldhelmi Episcopi aliqua opuscula, seu prosarum seu metrorum, aut *rhythmicorum* mittere digneris." Cf. also Manitius, *Handbuch der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, IX, 140: "Sicher hat sich Aldhelm auch mit rhythmischen Gedichten befasst. . . . ut non inconvenienter carmine rhythmico dici queat:

Christus passus patibulo atque leti latibulo  
Virginem virgo virgini commendabat tutamini."

tum, sed octonis syllabis in quolibet versu compositis, una eademque littera comparibus linearum tramitibus aptata cursim calamo perante caraxatum tibi . . . dicavi.”<sup>38</sup> Du Cange continues his discussion of *rythmici versus*: “At rhythmos versus vocarunt scriptores aevi inferioris, quos alii Leoninos, seu ῥμοιτελεύτους. Alvarus (ninth century) in Vita S. Eulogii num. 3: Epistolatim in invicem egimus, et rhythmicis versibus non laudibus mulcebamus.” The word *rhythmus* very early meant *rime*: Dante regularly uses it in that sense in his Latin works.<sup>39</sup> And, notwithstanding the arguments of Diez,<sup>40</sup> Körting,<sup>41</sup> and others, the *New English Dictionary* is unquestionably correct in its derivation of English *rime*: “Rime < O. F. *rime* < \**ridme*, \**ritme* ad Lat. *rithmus*, *rhythmus*, more correctly *rhythmus* a Gr. ῥυθμός = measured motion, time, proportion. In medieval Latin the terms *rithmi* and *rithmici versus* were used to denote accentual in contrast to quantitative verse (metra). As similarity of the terminal sounds was a common feature of accentual verse, *rithmus* naturally came to have the sense of *rime*.”<sup>42</sup>

In Latin, then, the literary quantitative verse was preceded and later accompanied by a vast amount of unwrit-

<sup>38</sup> Liber Epistolarum S. Bonifacii, Epist. 65, quoted by Du Cange sub *rythmici versus*.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, chs. 5, 9, 12, and 13.

<sup>40</sup> Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Rom. Sprachen*, 5th ed.

<sup>41</sup> Körting, *Lateinisch-Rom. Wörterbuch*, 3rd ed.

<sup>42</sup> It is hardly necessary to multiply instances showing that *rhythmus* and *rime* were synonymous; but. cf. *Promptorium Parvulorum*: “Ryme: Rhythmus, -mi, Rithma, -atis; Rymyn: Rhythmico, -as, avi.” Cf. also *Catholicon Anglicum*: “to Ryme, rithmicari: a Ryme, rithmus.” Cf. also Thompson, G. A.: *Elizabethan Criticism of Poetry* (Un. of Chicago Diss., 1914), p. 13: (Quoting Stanyhurst) “What Tom Towley is so simple that will not attempt to be a *rithmour*? . . . a. Good God, what a fry of such wooden *rythmours* doth swarm in stationars’ shops!” Cf. also the “*Ars Rithmicandi*” (14th century) in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 30 ff.

ten popular accentual verse—*rythmi* or *rythmici versus*—with strong stress and homophony. Though this early popular poetry was virtually unrecorded, its rhythms, perhaps because of their popular appeal, were adopted by the clerical hymn writers. And the word *rythmus* connoted *rime*.

So in Anglo-Saxon England there was much popular verse, unwritten, scorned and condemned by the clerics. Many of these *cantica rustica* were undoubtedly choral songs with stress-rhythm and homophony. The analogy of popular Latin poetry suggests strongly the existence of Anglo-Saxon *rythmici versus*,<sup>43</sup> which preceded and continued to exist beside the literary and learned alliterative poetry.

Occasionally even in the Anglo-Saxon poetry (and prose) that was preserved in manuscript we find rime here and there. Sometimes it seems to be accidental; sometimes it arises from the introduction of ready-made riming phrases or formulas (e. g., *hider* and *þider*, *feond* and *freond*, *gleam* and *dream*, *wid* and *sid*, etc.); and sometimes it is evidently striven for,<sup>44</sup> e. g., in the well-known passage in *Elene* beginning:

<sup>43</sup> Indeed, *rythmici versus* are so natural that they are not improbably the humble beginnings of poetry everywhere and precede literary poetry in all literatures: e. g., with regard the Celtic, cf. Verrier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 196: "L'usage de la rime chez les Bretons de France et chez ceux de Grande-Bretagne prouve qu'ils s'en servaient au commencement du Ve siècle: ils ne pouvaient guère l'avoir empruntée aux hymnes latines, encore toutes récentes"; and with regard to Old Norse, cf. Du Cange, *sub modus*: "cantus rhythmicus. Sueno in Hist. Danica, cap. 1: A quo primum modis Islandensibus Skioldauger sunt reges nuncupati. Id est, in *rhythmis*, carminibus, sive cantilenis antiquiis, quibus Islandi fortia heroum ad lyram in conviviis decantare solebant." Cf. also F. M. Warren, "The Romance Lyric," *P. M. L. A.*, xxvi, 235 ff.

<sup>44</sup> It is hardly necessary to multiply instances. For the collection and classification of Anglo-Saxon rimes, cf. Kluge, "Zur Geschichte des Reimes," *P. B. B.*, ix, 422 f.

þus ic frod ond fus þurh þæt fæcne hus  
 word-cræftum wæf ond wundrum læs,  
 þragum þreodude ond geþane reodode  
 nihtes nærwe; nysse ic gearwe.

And the Rimed Poem (tenth century) shows conclusively what one could do if he put his mind on the business of riming,<sup>45</sup> for it is probably the most berimed body of verse in English literary history. For example, consider:

flah mah fliteþ, flan man hwiteþ,  
 borgsorg biteþ, bald ald witeþ,  
 wræc sæc writeþ, wrap aþ smiteþ—  
 syngryn sideþ, searofearo glideþ. (vv. 62-65).

Though it is true, as Kluge<sup>46</sup> and Verrier<sup>47</sup> have pointed out, that rime increases in frequency in the alliterative five-type verse from *Beowulf* on, the increase in this literary poetry<sup>48</sup> is too slight to be significant: what has been preserved of Anglo-Saxon poetry never becomes regularly and completely rhythmical, rimed, or strophic in form. It may be recited or chanted, but it does not have a singing rhythm: its varying rhythms suggest those of the *Pater Noster* and the *Credo*<sup>49</sup> rather than those of the accentual Latin hymns. The fact is that virtually no lyric verse has

<sup>45</sup> Whether the poem is an imitation of the O. N. *runhenda* does not matter. The whole poem is *sui generis* in Anglo-Saxon. It is interesting to note, however, that many of the rimed phrases of which it is made up (e. g., borgsorg biteþ) have the characteristics of proverbial wisdom, and so suggest antiquity and popular origin.

<sup>46</sup> Kluge, "Zur Geschichte des Reimes," *P. B. B.*, ix, 444.

<sup>47</sup> Verrier, *op. cit.*, II, 201.

<sup>48</sup> Whatever the provenance of *Beowulf*, the poem as we have it is of course literary.

<sup>49</sup> Cf.:

Pater noster qui es in coelis  
 Sanctificetur nomen tuum  
 Adveniat regnum tuum  
 Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo, etc.

and

Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem  
 Et in Jesum Christum filium eius unicum, etc.

been preserved, that is, no verse adapted to, and intended for, singing. And when we recall that the monks, from whom all our manuscripts have come, held the *vulgares cantilenae* and *cantica rustica* in contempt, the absence of the popular song is easily accounted for. Of the form of these popular lyrics we have no direct manuscript evidence.<sup>50</sup>

Yet in addition to the presumptive and circumstantial evidence just considered, there are in the monkish manuscripts certain hints and scraps, which are the more convincing as evidence because they are the unconscious admissions of hostile witnesses. In the first place, the large number of homophonous phrases (with rime or alliteration or both) in legal formulas proves incontestably that the use of rime as well as of alliteration was natural and spontaneous among the Germanic tribes everywhere. Legal phrases such as *to slitan oþþe to bitan, unclæne ond unmæne, ceorl ond eorl, griþian ond friþian, ræd ond dæd, healdan ond wealdan, be stronde ond be londe*,<sup>51</sup> are significant: no one would maintain that the rime here is exotic.<sup>52</sup> And in other prose than the laws we find abun-

<sup>50</sup> What indeed was the form of the *Hildebrandslied* or of the constituent parts of *Beowulf* before the monks wrote the manuscripts of these poems? Ballads in alliterating five-type verse? Or more rhythmical songs adapted to choral singing? We do not know. Tacitus uses the word *concentus*, "qui exige," as Verrier says, "la mesure isochrone, en particulier le chant de marche." (Cf. Verrier: *op. cit.*, II, 163 and notes); and, as we have seen, Du Cange, defining *modus*, equates it with *cantus rhythmicus*, and cites Sueno in *Hist. Danica* cap. 1: "A quo primum modis Islandensibus Skioldauger sunt reges nuncupati. Id est, in *rhythmis*, carminibus, sive cantilenis antiquiis, quibus Islandi fortia heroum facta ad lyram in conviviis decantare solebant." Hence it may be that Charlemagne's *barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur* had a form different from that of the alliterative epic which presumably grew out of them.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Kluge, *P. B. B.*, IX, 424 f.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Verrier, *op. cit.*, II, 199: "De même que les anciens Italiotes, les anciens Germains possédaient déjà de nombreuses formules homo-

dant use of rimed rhythmic formulas, e. g.: *growan ond blowan, on æte ond on wæte, liss ond bliss, swicol ond ficol, wlanc ond ranc, werian ond nerian, stalu ond qualu, berypan ond bestrypan*.<sup>53</sup> Just as now, so in the beginning the riming or alliterating formula had a charm for the ear and clung to the memory. And the literary poets frequently made use of such phrases, e. g.: *healdan ond wealdan, steap ond geap, gleam ond dream, wrencan ond blencan, frod ond god, dreosan ond hreosan*.<sup>54</sup> These formulas, considered alone, offer sufficient proof that in the earliest times whatsoever the principle of rime was familiar and congenial to the Anglo-Saxon mind.

As has been said, we have no manuscript record of genuine popular Anglo-Saxon poetry in its original form. Without exception, all manuscripts in England, as elsewhere, contain only such material as would pass the censorship of clerical redactors and scribes. Therefore, with regard to that small fraction of Anglo-Saxon poetry which touches upon or is concerned with early and heathen themes, we can not be certain of either the original content or the original form. We are sure of one thing: that practically all of this material was moulded, manipulated, and veneered with the teachings and phraseology of the Church. When then we turn to the few extant Anglo-Saxon charms and incantations, which constitute the nearest approach to primitive popular poetry,<sup>55</sup> we must not

phoniques, où figurait le plus souvent l'allitération, mais aussi la consonance, l'assonance ou la rime. Ils en employaient à coup sur avant de se séparer en plusieurs peuples: nous en retrouvons dans la prose des anciens dialectes germaniques, qui leur sont communes à tous."

<sup>53</sup> For numerous examples, cf. Kluge, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

<sup>54</sup> There are many. Cf. Kluge, p. 425 f.

<sup>55</sup> It might plausibly be maintained that the incantation wherever found is the most primitive form of poetry, and that it contains in

forget that even these charms as we have them are *Christianized* charms, in which the names of Christ and the Virgin are invoked and the Pater Noster and Ter Sanctus mingle freely with the vernacular. Though the baptismal vow involved forsaking the devil and all his works and all the heathen gods, the Church was willing to compromise by appropriating and giving a new turn to heathen practices which, too deeply rooted to be eradicated, might be diverted to her use. As with Easter, so it was with the charms: the effort to Christianize them is obvious.

And yet in all of them—in some more than in others—pagan elements are evident. And if we notice particularly the *lyric* part of the incantation, the adjuration or prayer which follows the narrative element, we shall discover that this part of the formula tends to become more regularly rhythmical and homophonous, e. g.:

Erce, Erce, Erce, eorþan modor,  
 Geunne þe se alwælda, ece drihten,  
 Aecera wexendra and wridendra,  
 Eacniendra and elniendra,  
 Sceafra heries, scire-wæstma  
 And þære bradan bere wæstma  
 And þære hwitan hwaete wæstma  
 And ealre eorþan wæstma.<sup>56</sup>

Also:

Gif þu wære on fell scoten    opþe wære on flæsc scoten  
 Opþe wære on blod scoten    opþe wære on ban scoten  
 Opþe wære on liþ scoten;    næfre ne sy þin lif atæsed;  
 Gif hit wære esa gescot    opþe hit wære ylfa gescot  
 Opþe hit wære hægtessan gescot:    nu ic wille þin helpan.  
 þis þe to bote esa gescotes,    þis þe to bote ylfa gescotes,  
 þis þe to bote hægtessan gescotes:    ic þin wille helpan.<sup>57</sup>

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germinal form the beginnings from which evolve in the process of the ages narrative, lyric, and dramatic poetry.

<sup>56</sup> First charm, vv. 50-57, *G-W. Bibl.*, I, 315.

<sup>57</sup> Second charm, vv. 20-26, *G-W. Bibl.*, I, 318.

Also:

Sitte ge, sigewif, sigað to eorþan!  
 Naefre ge wilde to wudu fleogan!  
 Beo ge swa gemindige mines godes,  
 Swa biþ manna gehwile metes and eþeles.<sup>58</sup>

Also:

Find þæt feoh and fere þæt feoh  
 And hafa þæt feoh and heald þæt feoh.<sup>59</sup>

Also:

þis me to bote þære laþan lætbyrde,  
 þis me to bote þære swæran swærtbyrde,  
 þis me to bote þære laþan lambyrde.<sup>60</sup>

Since we are in quest of traces of primitive popular poetry, and since the few Anglo-Saxon charms preserved (and reformed) are doubtless insignificant in number when compared to those which are lost, it is pertinent to our inquiry here to glance at the early continental Germanic charms of which we have manuscript evidence. Though these too have been "edited," we find in them as in the Anglo-Saxon incantations certain primitive elements. And as in the Anglo-Saxon we find the same tendency toward homophony and regularity of rhythm, e. g.:

Eiris sazun idisi sazun hera duoder.  
 Suma hapt heptidun, suma heri lezidun,  
 Suma clubodun umbi cuniouuidi:  
 Insprine haptbandun, invar vigandun!<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Third charm, vv. 8-11, *G-W. Bibl.*, I, 320.

<sup>59</sup> Fourth charm, vv. 8, 9; *G-W Bibl.*, I, 325.

<sup>60</sup> Seventh charm, vv. 4-6, *G-W Bibl.*, 327. Cf. also the eighth charm, vv. 21 ff., *G-W. Bibl.*, I, 329.

<sup>61</sup> Erster Merseburger Spruch, vv. 1-4: for the collection cf. Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkmäler deutschen Poesie u. Prosa*, I, §§ IV, XIV, XVI, XLVII.

Also:

Thu biguolen Sinthgunt, Sunna era suister,  
 Thu biguolen Frija, Volla era suister:  
 Thu biguolen Uodan, so he uuola conda,  
 Sose benrenki, sose bluotrenki, sose lidirenki:  
 Ben zi bena, bluot zi bluoda,  
 Lid zi gilidin, sose gelimida sin.<sup>62</sup>

Also:

Sizi, sizi, bina: inbot dir sancte Marja.  
 Hurolob ni habe du: zi holce ni fluc du,  
 Noh du mir nindrinnes, noh du mir nintuuinnest.  
 Sizi vilu stillo, uuirki godes uuillon.<sup>63</sup>

Still other examples which might be cited must be relegated to a foot-note.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Zweiter Merseburger Spruch, vv. 3-8.

<sup>63</sup> Lorsch's Bienensegen, vv. 3-6.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Müllenhoff u. Scherer, vol. I, sec. XLVII:

Also verstant du, bluotrinna,  
 Durh des heiligen Christes minna:  
 Du verstant an der note,  
 Also der Jordan tate. (Milstäter Blutsagen, vv. 7-10.)

Cf. also the longer "Münchner Ausfahrtsegen," no. 3 in sec. XLVII. Early Christian prayers in the vernacular assume and continue the form of the heathen incantations. Cf. Friedrich Hälsig, *Zauberspruch bei den Germanen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 16 f.: "Trotz aller Anstrengungen und aller später angewendeten Härte, und obgleich auch seit dem frühesten Zeiten die Staatsgewalt die Bemühungen der Kirche unterstützte, ist es ihr nicht gelungen, Zauberglauben und Zauberei auszurotten. Dazu hat aber nicht zum wenigsten der Umstand beigetragen, dass die Kirche selbst an der Möglichkeit der Zauberei festhielt, dass sie nur unter anderen Namen ganz die gleichen Dinge wie die heidnischen Zauberer trieb, und dass endlich ein grosser Teil der Geistlichkeit genau so im Banne des Aberglaubens stand, wie die Laienwelt des Mittelalters. Alle Verbote und Strafen haben deshalb nicht zu verhindern gemocht, dass sich immerfort Geistliche an der Abfassung und dem Gebrauche von Zaubersprüchen beteiligt haben."

Now, in view of the very small amount of extant Anglo-Saxon verse that may be called primitive and popular, this evidence of regular stress-rhythm and homophony (including not only alliteration but also rime and assonance) is significant: it tends strongly to prove that such rhythm and homophony originated spontaneously in Germanic verse and so antedated any possible Latin or French influence.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, it strongly suggests that the lost popular songs, the various types of *leoþ*, *vulgares cantilenae* and *cantica rustica et inepta*, were also characterized by fairly regular stress-rhythm and homophony; in other words, that together with, and possibly prior to, the literary and classical five-type alliterating verse form in the "high style," there existed in abundance humbler "vulgar" songs with definite, strongly marked rhythms and with rime as well as alliteration—songs which bore to literary Anglo-Saxon poetry the same relation that popular accentual Latin verse bore to literary quantitative Latin verse. And the strong probability is that this rhythm and rime persisted in the submerged popular poetry *after* the conversion to Christianity just as it had done before.

With regard to the literary vernacular poetry there is no evidence that the accentual rimed Latin hymns had

<sup>65</sup> With regard to the fundamental antiquity of the charms it should be noted that the points of correspondence between the Anglo-Saxon and the Old High German bee charms quoted above are, notwithstanding the mention of God and the Virgin in the O.H.G., evidence to show that they are different versions of the same thing and hence antedate the introduction of Christianity. Cf. Zupitza, *Anglia*, I, 195 f.: "Mir scheint aber die teilweise übereinstimmung des englischen spruches mit dem in Deutschland bekannt geworden auf eine vorchristliche fassung hinzuweisen, welche die Britannien bevölkern den Germanen ebenso aus ihrer alten in ihre neue heimat mitgenommen haben, wie z. b. ältere recensionen des Merseburger zauber-sprüche."

any effect upon it at any time during the Anglo-Saxon period, though these hymns were doubtless known in England from the seventh century on.<sup>66</sup> There is, to be sure, an increase in the amount of rime in one or two short ballad-like poems imbedded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, e. g., the one under the year 1036:

Ac Godwine hine þa gelette and hine on hæft sette,  
 And his geferan he todraf and sume mislice ofsloh,  
 Sume hi man wiþ feo sealde, sume hreowlich acwealde,  
 Sume hi man bende, sume hi man blende,  
 Sume hamelode, sume hættode.  
 Ne wearþ dreolice dæd gedon on þison earde,  
 Syþþan Dene comon and her friþ namon!  
 Nu is to gelyfenne to þan leofan gode,  
 þæt hi blission bliþe mid Criste,  
 þe wæron butan scylde swa earmlice acwealde.  
 Se æþeling lyfode þa gyt: ælc yfel man him gehet,  
 Oþ þæt man gerædde, þæt man hine lædde  
 To Eligbyrig swa gebundenne.  
 Sona swa he lende, on scype man hine blende  
 And hine swa blindne brohte to þam munecon;  
 And he þar wunode þa hwile þe he lyfode.  
 Syþþan hine man byrigde, swa him wel gebyrede,  
 Ful wurþlice, swa he wyrþe waes,  
 Aet þam westende, þam styple ful gehende  
 On þam supþortice: seo saul is mid Criste.<sup>67</sup>

But it surely would be straining a point to maintain that the increase in rime at this late date was suddenly due to the influence of the hymns. On the other hand, it is reasonable to cite this poem as evidence of the continuous existence and now partial recognition of popular rhythm and rime.

Furthermore, just as this poem is too late for Latin influence from the hymns, so it is too early for French

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Bede, *De Arte Metrica*, supra.

<sup>67</sup> *G-W. Bibl.*, I, 385.

influence. In the first place, it antedates the Conquest by thirty years. In the second place, there was no rimered literary French poetry at that date available as a model; and, though in France as elsewhere there were doubtless rhythmical *vulgares cantilenae*, it is highly improbable that they were known in England or served as a model in 1036 for the Anglo-Saxon poem. All the evidence points to this conclusion: (1) the semi-popular ballad-like Chronicle poem dated 1036 is with its rhythm and rime a native product and that its form was not influenced by the Latin hymns or by any French verse whatever; (2) this Chronicle poem points definitely to the existence of much rhythmical rimered vernacular poetry, some earlier, some contemporary, but all now lost to us.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Turning from the latest Anglo-Saxon poems to the earliest in Middle English, may we not say that the *Cantus Beati Godrici* (ca. 1150) is possibly rather a further recognition of native than an imitation of foreign rhythms:

Sainte Marie, Christes bur,  
 Maidenenes clenhad, moderes flur,  
 Dilie minne sinne, rix in min mod,  
 Bring me to winne wiþ self god.

The rhythm would seem to be at least as close to that of the Anglo-Saxon bee charm as to that of the accentual Latin hymns: cf.

Sitte ge, sigewif, sigaþ to eorþan!  
 Naefre ge wilde to wudu fleogan!  
 Beo ge swa gemindige mines godes,  
 Swa biþ manna gehwile metes and eþeles.

Moreover, the *Cantus Beati Godrici*, like the Chronicle poem, is too early to have been influenced by any similar manuscript French poetry, even if such manuscript actually existed at the time.

## XX.—GOETHE'S POEM "IM ERNSTEN BEINHAUS"

The original manuscript of this poem is preserved in Hanover, and over it is written, in Goethe's hand: "For the 17th of September, 1826." This date Goethe crossed out, writing in its place: "September 25, 1826." It was printed during his lifetime, without title, at the end of *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, published in 1829, and is followed by the words in parenthesis, "Ist fortzusetzen." Only after Goethe's death, in the Cotta edition of 1833, appears the usual title, "Bei Betrachtung von Schillers Schädel," doubtless added by Eckermann. Nearly all texts, with the notable exception of the Weimar edition, repeat this title. The Jubilee edition has the heading, "Schillers Reliquien."

On Schiller's death in 1805, his remains were deposited in a moderate-sized vault, the "Kassengewölbe" in the graveyard of the Jakobskirche in Weimar, and remained there more than twenty years; in March, 1826, the structure was torn down, at which time most of the coffins in the vault had fallen to pieces, and Schiller's bones were sorted out with some difficulty. September 17, 1826 (the first date written by Goethe over the poem) the skull was placed in the pedestal of Dannecker's Schiller-bust in the Ducal library, with formal ceremonies, which Goethe felt unable to attend. We have a circumstantial diary of Goethe's for the year 1826, but nowhere is there the slightest hint that he took any personal part in the removal of his friend's remains—a task from which he certainly would have shrunk. As to Goethe's amendment of the poem, it corresponds precisely with entries in his diary:

Sept. 25: Nachts Terzinen; Sept. 26: Die Terzinen abgeschrieben. . . . weitere Betrachtung der Terzinen.

The present poem, and the soliloquy near the beginning of the second part of *Faust*, constitute Goethe's only published attempts in *terza rima*. On May 6, 1827, Ecker-mann remarked that the Terzinen in *Faust* seemed to have their origin in Goethe's impressions received in the neighborhood of Lake Lucerne, to which Goethe replied: "I will not deny that these contemplations come from that region; in fact, without the fresh impressions (*frische Eindrücke*) of that marvelous natural scenery, I should never have been able to imagine the content of those verses."

Of course the word *frisch* can mean "vivid" as well as "recent," but Hermann Henkel<sup>1</sup> assumes that Goethe must mean "recent," and tries to prove that *Faust's* soliloquy was written in February, 1798—citing Goethe's correspondence with Schiller during that month, which will be presently considered. Calvin Thomas followed Henkel, but Pniower contends rightly that the language of *Faust's* monologue shows the style of the aged Goethe, and maintains that the poet got the chief hint of this scene (the rainbow against the waterfall) not from Lake Lucerne, where he saw no waterfalls, but from *Childe Harold*, which did not appear until 1818.

The meaning of our poem is sufficiently obvious: In the gloomy charnel-house the poet sees skull after skull in ordered rows, and bethinks himself of the hoary days of antiquity. Here lie, tamely strewn about, the massive bones of those who, of old, slew one another; there is no rest for them, even in the grave. These sorry relics of humanity are repulsive, but a glance at one splendid skull

<sup>1</sup> *Schnorrs Archiv*, 8. 164.

brings inspiration: taking it in his hand, the poet goes out into the free air, where he is refreshed by the thought that Nature, in its profusion of resources, has impressed signs of Divinity upon the form of man during Evolution's infinite ascent, by developing his noble organ of thought—nothing about Schiller, no word hinting at local relation to Weimar.

Professor Charles Harris comments: "Goethe represents himself as standing in the vault of the church in the midst of the skeletons of the unknown dead, when he beheld the skull whose noble proportions called forth his glowing eulogy." Schiller was not buried in a church; the detached vault, well shown in Bode's *Damals in Weimar*, is plainly an eighteenth-century structure, not going back to "hoary days of yore," but built to receive the remains of conventional Weimar citizens at the time, of all others, when Europe, still under the centralizing influence of Louis XIV, was farthest removed from the rough self-help of wild anarchistic medieval times.

Moreover, the poem has to do with a *Beinhaus*, an institution not in vogue in Weimar in Goethe's time, although continued, with all its grewsomeness, to our own days in Switzerland. In that country the digging of graves in rocky soil is very difficult, and after some ten years the occupant is required to make way for a new tenant. Connected with the graveyard is a small structure in which the larger bones are placed below, while the skulls, their names neatly painted across their foreheads, are shelved in close rows. Such charnel-houses I have visited in the Tell-region, notably at Altdorf, and on the Seelisberg, above the Rütli. The latter I entered early on the morning of May 8, 1897, while the entire community was attending service in the nearby church. In order to take a picture of one of the skulls—that of a certain Barbara

Seelen—I removed it from its shelf, put it into a patch of sunshine, photographed it, restored it to its place and went on my way to the Rütli without being noticed by the rude fathers of the hamlet, who, with much reasonableness, might have rolled me off the steep cliff for the sacrilege.

I am convinced that the inspiration for this poem came to Goethe during one of his three Swiss journeys. In 1775 he visited all the Tell-scenes, and was much interested in them. On June 26, 1775, he attended a session of the Physikalische Gesellschaft in Zürich, where Lavater read a treatise on the significance of the formation of the human skull. More suggestive is his visit to Murten, in northwestern Switzerland, on October 7, 1779. His diary relates: "We came . . . to Murten, rode to the *Beinhaus*, and I took away a bit of the back-skull of one of the Burgundians with me. In Murten we ate luncheon, and read out of a vigorously-written book the history of the Battle of Murten. It is very stirring to hear the deeds of this time recounted by a witness and actual fighter." The "book" was doubtless Veit Weber and Diebold Schilling's *Description of the Burgundian Wars*,<sup>2</sup> which contains the famous ballad, *Die Schlacht bei Murten*. In this is the significant stanza:

Der hatte selbst die Hand am Schwert  
Der diesen Reim gemacht;  
Bis Abends mäht' er mit dem Schwert,  
Des Nachts sang er die Schlacht.

It made a deep and lasting impression on Goethe. I believe that I am the only person who has pointed out the fact that Goethe's spirited account of the battle of Gravelingen (in *Egmont*) derives some of its most forcible touches from this ballad. One need only compare the

<sup>2</sup>Third ed., Bern, 1743, p. 347.

words in *Egmont*: "im Fluss zusammengehauen, weggeschossen wie die Enten. Was nun durchbrach, schlugen euch auf der Flucht die Bauernweiber mit Hacken und Mistgabeln tot" and the original lines:

Viel sprangen in die See hinein  
Und dürsteten doch nicht.

Sie schwammen wie der Enten Schaar  
Im Wasser hin und her;  
Als wär es wilder Enten Schaar,  
Schoss man sie im Geröhr.

Auf Schiffen fuhr man in den See,  
Schlug sie mit Rudern tot, . . .

When the ballad was reprinted in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Goethe, after pointing out its realism, called attention to the fact that it had probably been modernized, which a comparison with the best edition of the *Beschreibung* confirms—this was twenty-seven years after his first acquaintance with the book.

Repeated instances can be given of Goethe's interest in the Swiss, from the exact standpoint taken in our poem, namely that of admiration for their valor in medieval days. His last Swiss tour, in 1797, served potently to revive the impressions of the previous visits. Thus, he writes from Stäfa on Sept. 25 and Oct. 14, 1797: "I have once more turned up splendid material for idyls and elegies, whatever names one may give to kindred sorts of verse, and have already realized somewhat on them. . . . I have recalled the effect which these objects made upon me twenty years ago; the general impression has remained, the details have disappeared; I feel a strange yearning to renew and rectify my earlier experiences." He also comments on the ancient glass windows in Bülach: "In the vigorous poses of the men-in-armor . . . one sees

the sturdy spirit of their times, how strong these artists were, how doughty and democratically-aristocratic in their conception of their contemporaries." He admires the paintings at Stanz, which give the chief events from the Swiss Chronicles, and reads with interest a local history of the state of Unterwalden. He revisits all the Tell-scenes, and is very busy with Tschudi's *History*, in order to recall the days of old for an epic on Tell. He informs Schiller that he is deeply concerned with "studying, as closely as possible, the characters, customs, and ways of the people."

On his return to Weimar, at the end of October, 1797, all these impressions were vigorously at work. On February 21, 1798, he writes to Schiller: "Pray tell me your ideas as to the metrical form of Schlegel's *Prometheus* [a long poem in *terza rima*]. I have something on hand which incites me to write *ottava rima*, but inasmuch as this form is far too constrained and regularly recurrent, I have thought of *terza rima*—but on closer observation it fails to please me, because it never rests, and on account of its marching rhymes, one can never bring it to an end."

I hold that Goethe is working here upon our poem: his words, "weil man wegen der fortschreitenden Reime nirgends schliessen kann," correspond very well with the closing parenthesis, "Ist fortzusetzen." Schiller answered that the meter did not please him, as it went on and on, like a monotonous hand-organ, "and because an exalted mood seems to be inseparable from it." On February 26, 1798, von Knebel sent Goethe a *lusus naturae* in the form of a hare's skull, for which Goethe was especially grateful, and sent him some specimens from the St. Gotthard in return. This month of February, 1798, coincides with the height of general philosophic and scientific discussions between Goethe and Schiller, on themes very closely related to the content of our poem.

There can be no doubt that the removal of Schiller's skull on September 17, 1826, gave Goethe a suggestion for completing the poem. What more natural, than that, in these days of acute suffering in recalling the loss of his dearest friend, Goethe should take up the poem connected with their most intimate labors and discussions, as a tribute to his associate? It is, however, in no wise a realistic reference (as is generally assumed), but forms a symbolistic tribute, stated in terms of experiences long past, but vividly recalled by a close association of ideas.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

## XXI.—MATTHEW ARNOLD AND GOETHE

When Matthew Arnold called Goethe "the clearest, the largest, the most helpful thinker of modern times,"<sup>1</sup> he paid tribute to one of the most significant and enduring influences of his life. In him without doubt Arnold found one of those few best things that he held it the critic's function to know and to make known. Yet it was not as a poet, even though he never failed to accord to Goethe the first place after Shakespeare, that he hailed him as the greatest of the moderns, but as the thinker who more than any other had achieved the great task of modern literature, the task of interpreting the modern world to itself.

"People joke about and take fright at the problems of life; few trouble themselves about the words that would solve them;"<sup>2</sup> so Goethe once wrote to Schiller. Matthew Arnold was preëminently one of the few. His special business was the criticism of literature, but he brought to it the indispensable profound and persistent reflection upon the world which literature is designed to interpret. So he came to his famous campaign to quicken intellectually and spiritually the lives of his people. To that end he drew the main lines of his program, the endeavor to foster and disseminate the critical spirit (which he made the basis of what he called the modern element), the gospel of culture, and the setting up of that ideal of literature that he found most perfectly realized in the classics.

"The wise," said Æschylus long ago, "have much in common with the wise," and he might have added, "because they go to the wise." Arnold's first critical essay,

<sup>1</sup> *Mixed Essays*, "A French Critic on Goethe."

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe*, Trans. by L. Dora Schmitz, London, 1877, II, 385.

the brilliant preface of 1853, goes to Goethe six times, for anything from one of those profoundly apt terms with which Goethe's critical arsenal is so abundantly stored to authority for an estimate of his age. In almost the first of his published letters he tells his mother of returning to Goethe's life with higher esteem than ever.<sup>3</sup> Nearly thirty years later he writes to his sister: "Considering how much I have read of Goethe, I have said in my life very little about him."<sup>4</sup> But to anyone who has noted the number and the variety of the allusions to Goethe in Arnold's letters, in his notebooks, in his essays, even in his poetry, that little seems generous. And it is significant. Much of it, to be sure, is casual, one might almost say conventional: "the greatest poet of the modern world, the manifest centre of German literature," and so on; much of it is personal, as when in that oft-recurring depression over the stifling press of his everyday affairs he thinks of Goethe's busy life,<sup>5</sup> or when against what he calls the dæmonic element (he borrows the term from Goethe) he braces himself with Goethe's resolve "to keep pushing on one's posts into the darkness;"<sup>6</sup> much of it is merely the treasuring up of his own thought bettered by the fit word of the master, like Goethe's epithet for the Bible which he quotes so effectively in *Culture and Anarchy*, "the Bible, the Book of the Nations."<sup>7</sup> But very much goes to the centre of Arnold's own problem, as for instance that characterization of Heine as the successor of Goethe in Goethe's most important line of activity, "his line of activity as a soldier in the war of liberation of humanity,"<sup>8</sup> or that mighty sentence: "Goethe is the greatest poet of modern times, not because he is one of the half-

<sup>3</sup> *Matthew Arnold's Letters*, New York, 1895, I, 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 165.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 43.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 249.

<sup>7</sup> *Culture and Anarchy*, "Preface."

<sup>8</sup> *Essays in Criticism*, II, "Heine."

dozen human beings who in the history of our race have shown the most signal gift for poetry, but because having a very considerable gift for poetry, he was at the same time, in the width, depth, and richness of his criticism of life, by far our greatest modern man."<sup>9</sup>

Now the first essential of a modern thinker, as Matthew Arnold defines it in his *Essay on the Modern Element*, is the critical spirit, which endeavors, to quote his words in the *Essay on Translating Homer*, "in all branches of knowledge, theology, philosophy, history, art, science,—to see the object as in itself it really is." That was the starting point of Arnold's own work in criticism, as he later develops his ideas in *Sweetness and Light*, the starting-point of his handling of culture. The very words in which he expressed the ideal of the critical spirit are an almost literal translation of one of Goethe's so-called maxims: "The truly wise ask what the thing is in itself." But the important point is that Arnold himself says that he found the fullest realization of this ideal in the modern world in Goethe.

The general conception, surprisingly often with the very accent which Matthew Arnold was later to apply, pervades all of Goethe's work. We know why Arnold said: "Goethe's profound, imperturbable naturalism is absolutely fatal to all routine thinking,"<sup>10</sup> when we read toward the end of *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*:

In the study of the sciences, particularly those that deal with nature, it is as necessary as it is difficult to inquire whether that which has been handed down to us from the past, and regarded as valid by our ancestors, is really to be relied on to such a degree that we may continue to build upon it safely in the future.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Mixed Essays*, "A French Critic on Goethe."

<sup>10</sup> *Essays in Criticism*, I, "Heine."

<sup>11</sup> *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, Trans. and ed. by Edward Bell, London, 1882, 419 (not included in edition which Carlyle translated).

But Goethe's skepticism was very much like Arnold's, not a wholesale, iconoclastic scepticism; rather what he happily styled an "active scepticism," one "which constantly aims at overcoming itself,"<sup>12</sup> for as the Chancellor von Müller (whose work Arnold especially recommended for the insight it gives us into Goethe's character) said: "It was an absolute want of his nature to gain a clear conception of every subject however heterogeneous,"<sup>13</sup> or as Goethe himself wrote to Schiller: "I am never able to keep myself in a purely speculative mood, but have immediately to try and form a distinct conception."<sup>14</sup> Indeed, he consistently in word and act lives up to his own maxim: "In art and knowledge, as also in deed and action, everything depends on a pure apprehension of the object and a treatment of it according to its nature."<sup>15</sup> So Arnold made seeing "the thing as in itself it really is" the key to the mastery of the modern world.

Arnold's warning as to the vitiating influence of personal, party, or even patriotic prejudice upon seeing the "thing in itself" is too well known to need comment here; one word will suffice: "Disinterestedness."<sup>16</sup> On a similar occasion Goethe brought forward a model of the way, as he said, "in which a man should both observe the world and relate what he had seen without mixing up himself with it."<sup>17</sup> But of all he ever said on that subject the most illuminating is that passage in *Truth and Poetry* in

<sup>12</sup> *The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*, Trans. by Baily Saunders, London, 1906, 133.

<sup>13</sup> *Characteristics of Goethe from the German of Falk, von Müller, etc.*, by Sarah Austin, London, 1833, II, 310.

<sup>14</sup> *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe*, II, 402.

<sup>15</sup> *Maxims*, 84.

<sup>16</sup> *Essays in Criticism*, I, "The Function of Criticism."

<sup>17</sup> *The Auto-Biography of Goethe*, Trans. by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, London, 1868, II, 54.

which he tells of the freedom that Spinoza's *Ethics* opened to him: "But what especially riveted me to him, was the utter disinterestedness which shone forth in his every sentence. That wonderful sentiment, 'He who truly loves God must not desire God to love him in return . . .' filled my whole mind. To be disinterested in everything, but the most of all in love and friendship, was my highest desire, my maxim, my practise, so that that subsequent hasty saying of mine, 'If I love thee what is that to thee?' was spoken right out of my heart."<sup>18</sup> That passage deeply impressed Arnold, if we may judge from his analysis<sup>19</sup> of the source of Goethe's profound admiration for Spinoza. He found it in Spinoza's denial of final causes, in his active stoicism, in what he and Goethe more imaginatively called "disinterestedness."

But, like Arnold, Goethe did not rest with the external world. He carried the critical spirit into the world of self. He talked more about himself than did Arnold; he regarded the self as an intellectual problem more than do most of us. Where Arnold would have striven for "self-mastery," Goethe sought "self-knowledge." He stressed the necessity of self-knowledge for knowledge of other people,<sup>20</sup> for intelligent conduct,<sup>21</sup> for the quest of perfection;<sup>22</sup> but his most significant utterance in view of Matthew Arnold's stress on the relations between moral and literary power is what he told Eckermann of Byron: "If he had but known how to endure moral restraint! That he could not was his ruin; and it may be aptly said that he

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 26.

<sup>19</sup> *Essays in Criticism*, I, "Spinoza and the Bible."

<sup>20</sup> *Criticisms, Reflections, and Maxims of Goethe*, Trans. by W. B. Rünfeldt (The Camelot Series), "Shakespeare and No End."

<sup>21</sup> *Maxims*, 63.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

was destroyed by his own unbridled temperament. But he was too much in the dark about himself.”<sup>23</sup> Goethe held that in the self as in all things, “That which we do not understand, we do not possess.”<sup>24</sup>

But Goethe did not end with the individual thing in isolation on his critical slide. As he once told Schiller, he was wont to associate every new discovery with the mass of what he already knew, and thus each fact acquired genuine significance.<sup>25</sup> Unlike Eckhel, who, if we may believe what Goethe told his friend, was one of those happy persons who have not even a notion that there is such a thing as a philosophy of nature,<sup>26</sup> Goethe was constantly seeking the principles and laws, constantly seeking to comprehend not only the thing in itself but the whole of which it is a part. So he was grateful to Schiller for taking him beyond himself,<sup>27</sup> but as he declared unmistakably in a speech of Leonardo in *Wilhelm Meister*, he believed that man must seek consistency, the essence of law and principle, not in his surroundings but within himself.<sup>28</sup>

In literature, like Arnold, he stressed the importance to the poet of what in conversation with Eckermann he called “the sight of life on a large scale.”<sup>29</sup> Of Shakespeare he says: “The poet lived in noble and momentous times, and he has represented their development, nay even their misdevelopment, to us with the utmost serenity. Nor would

<sup>23</sup> *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, Trans. by John Oxenford, London, 1874, 115.

<sup>24</sup> *Criticisms*, 158.

<sup>25</sup> *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe*, I, 373.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 438.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 195.

<sup>28</sup> *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*, II, 320.

<sup>29</sup> *Conversations with Eckermann*, 171.

he have exercised so powerful an influence upon us, had he not made himself master of his own living times," or more tersely, from this point of view: "And if we call Shakespeare one of the greatest poets that have ever lived, we mean to imply that scarcely any one has viewed the world as clearly as he viewed it."<sup>30</sup> So Arnold said of Sophocles: "He saw life steadily, and saw it whole,"<sup>31</sup> and of Goethe himself praised the wide and luminous view.<sup>32</sup>

In these three respects then, in the constructive challenge of all that had come down to us on the acceptance of the past, in the emphasis upon seeing the thing in itself, or disinterestedness, in the effort to see life "whole," Arnold was for his analysis of the critical spirit heavily indebted to Goethe.

But the critical spirit is only the beginning of the deliverance which, Arnold says, more than any other modern Goethe achieved. In other words, if the beginning of the modern man's effort be seeing the thing in itself, the goal is harmonious perfection, and the way is culture. That is the word with which Arnold's name is, I suppose, most generally associated, and it is, one might almost say, the favorite word of Goethe. It comes into his utterances on every conceivable occasion, sometimes in the very forefront of the discussion, more often casually, almost unperceived. It is the key to his life. "How could I," he cries when he is censured for lack of patriotic hatred of the French, "how could I, *to whom* culture and barbarism are alone of importance, hate a nation which is among the most cultivated of the earth?"<sup>33</sup> He is always thinking

<sup>30</sup> *Criticisms*, "Shakespeare and No End."

<sup>31</sup> *Essays in Criticism*, III, "On the Modern Element in Literature."

<sup>32</sup> *Poems*, London, 1894, II, 225.

<sup>33</sup> *Conversations with Eckermann*, 457.

of culture, of widening and of improving his attainments and abilities; even on that long anticipated and long deferred holiday in Rome, in the midst of his rejoicing over the realization of his dream, he sharply reminds himself: "I am not here to enjoy myself after my own fashion, but to busy myself with the great objects around, to learn and to improve myself ere I am forty years old;"<sup>34</sup> and when he was almost a decade beyond the mark he had set, he wrote to Schiller: "Would to God that I could begin again at the beginning and leave all my works behind me like the down-trodden shoes of children, and produce something better."<sup>35</sup> That passion for improvement is doubtless the source of that versatility that yet stands almost without peer in modern Europe, undoubtedly one of the chief reasons for the influence he exerted upon Matthew Arnold's "profoundly aspiring nature." In moral culture Goethe never, I think, approached Arnold, but he expressed Arnold's aim more powerfully than ever he did: "To labor for his own moral culture is the simplest and most practicable thing which man can propose to himself;"<sup>36</sup> or "Perfection is the measure of heaven, and the wish to be perfect the measure of man;"<sup>37</sup> while Arnold, although in breadth his activity, I need hardly say, is not to be compared with Goethe's, certainly summed up Goethe's ideal when he explained the aim of culture: "It is in making endless additions to itself, in the endless expansion of its powers, in endless growth in wisdom and beauty, that the spirit of the human race finds its ideal."<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Goethe's Travels in Italy*, Trans. from the German, London, 1883, 123.

<sup>35</sup> *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe*, II, 61.

<sup>36</sup> *Auto-Biography*, II, 74.

<sup>37</sup> *Maxims*, 134.

<sup>38</sup> *Culture and Anarchy*, "Sweetness and Light."

It was in this respect perhaps more than in any other that Goethe was able to fulfill his mission for the Europe that, as Matthew Arnold said, had lost her basis of spiritual life—"to interpret human life afresh, and to supply a new spiritual basis to it,"<sup>39</sup> and it was in this way perhaps more than in any other that Goethe was helpful to Matthew Arnold when he began his battle against philistinism. Goethe spoke of culture far more than Arnold, perhaps because the general state of society in Germany made inevitable a degree of consciousness on that point that in the Englishman of fifty years later would have been considered amusing. In art and in science he attained to a breadth of culture that Arnold wanted. But he wrote no book on culture; although he spoke and wrote constantly of his efforts at self-cultivation, he did not definitely articulate a program so compact or so profound as Arnold's.

Yet Arnold found already worked out discursively in Goethe the salient aspects of his conception. Whatever Goethe's practice, there can be no doubt that the philosophy which underlay his conception of culture was very similar in its insistence upon man's moral independence and responsibility to the philosophy that inspired the "conquering of the obvious faults of our animality"<sup>40</sup> that Arnold presupposed for his superstructure of culture. It is Goethe himself who speaks from the lips of the stranger in the first book of *Wilhelm Meister*: "The fabric of our life is formed of necessity and chance; the reason of man takes its station between them, and may rule them both: it treats the necessary as the groundwork of its being; the accidental it can direct and guide and employ for its own

<sup>39</sup> *The Study of Celtic Literature*, ed. by Alfred Nutt, London, 1910, 143.

<sup>40</sup> *Culture and Anarchy*, "Sweetness and Light."

purposes; and only while this principle of reason stands firm and inexpugnable does man deserve to be named the god of this lower world.”<sup>41</sup> Still more impressively he went to the very heart of the matter in a sentence which Matthew Arnold copied into his notebook: “The main thing is that man learn to be master of himself,”<sup>42</sup> and in the question which Wilhelm asked Werner: “What good were it for me to manufacture perfect iron, while my own breast is full of dross?”<sup>43</sup>

In Goethe Arnold also found the rudiments of his conception of harmonious perfection—for instance in that passage of the nineteenth book of *Truth and Poetry* in which he tells how in moments of ennui after his first great burst of poetic activity he wondered, as he says, “whether it would not be my wisest course to employ . . . for my own and others’ profit and advantage, the human, rational, and intellectual part of my being, and so, as I already had done . . . devote the intervals when nature ceased to influence me to worldly occupations, and thus to leave no one of my faculties unused.”<sup>44</sup> It is not, I think, unreasonable to suppose that we have the fruits of that thinking in Wilhelm Meister’s analysis of the harmonious cultivation for which he yearns, yet which he fears is hardly available to the burgher, who, as he says, “must cultivate some single gifts in order to be useful, and it is beforehand settled, that in his manner of existence there is no harmony, and can be none, since he is bound to make himself of use in one department, and so has to relinquish

<sup>41</sup> *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship and Travels*, Trans. by Thomas Carlyle, London, 1858, I, 60.

<sup>42</sup> *Matthew Arnold’s Notebooks*, ed. by the Hon. Mrs. Wodehouse, London, 1903, 24.

<sup>43</sup> *Wilhelm Meister*, I, 235.

<sup>44</sup> *Autobiography*, II, 68.

all the others.”<sup>45</sup> And again (this time it is from the lips of Lothario that the author speaks): “It is inconceivable how much a man of true culture can accomplish for himself and others.”<sup>46</sup>

Indeed, Goethe and Schiller, as we may see from their exchange of comments on their periodical, *Die Horen*, and the famous “little fellows” of the “Xenienkampf,” felt that they were the central rallying-point for all lovers of culture in Germany.<sup>47</sup> Were it not for their life-long foes, the Philistines, they would undoubtedly have realized Lothario’s project of a league of culture. For Goethe believed, as Arnold was quick to note in his comments on both Goethe and Byron, that “if a great talent is to be speedily and happily developed, the great point is that a great deal of intellect and sound culture should be current in a nation.”<sup>48</sup> Indeed, he declared more than once what Matthew Arnold was to say later, that the greatness of Greek literature was due no less to the culture of the age than to the genius of the writers.<sup>49</sup> Goethe had at bottom, for all his “universal benevolence,” very little of Arnold’s nineteenth century humanitarianism, but he believed that in his work for culture, personal as it was for the most part, he had performed a national service, not only on the ground that the individual’s work for his own culture is ultimately the important thing,<sup>50</sup> but that the most patriotic thing one could do was not to hate the French, but “according to his talents, according to his tendencies, [to] *do his utmost to increase the culture and development*

<sup>45</sup> *Wilhelm Meister*, I, 236.

<sup>46</sup> *Wilhelm Meister*, II, 146.

<sup>47</sup> *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe*, II, 479.

<sup>48</sup> *Conversations with Eckermann*, 254.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 496.

of the people, to strengthen and widen it on all sides, that the people may not lag behind other peoples, but may become competent for every great action when the day of its glories arrives." <sup>51</sup>

So in these four particulars, in the ideal of culture, in the moral basis of culture, in the emphasis upon harmonious perfection as the centre of culture, in the insistence that labor for culture is the greatest service to one's people, did Arnold, as in his analysis of the critical spirit that is the starting point of culture, find the rudiments of his ideas already worked out in Goethe.

For both men the most powerful agent of this culture is art, particularly literature. In *Literature and Dogma* Arnold quoted with approval Goethe's saying: "He who has art and science has also religion." <sup>52</sup> Obviously this is no holiday "art for art's sake," but a serious art; for Schiller and Goethe, as Lewes declares, "were both profoundly convinced that Art was no luxury of leisure, no mere amusement to charm the idle, or relax the care-worn; but a mighty influence, serious in its aims, although pleasurable in its means. . . . They believed that Culture would raise Humanity to its full powers; and they, as artists, knew no Culture equal to that of Art." <sup>53</sup> For Goethe has much to say of the seriousness of art. "Poetry should be instructive," he writes to Zelter, "but imperceptibly so;" <sup>54</sup> "Art rests upon a kind of religious sense; it is deeply and ineradicably in earnest." <sup>55</sup> Such a view of art is inevitably disastrous to excessive critical toler-

<sup>51</sup> *Life of Goethe*, G. H. Lewes, London, 1890 (quoted Luden's *Rückblicke in Mein Leben*, 113), 520.

<sup>52</sup> *Literature and Dogma*, New York, 1877, 461.

<sup>53</sup> *Life of Goethe*, 387.

<sup>54</sup> *Goethe's Letters to Zelter*, selected and trans. by A. D. Coleridge, London, 1887, 252.

<sup>55</sup> *Maxims*, 174.

ance, particularly when the critic becomes responsible for the direction of effort of less experienced artists. It is not surprising therefore that Goethe in the rôle of director, as in the conversations with Eckermann and the discussions of *Wilhelm Meister*, becomes exclusive. "In poetry, only the really great and pure advances us:"<sup>56</sup> so Eckermann reports his master, and "the truly great," as the eloquent Odoard in *Wilhelm Meister* explains, "raises us above ourselves, and shines before us like a star."<sup>57</sup> Wilhelm Meister, perhaps in reminiscence of Goethe's own *auto-da-fés*, goes farther: "Either a poem is excellent, or it should not be allowed to exist."<sup>58</sup> True, that is more heroic than his usual practice, but he habitually felt what he once put into the mouth of the Marchese in *Wilhelm Meister* that if the author "observe that the world is very easy to be satisfied, requiring but a slight, pleasing, transitory show; it were matter of surprise if indolence and selfishness did not keep him fixed at mediocrity."<sup>59</sup> "Higher aims," as he once said, "are in themselves more valuable even if unfulfilled, than lower ones quite attained."<sup>60</sup> So in his famous three questions, after he asks, "What has the Author undertaken to do?" he goes on to ask of that purpose, "Is it reasonable and judicious?" Perhaps his most extended utterance on the subject is what he told Eckermann: "Taste is only to be educated by contemplation, not of the tolerably good, but of the truly excellent. I, therefore, show you only the best works; and when you are grounded in these, you will have a standard for the rest, which you will know how to

<sup>56</sup> *Conversations with Eckermann*, 522.

<sup>57</sup> *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* (Bell trans.), 387.

<sup>58</sup> *Wilhelm Meister*, I, 68.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 119.

<sup>60</sup> *Maxims*, 175.

value, without overrating them.”<sup>61</sup> There is Matthew Arnold’s famous work for standards in essence.

But that is all very well; just what is Goethe’s idea of the best? His fundamental conception is very much like Aristotle’s: “The highest problem of any art is to produce by appearance the illusion of a higher reality.”<sup>62</sup> It must be clear;<sup>63</sup> it must subordinate individual “singularity” to the interest of life as a whole;<sup>64</sup> it must be normal;<sup>65</sup> it must handle simply a worthy subject;<sup>66</sup> it must bear the mark of art’s indispensable relation to mankind<sup>67</sup>—as Goethe said of Shakespeare’s art, it will make “mankind familiar with itself.”<sup>68</sup> Even in its beauty it will be restrained, for as Goethe asserted in his essay *On the Laocoön*: “When the artist is able to master his sense of beauty and to infuse it into simple objects, the same will shine forth in its highest force and dignity if it manifests its strength in the production of manifold characters and knows how to moderate and restrain, in the imitations of art, the passionate outbursts of human nature.”<sup>69</sup>

Probably Goethe’s most actively centralized exposition of his ideal of the best is his answer to his own question in the essay on *Literary Sansculottism*: “When and where does a classical author appear in a nation? When, in the history of his nation, he meets with great events and their consequences, together making for a propitious and significant unity; when he discerns breadth in the opinions of his countrymen, depth in their feelings, and force and

<sup>61</sup> *Conversations with Eckermann*, 67.

<sup>62</sup> *Autobiography*, I, 422.

<sup>63</sup> *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe*, I, 307.

<sup>64</sup> *Wilhelm Meister*, II, 251.

<sup>65</sup> *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe*, I, 379.

<sup>66</sup> *Autobiography*, I, 237.

<sup>67</sup> *Maxims*, 175.

<sup>68</sup> *Criticisms*, 26.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

consistency in their actions; when he, himself penetrated by the national spirit, feels that his innate genius renders him capable of sympathizing with the past as with the present; when he finds his nation placed upon a high level of culture, so that his own development is rendered easy for him; when he sees before him a large collection of materials in the shape of the perfect or imperfect efforts of his predecessors, and when so many external and internal circumstances coincide, that he has no need to pay heavily for his experience, and is enabled, in the best years of his life, to comprehend some great work, to undertake it and carry it out in the proper order, and to execute it with a single and lofty purpose." <sup>70</sup> There we have one of the most significant conceptions of Arnold's essay on the *Modern Element*, a great work of art adequately expressing a culminating epoch.

We all know where Arnold found the realization of that ideal. Where did Goethe find it? Certainly not in the literature he saw springing up around him in the new century, not in the work of the realists, for Goethe believed that there is "an unlovely, a dissonant principle in nature, with which poetry ought not to meddle; with which it cannot reconcile itself, let the handling of the matter be never so exquisite," <sup>71</sup> not in what in a letter to Zelter he called "the French literature of despair," <sup>72</sup> not in the "self-knowledge of our modern hypochondrists, humorists and self-tormentors," <sup>73</sup> not in Victor Hugo, who, though he had a fine talent, so Goethe told Eckermann, was "quite entangled in the unhappy romantic tendency of his time, by which he is seduced to represent, together with what is

<sup>70</sup> *Criticisms*, 113.

<sup>71</sup> *Characteristics of Goethe*, II, 2.

<sup>72</sup> *Goethe's Letters to Zelter*, 453.

<sup>73</sup> *Maxims*, 161.

beautiful, also that which is most insupportable and hideous.”<sup>74</sup> Indeed, I think the revolt against the extremes of Romanticism, whether we find it in Arnold, or in Sainte-Beuve, or in Mr. Irving Babbitt, may be in one aspect at least traced to Goethe. The impression this aspect of Goethe’s criticism of letters and of life made on Arnold may be gauged by the sentence Arnold culled from Joubert and presented as worthy of Goethe: “With the fever of the senses, the delirium of the passions, the weakness of the spirit; with the storms of the passing time and with the great scourges of human life,—hunger, thirst, dishonor, diseases and death,—authors may as long as they like go on making novels which shall harrow our hearts; but the soul says all the while, ‘You hurt me.’”<sup>75</sup>

It was not to the modern but to the ancient world that Goethe, like Arnold, sent the man who wished to learn what great literature is. As he said, “To the several pervertities of the day a man should always oppose only the great masses of universal history.”<sup>76</sup> So “most modern productions are romantic, not because they are new, but because they are weak, morbid, and sickly; and the antique is classic, not because it is old, but because it is strong, fresh, joyous, and healthy.”<sup>77</sup> So he advised Eckermann: “One should not study contemporaries and competitors, but the great men of antiquity, whose works have, for centuries, received equal homage and consideration. . . . Let us study Molière, let us study Shakespeare, but above all things, the old Greeks, and always the Greeks.”<sup>78</sup> And in another context he once said: “Of all peoples, the

<sup>74</sup> *Conversations with Eckermann*, 556.

<sup>75</sup> *Essays in Criticism*, II, “Joubert.”

<sup>76</sup> *Maxims*, 113.

<sup>77</sup> *Conversations with Eckermann*, 386.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 236.

Greeks have dreamt the dream of life the best." <sup>79</sup> Of the Greeks he writes everywhere with unfailing enthusiasm, for he found that: "In the presence of antiquity the mind that is susceptible to art and poetry feels itself placed in the most pleasing ideal state of nature, and even to this day the Homeric hymns have the power of freeing us, at any rate, for moments, from the frightful burden which the tradition of several thousand years has rolled upon us." <sup>80</sup> In this respect more than in any other did Goethe reveal his passion for the lasting: "The fashion of this world passeth away; and I would fain occupy myself only with the abiding." <sup>81</sup> That is the Goethe with whom Matthew Arnold would end.

So in these three things: in the principle that all literary effort should be directed and judged by the standard of the excellent, in the conception of that excellent, in the teaching that that ideal was best to be found in the masterpieces of classical antiquity, Arnold found his literary program in Goethe.

In view of Arnold's wide and varied reading, and intimate contact with many currents of influence, to say nothing of his creative powers, it would be absurd to say that he owed all his critical and cultural program to Goethe. But, since Arnold so consistently regarded Goethe as the modern thinker who had best handled what we may call the "modern problem"; since the adequate handling of the modern problem was the objective of all Arnold's critical writings; since in those writings Goethe was the modern authority to whom the author appealed most frequently; since Goethe had already marked out the main lines

<sup>79</sup> *Maxims*, 99.

<sup>80</sup> *Maxims*, 162.

<sup>81</sup> *Mixed Essays*, "A French Critic on Goethe."

of Arnold's program, it is just to say that with respect to the critical spirit, to the ideal of culture, to the principle that all art should be judged and directed by the standard of the excellent, to the belief that that excellent is best found in the literature of antiquity, principles controlling all his work, Matthew Arnold owed the general direction and setting up of his ideas to Goethe.

HELEN C. WHITE.

## XXII.—THE CALUMNY OF APELLES IN THE LITERATURE OF THE QUATTROCENTO<sup>1</sup>

### I

In Florence, in the Uffizi Gallery, is the famous painting by Botticelli entitled *La Calunnia d'Apelle*. The picture shows several allegorical figures dramatically grouped and exquisitely colored against a background of classical arcades looking upon a distant sea. The exact date of this picture is not known, but Horne,<sup>2</sup> the greatest authority on the life and works of Botticelli, places it about 1494. It is the object of this paper to trace the theme of the Calumny of Apelles from its origin in classical antiquity to the time of Botticelli, noting particularly the literary manifestations to which it gave rise in Florence in the Quattrocento.

The very title of Botticelli's painting gives its source as Apelles. We know very little about the famous painter<sup>3</sup> who lived about the second half of the fourth century before Christ. Since none of his works has survived, we can judge of him only through the reports of ancient writ-

<sup>1</sup> I wish at the outset to thank heartily my friend and colleague, Ernest H. Wilkins, for generously suggesting this study. My thanks are also due to Professors H. W. Prescott, A. Noe and Dr. Offner for valuable indications, and most of all to my mother for constant help.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Horne, *Sandro Botticelli*, London, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> For a curious account of the life and work of Apelles, painstakingly gleaned from Pliny, Lucian and others, see Carlo Dati, *Vite de' Pittori Antichi, in Firenze nella Stamperia della Stella 1667, e di nuovo in Napoli per Francesco Ricciardo MDCCXXX*, pp. 76 to 148. Dati's account is taken also from a translation of Lucian's *Dialogue On Slander* done by G. B. Adriani in his letter to Vasari. See Dati, p. 128, Note xx. See also J. D. Champlin and C. C. Perkins, *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings*, which gives for Apelles the exact dates, 352-308 B. C.



THE CALUMNY OF APELLES BY BOTTICELLI



ers. One of these, indeed one of the most illustrious of them, Lucian of Samosata, reports, in his Dialogue *On Calumny*, having actually seen a picture on this subject by Apelles. Because no other historians mention this picture, some scholars have doubted its existence, and accuse Lucian of inventing both the story and the description. Without undertaking to decide this question, it is sufficient for our present purpose to observe that from this Dialogue of Lucian, scholars agree, all subsequent interpretations of the Calumny derive.

Let me first give the legend which was, according to Lucian, the occasion for Apelles' picture, and then Lucian's description of the picture itself.

It seems that Apelles by his extraordinary skill had incurred the bitter enmity of one of his rivals, Antiphilis, who thereupon sought revenge by slanderously accusing Apelles of fostering the revolt of Tyre as an accomplice of Theodotas, Ptolemy's Governor of Phoenicia. At this revelation Ptolemy became so enraged that he was on the point of having Apelles immediately put to death, and would undoubtedly have done so had not one of the friends of Apelles spoken up for the slandered painter, proving that Apelles could in no possible way be connected with such a rebellion. The slanderer was duly punished by being sold into slavery; Ptolemy made amends for his unjust suspicion and rage, but Apelles, still indignant at such unfounded and almost fatal injustice, determined to avenge himself on his stupid monarch by painting an allegorical picture setting forth Calumny at work on the King, who is represented as having the ears of an ass.

Now this story is apocryphal, as Apelles must have been in his grave nearly a hundred years when Theodotus (not

Theodotas) betrayed Ptolemy Philopator (219 B. C.).<sup>4</sup> Just how the story became attached to the painting of Apelles is, I believe, unknown, and it would indeed be difficult to establish the exact circumstances of the birth of this legend more than two thousand years old and so obscure. Yet the process by which a plausible story became legendarily established as the actual source of a work of art is very humanly natural, and is found not rarely in the lore of the arts. The origin of this legend, however, has no immediate bearing on our particular study. The important fact is that this legend was taken for granted by Lucian, through whose report both the legend and a description of Apelles' picture were transmitted to posterity. Before examining just how this was done, let me give Lucian's description of the picture of Apelles, which I take from Professor Harmon's translation:<sup>5</sup>

"On the right of it sits a man with very large ears, almost like those of Midas, extending his hand to Slander while she is still at some distance from him. Near him, on one side, stand two women—Ignorance, I think, and Suspicion. On the other side, Slander is coming up, a woman beautiful beyond measure, but full of passion and excitement, evincing as she does fury and wrath by carrying in her left hand a blazing torch and with the other dragging by the hair a young man who stretches out his hands to heaven and calls the gods to witness his innocence. She is conducted by a pale ugly man who has a piercing eye and looks as if he had wasted away in long

<sup>4</sup> *Lucian, with an English Translation by A. M. Harmon*, London and New York, 1913, I, 363, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Harmon's translation is splendidly accurate. I am indebted to Professor Gordon J. Laing for examining it.

illness; he may be supposed to be Envy. Besides, there are two women in attendance on Slander, egging her on, tiring her and tricking her out. According to the interpretation of them given me by the guide to the picture, one was Treachery and the other Deceit. They were followed by a woman dressed in deep mourning, with black clothes all in tatters—Repentance, I think, her name was. At all events, she was turning back with tears in her eyes and casting a stealthy glance, full of shame, at Truth, who was approaching."

Putting off, momentarily, a careful comparison of this description of the picture by Apelles with the interpretation of the same subject by Botticelli, let us note at once that the similarity between the two treatments is obvious, and let us first investigate how the writings of Lucian reached the Italy of Botticelli.

Lucian's works were among the first Greek writings to reach Italy in that early part of the Renaissance, so conspicuous for the research work done by the humanists, who feverishly sought the hitherto unknown Greek authors, translated them, brought them to Italy, and through Italy gave them again to the world. One of the foremost of these Italian bibliophiles was Guarino Guarini of Verona. We can actually say that Guarini very probably was the first scholar of the West to discover the *Dialogue of Lucian On Slander*, and certainly the first to translate it into Latin and to introduce it into Italy. Indeed, we can even go farther and say that it was the work of Guarini's youth, and one of his very first translations from the Greek, if not the very first.

In fact, in a letter of the year 1416 to Bartolomeo da Montepulciano, Guarini called this work his first attempt: "haec ipsa latina feci Calumniam Luciani, brevem sane

opusculum in quo prima posui tyrocinia.”<sup>6</sup> Let us note also that this “opusculum” was dedicated by Guarini to G. Querini, to whom it was sent “a longinqua regione.”<sup>7</sup> We must now glance briefly at the chronology of Guarini’s life in order to establish approximately the date of his translation.

We know with certainty that he died on the fourth of December, 1460.<sup>8</sup> From this date scholars have calculated the probable date of his birth, which Sabbadini, the greatest student of Guarini, places in 1374. Accepting this date as very probably correct, the second fact we must establish is: When did Guarini go on his scholarly expedition to Constantinople? Förster stated that it must have been soon after 1395, coming to this conclusion from the fact that Chrysoloras was in Italy about 1394 and that Guarini is known to have accompanied Chrysoloras on the latter’s return to Constantinople. But Förster’s conclusion is erroneous.<sup>9</sup> To be sure, Manuel Chrysoloras,<sup>10</sup>

\* Richard Förster, *Die Verläumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance*, in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VIII, 1887, p. 32, note 1. Note that Förster obtained much of his information from C. Rosmini, *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese*, II, pp. 130, 133; and from R. Sabbadini, *Guarino Veronese e il suo epistolario*, Salerno, 1885, p. 33, n. 329 A. The text of Guarini’s letter was taken from Cod. Vatic. 3155, fol. 48r-50.

<sup>7</sup> R. Sabbadini, *La Scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese (con 44 Documenti)*, Catania, 1896, p. 125 and note 1 referring to Bandini, *Catalog. Cod. Lat. III*, p. 646. Let us observe that this second volume by Sabbadini on Guarini, which brings so much new critical material to the understanding of the Veronese humanist, was published nine years after Förster’s above-mentioned study.

<sup>8</sup> Sabbadini, *La Scuola*, pp. 1, 2, from which I gather my subsequent data on Guarini.

<sup>9</sup> The same mistake was made by Carbone, and by Rosmini, and is due to insufficient data on the life of Chrysoloras, data now permanently secured by Sabbadini. See both his *La Scuola*, p. 10, particu-

(not John, his nephew) was sent on a political mission to Venice to ask for help against the Turks; he was certainly in Venice in February, 1396, and returned to Constantinople in the summer of 1396, whence he was invited to come back to Italy to teach Greek in Florence. Accepting this invitation Chrysoloras traveled to Florence, where he certainly was February 2, 1397. He remained there three years, leaving on March 10, 1400, taught as many more in Pavia, and in 1403 traveled with Guarino from Bologna to Venice and thence, in the retinue of the Greek emperor, returned to Constantinople. It was on this the second return trip of Chrysoloras, not on the first, that Guarini accompanied him, remaining in the East from 1403 to 1408. It was very probably some time during the year 1408 that Guarini returned to Italy, landing in Venice.<sup>11</sup> It is concerning this trip that a story was current to the effect that when Guarini lost one of his boxes of Greek manuscripts on the voyage, his hair turned absolutely white with grief over night. Unfortunately this legend, so charmingly typical of humanistic enthusiasm, has also been proved apocryphal.<sup>12</sup> However, the translation of Lucian's Dialogue *On Calumny* into Latin, of which translation, as we have seen, there remains a record, was made by Guarini certainly between 1403 and 1408. Moreover, since this translation was made while Guarini was in the East where he discovered

larly note 3 in which he refers to his article: *L'ultimo ventennio della vita di Manuele Crisolora*, in *Giornale Ligustico*, xvii, 1890; and his *Le Scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci nei Secoli XIV e XV*, Firenze, 1905, especially pp. 43 ff.

<sup>10</sup> For Manuel Chrysoloras see R. Sabbadini, *L'ultimo ventennio* (see note 9).

<sup>11</sup> Sabbadini, *La Scuola*, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Sabbadini, *La Scuola*, p. 13.

and sent it to his friend, "ex longinqua regione;" and since this was one of his very first attempts, and since there is documentary proof that Guarini was actually in Constantinople both in 1406<sup>13</sup> and 1408, it must have been made between 1406 and 1408.

Let us note here that, very soon after his return from the East, Guarini became established in Florence. The chair of Greek had been filled, I repeat, by Manuel Chrysoloras from 1397 to 1400. In 1404 the Studio Fiorentino had been suppressed on account of war, and was not re-established until 1412.<sup>14</sup> But already in 1410 Guarini had been called to Florence to teach Greek privately, and did so until 1413, when he became the official professor of Greek in the recently reopened Studio Fiorentino, a position that he held until his departure for Venice in July, 1414.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, we have another detail of interest concerning his stay in Florence: that upon his arrival in that city in 1410 he deposited his books, as a Florentine historian tells us, in the house of Antonio Corbinelli.<sup>16</sup> These smaller details are mentioned to make clear when Guarini, and with him his knowledge of the Greek language and literature, and his translation of Lucian's Dialogue *On Calumny*, made in Constantinople, became known in the scholarly circles of Florence, which was already the very center of humanistic fervor.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>16</sup> Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1905, p. 52. Sabbadini obtained this information from Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Vite d'uomini illustri del Secolo XV*, II, 230. Da Bisticci (1421-1498), a transcriber and bookseller of Florence, is generally considered a very honest chronicler of the Florentine humanists. Sabbadini wrote two volumes, each with the title as above, one published in 1905 and the other in 1914. In referring to them henceforth I shall say: Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte*, 1905 or 1914, as the case may be.

But though Guarini was apparently the first man to translate and to bring back from the East Lucian's *Calumny*, and therefore the most important of the early humanists in connection with our particular study, he was by no means the only humanist who made literary use of Lucian's Dialogue. Förster, in his two studies,<sup>17</sup> mentioned several others, whom I must now examine in order to establish two points; first: which among them by importation or translation actually helped to diffuse Lucian's Dialogue *On Calumny*; secondly the date at which such diffusion began.

After Guarini, the humanists of the XVth century enumerated by Förster are: Aurispa, Lapo Birago da Castiglionchio, Filelfo, Accolti, Bartolomeo della Fonte, Poggio, Rinuccio da Castiglione, Bordo. I will consider each of these very briefly, because we must remember that once an important text had become known in a circle of fervent scholars such as the one that centered around the Studio Fiorentino, it was likely to spread in an ever increasing number of copies and versions; and secondly because, as we shall see, as the dates of the versions subsequent to Guarini's advance toward the end of the Quattrocento, they lose in importance in relation to our particular quest.

1. Giovanni Aurispa (?1372-1460) was one of the most illustrious and eager bibliophiles of the Quattrocento. He collected during his life some seven hundred manuscripts, but in his will enumerated only a hundred and thirty-

<sup>17</sup> Heretofore I have only mentioned Förster's article on *The Calumny of Apelles*, 1887 (see my note 6), to which I shall refer as Förster, *Verläumdung*. The year before he had written *Lucian in der Renaissance*, in *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1886, xiv Band, pp. 337-363, to which I shall refer as Förster, *Lucian*. See Förster, *Verläumdung*, pp. 31 ff.; and *Lucian*, p. 356, n. 3.

five, probably because he had sold the others. Among these hundred and thirty-five, no Lucian was mentioned. However, Aurispa certainly did go to Constantinople for the first time between 1405 and 1413,<sup>18</sup> that is to say about the same time as Guarini, and brought back a few codices. In 1421 some of these were still in his possession, about ten, of which a list has come down to us, but among these no Lucian is mentioned. On his second trip to Constantinople, which took place between 1421 and 1423, he gathered some three hundred volumes. The list of the principal mss. in this collection is contained in letters from Aurispa to Traversari and does include Lucian. Aurispa translated a few Lucianic Opuscula into Latin, and among them two Dialogues; in 1425 the Dialogue *On the Superiority of the Captains of Antiquity*, and about 1432 the Dialogue *On Friendship*.<sup>19</sup> We may therefore conclude that Aurispa brought Lucianic texts from the East on his second return from Constantinople in 1423, that he did translate two of Lucian's Dialogues, but not, so far as we can ascertain, the Dialogue *On Calumny*.

2. Lapo da Castiglionchio should by no means be confused, as was apparently done by Förster, with a certain Lapo or Lappo or Lampo (Lampugnino) Birago, nor with Lapo da Castiglionchio Senior.<sup>20</sup> The latter, who died in 1391, was one of the very earliest Florentine humanists,

<sup>18</sup> Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte*, 1905, pp. 46, 47. See also Förster, *Lucian*, p. 356, n. 1 and 3 and *Verläumdung*, p. 31, n. 3.

<sup>19</sup> For Aurispa see Sabbadini, *Biografia documentata di Giovanni Aurispa*, Noto, 1890, and for Aurispa's translations from Lucian, p. 31, n. 1 and p. 62, n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> F. P. Luiso, *Studi su l'epistolario e le traduzioni di Lapo da Castiglionchio Juniore*, in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, VII, 1899, p. 205.

and a friend of Petrarch, to whom he gave, in 1350, four Orations of Cicero and the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian.<sup>21</sup> This Lapo could not possibly have been acquainted with Lucian's works, not even had they, as has been proved to be untrue, been imported by Guarini on a trip taken to Constantinople with Chrysoloras' first return East in 1397, that is to say, six years after Lapo's death. The grandson, however, of this Lapo is the bibliophile with whom we are concerned. He is Lapo da Castiglionechio Junior (1405-1438), who translated several of Lucian's writings, and among them the Dialogue *On Calumny*. This was done, according to the dates given by Förster, possibly before 1435, and according to Luiso, between 1436 and 1438, the latter being the year of Lapo Junior's death.<sup>22</sup> Luiso in establishing this date also notes that this Lucianic opusculum had already been translated by Guarini. Lapo achieved, during the last years of his life, a remarkable reputation for accuracy and elegance in translation. This fact, coupled with the growing importance in which Lucian was held in the Quattrocento, explains the number of manuscript copies of Lapo's trans-

<sup>21</sup> Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte*, 1905, p. 26 and p. 27, n. 22; and *Le Scoperte*, 1914, p. 168. See also P. De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, Paris, 1892, pp. 184, 216, 283.

<sup>22</sup> Förster, *Verläumdung*, p. 31, n. 4; Luiso, *op. cit.*, p. 283, n. 1. See also G. Pansa, *Giovanni Quatrario di Sulmona*, Sulmona, 1912, pp. 167, n. 3, 178-180. Lapo's life was first written by L. Mehus, *Lapo da Castiglionechio. Epistola ossia Ragionamento, colla vita del medesimo*, Bologna, Coriolani, 1753, then by Colle, *Storia scientifico-letteraria dello Studio di Padova*, Padova, 1824-25, vol. III; then by A. Gloria, *Monumenti della Università di Padova*, Venezia, 1884, vol. I, p. 329, n. 929. The country house of Lapo's family, situated in the hills about ten miles east of Florence, is still called Castiglionechio, though only one tower of the old villa is left. There is still a tradition that Petrarch visited this place in order to obtain from Lapo Senior some Latin texts.

lation. Among these may doubtless be counted the copy examined by Förster himself from the Hamilton-Berlin codices.

3. Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), the fourth humanist who traveled to Constantinople in search of manuscripts, went in 1420 and did not return until 1427.<sup>23</sup> That he brought back Lucian is attested by a letter of his dated June 13th, 1428, and addressed to Traversari, in which he mentions "aliqui sermones Luciani."<sup>24</sup> We may then conclude about Filelfo that though he may have imported, among works of Lucian, the Dialogue *On Calumny*, he could not have brought it to Italy before 1427; also that there is no evidence of his having made actually a translation of the Dialogue in question.

4. Francesco Accolti, a prominent jurist of Arezzo, was born in 1418. Förster calls attention to Accolti's translation of the *Calumny*, which is attested by four manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> Now since, after all, it is the chronology of these Lucianic translations that particularly concerns us, let us note that Accolti was born at least ten years after Guarini had made the first translation of the *Calumny*, and at least eight years after Guarini, by coming to Florence, had had the opportunity of making his text known in that city. Accolti's translation of Lucian's *Calumny*, then, can hardly have been made before 1435, when the author was barely seventeen years old. Indeed we may conjecture that it was done very much later, because there was actually printed in Nürnberg, probably in 1475, a volume of works erroneously attributed to Diogenes the Cynic, containing Lucian's *Calumny*, translated into

<sup>23</sup> Förster, *Verläumdung*, p. 31; Förster, *Lucian*, p. 356, n. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Förster, *Lucian*, p. 356, n. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Förster, *Verläumdung*, pp. 31 and 36, n. 1 and *Lucian*, p. 356, n. 3.

Latin by Francesco Accolti.<sup>26</sup> Förster was apparently unaware of this edition. If we should assume that Accolti's translation was made for this edition, it might plausibly be dated about 1470-1475.

5. Bartolommeo Della Fonte (1445-1513) is known to have translated Lucian's Dialogue *On Calumny* and to have dedicated his work to Ercole Duca di Ferrara.<sup>27</sup> As the reign of this duke extended from 1471 to 1505, it would be difficult indeed to know in what year the translation and dedication took place, had not Förster discovered in the "libro della guardaroba di Ercole I," under the date July 26th, 1472, recorded: *libreto uno piccolo in carta bona vulgare in pruosa Scripto e miniato alantiqua cum certe figure depinte Sup una de le custodie chiamato Bertolamio fontio de Calomnina lutiani . . .* We may, then, without hesitation, date this translation 1472.

6. Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) was the dean and the genius of Renaissance book-discoverers. He traveled much to France, England, Germany and Switzerland, but not to the east.<sup>28</sup> According to two manuscripts consulted by Förster there exists a translation by Poggio of Lucian's *Asinus*.<sup>29</sup> So far as the *Calumny* is concerned, therefore, we may exclude him from our list. It is difficult to give the date of Poggio's *Asinus*, and for us unnecessary. However, Poggio's great book-seeking activity

<sup>26</sup> *Catalogue of British Museum*, sub Diogenes, The Cynic: *Ad beatissimū . . . dominū Pium Secundū . . . in Diogenis philosophi epistolas francisci Aretini prefacio*. (With the text, translated into Latin by F. Accoltus Aretinus—fol. 16) (Lautiani ōro de Calumnia e greco in latinuz a Francisco Aretino traducta, etc., Fridericus Creussner, Nurmberge, (1475?).

<sup>27</sup> Förster, *Verläumdung*, p. 36; Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte*, 1905, pp. 150, 151.

<sup>28</sup> Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte*, 1905, pp. 77-84.

<sup>29</sup> Förster, *Lucian*, p. 356, n. 3.

took him on the first of his four journeys in 1415. In 1416, on his second tour, he went to explore the collection of the monastery of St. Gall in the company of Bartolomeo da Montepulciano, the very man to whom, as we have seen, Guarini addressed the first translation of the *Calumny*. It is possible, then, that Poggio's work on Lucian may have been indirectly suggested by Guarini, through Bartolomeo. This, however, is merely conjectural.

7. Rinuccio da Castiglione of Arezzo certainly did travel East and returned with Aurispa in 1423, bringing back several volumes. Among these was a Lucian, from which he translated certain dialogues, the *Charon*, for instance, but not the *Calumny*.<sup>30</sup>

8. The last of the humanists in Förster's list is Bordo. Förster gives him as the first editor of Lucian's *Dialogi et opuscula*, which, he says, were first printed by Simone Bevilaqua in Venice on the twenty-fifth of August, 1494; then by Ulderico Scincenzeler, Milan, 1497; and by Johannis Baptista Sessa, Venice, 1500.<sup>31</sup> As a matter of fact, we have seen that the *Calumny* had already been published in Germany.<sup>32</sup>

To this first list, which we have now exhausted, might be added two minor names omitted by Förster. Among the manuscripts of Francesco Barbaro which existed in the monastery of San Michele at Murano there was a Lucian which had been sent to Barbaro by Giovanni Simeonachi, protopope of Candia.<sup>33</sup> Let us note that this protopope was a teacher and a correspondent of Rinuccio da Castiglione,<sup>34</sup> and that Francesco Barbaro was a pupil

<sup>30</sup> Förster, *Lucian*, p. 356, n. 3; Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte*, 1905, p. 49.

<sup>31</sup> Förster, *Verläumdung*, p. 31, n. 4.

<sup>32</sup> See my note 26.

<sup>33</sup> Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte*, 1905, pp. 63, 64.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

of Guarini in Venice between 1414 and 1418,<sup>35</sup> from whom he probably acquired both knowledge of Greek and eagerness in collecting codices. But there is no actual evidence that Barbaro translated the *Calumny*. The second additional name is that of Francesco Griffolini, who actually translated the opusculum *On Calumny*, and dedicated it to John Tiptoft, Count of Worcester, about 1460.<sup>36</sup>

Recapitulating, then, and leaving aside the various incunabula which contained Lucian's *Calumny*, let us make a chronological list of those among our humanists who actually imported or translated Lucian's Dialogue *On Calumny*. They are:

1. Guarino Guarini, 1406-1408.
2. Lapo da Castiglionchio, 1436-1438.
3. Francesco Accolti, 1435-1475, probably 1470-1475.
4. Francesco Griffolini, 1460.

Even from this all too brief examination of the humanists who revived Lucian in the Quattrocento we may draw a few conclusions. First we may say that Guarino Guarini of Verona seems certainly to have been the first discoverer, importer and translator of Lucian's Dialogue *On Calumny*,<sup>37</sup> and secondly that, owing to the fact that his stay in Florence, where he held such an important scholarly position, so closely followed his trip to the East, he was apparently the first humanist to make known in the erudite circles of Florence the Lucianic Dialogue in question;

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 64.

<sup>36</sup> Luiso, *op. cit.*, p. 285, who refers to G. Mancini, *Francesco Griffolini . . .*, Firenze, 1890, p. 30 ff. For the humanism of John Tiptoft see Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1902.

<sup>37</sup> Horne, not having gone deeply into the Lucianic question, does not mention the initiative of Guarini. See his p. 257.

thirdly, that, as the humanistic fervor increased in Italy, and particularly in Florence, the most prominent of the humanists, such bibliophiles as Aurispa, Filelfo, Accolti, and Poggio, all took a hand at the diffusion of Lucianic lore, some of them being especially attracted to the Calumny of Apelles, which they again rendered into Latin.<sup>38</sup> By the middle, therefore, of the Quattrocento, Lucian's *Calumny* was fairly well known among Florentine scholars, and those in touch with Florentine scholarship. Purposely I make this a rather cautious statement because the ramifications of scholarly fervor, the epistolae between bibliophiles and the exchanges of books, the translations and transcriptions, were so very numerous and complex, that it is bafflingly difficult, especially at this distance, to follow in such a labyrinth any one item of research. The conclusions now reached, however, corroborating the statements made at the beginning of this study, permit us to pass on to the next link in the chain between Apelles and Botticelli.

## II

The man who linked the greatest painter of ancient Greece with the greatest painter of the Quattrocento, also served, in this instance, to link Lucian with Florentine art of the Renaissance. I am referring to one of the most versatile of the Florentines, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), artist, writer, architect, teacher, scientist, human-

<sup>38</sup> Two little studies on Lucian should here be mentioned, though they do not make any valuable contributions to the subject: N. Caccia, *Luciano nel 400 in Italia, le rappresentazioni e le figurazioni*, Firenze, 1907; and, by the same, *Note su la fortuna di Luciano nel Rinascimento, le versioni e i dialoghi satirici di Erasmo da Rotterdam e di Ulrico Hutten*, Milano, 1914.

ist, who was the first to give an Italian version of Lucian's *Calumny*. In fact in his *Trattato della Pittura*, while discussing the craftsmanship of composition in painting and the intimate relationship between poets and painters, he gives as an example a description of the Calumny of Apelles, mentioning Lucian as his authority. Alberti wrote his treatise first in Latin in 1434, and then made an Italian version of it in the subsequent year.<sup>39</sup>

Concerning Alberti's version of Lucian's *Calumny*, Förster made a significant discovery. By a careful comparison of three versions: Guarini's Latin, Alberti's Latin and Alberti's Italian translations, and of these three with Lucian's original Greek, Förster established that Alberti certainly had Guarini's translation before him when he wrote his book. In fact, Guarini's translation from the Greek was not literal, and certain variants of his were reproduced almost verbatim by Alberti.<sup>40</sup>

Now Alberti's book surely became one of the standard texts, indeed the most important, on the technique of painting, and, as Horne says,<sup>41</sup> "to this allusion of Alberti's were due the many attempts which were made in Italy, during the latter half of the fifteenth and the earlier part of the sixteenth century, to restore from Lucian's description the lost composition of Apelles." And this opinion is shared by Venturi, the most renowned and most reliable

<sup>39</sup> This fact was assumed by Janitschek, *Alberti's Kunsttheorie*, in *Schriften*, p. 111, in opposition to Bonucci, and later proved by Förster, *Verläumdung*, p. 32.

<sup>40</sup> Förster, *Verläumdung*, p. 33. As Lapo was in correspondence with Alberti, and dedicated to him some of his translations, we might even conjecture that one of these two humanists may have inspired the other to include Lucian in his work.

<sup>41</sup> Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

Italian art critic of today,<sup>42</sup> by Förster<sup>43</sup> and by Schulze.<sup>44</sup> The last two go farther and assert that the numerous pictures of the Calumny of Apelles, though probably suggested by Alberti's Tractate, all go back either to Lucian's original text or to a translation of it. In other words, such was the humanistic eagerness for knowledge and for research in the lore of antiquity, that even artists, including not only painters and sculptors, but designers, metal-chisellers, wood-carvers, and later, publishers, were likely not to be contented with a quaint legend of Lucian found in Alberti's text book on artistic technique, which was certainly familiar to them, but would naturally seek the sources of his text, and if they could not understand Greek, would at least go back to reliable translations into Latin. Thus among the artists as well as among the bibliophiles the *Calumny* of Lucian became known, and tempted several to reproduce the famous allegory of Apelles. In this attempt Botticelli was not the first. For the pictorial development of the *Calumny* I must refer to Förster,<sup>45</sup> who has meticulously examined miniatures in the Hamilton manuscripts, a famous drawing by Mantegna, paintings by Francia Bigio in the Pitti Gallery, and by an unknown painter at Nîmes, and finally a drawing by Raphael now in the Louvre. To Förster's list Horne added an interesting little item. He found that in the inventory of the goods of Lorenzo il Magnifico, taken at the time of his death in 1492, are enumerated four stained cloths, one

<sup>42</sup> A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, Milano, Hoepli, 1911, VII, p. 629.

<sup>43</sup> Förster, *Verläumdung*, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>44</sup> Paul Schulze, *Lucian in der Literatur und Kunst der Renaissance* in *Bericht über das Schuljahr*, Ostern, 1905, bis Ostern, 1906, Dessau, 1906, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Förster, *Verläumdung*.

of which was painted "colla storia della Calunnia."<sup>46</sup> This story, then, which was resurrected from Greek antiquity by the initiative of Guarini, and by him introduced into Florence, became, by being included in Alberti's Tractate, the property not only of bibliophiles but of artists, who, during the second half of the Quattrocento gave it expression in several ways, and led up to its final, superb expression in the painting by Botticelli, done about 1494.

Now concerning Botticelli's interpretation and its source, one authority does not hesitate to say about Sandro Botticelli:<sup>47</sup> "Ce fut son ami Léon Battiste Alberti qui lui fit connaître, par sa transcription du texte de Lucian, le tableau perdu d'Apelle, la Calomnie." Of course it is inconceivable that Botticelli should not have been thoroughly familiar with Alberti's book. Botticelli was also a scholar. He, also, was imbued with the humanistic craving for research, and this very picture shows conclusively that, not satisfied with Alberti's version of Lucian, he must have consulted Lucian's original, if not in Greek, in a Latin translation. In fact, as Horne notes, Botticelli "represents, on the right of the composition, the judge, or prince, with ears almost as large as Midas's, stretching out his hand towards the figure of Calumny, in accordance with Lucian's description," but "the allusion to Midas and the gesture of the prince have been omitted by Alberti."<sup>48</sup> "In designing the group of figures which approach the throne, Botticelli, however, would seem to have had in mind Alberti's description. Calumny, the central figure of the group, is represented as a woman most

<sup>46</sup> Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

<sup>47</sup> André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1908, III, p. 686 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

beautiful to look upon, but in countenance callous beyond measure through cunning; not as Lucian describes her, full of anger and resentment."<sup>49</sup> These details would be sufficient evidence of Botticelli's knowledge of Lucian, but there is still another proof. If you will observe carefully the setting of the picture, the classical arcades, you will find them very minutely ornamented with large statues in niches, and with low-reliefs at the foot of the piers, at the spring of the arches, and in the arches themselves. These purely decorative panels represent a variety of scenes which seem to "have been taken indifferently from sacred and profane story."<sup>50</sup> They contain such a variety of subjects as: Judith and Holofernes, St. George, David and Goliath, perhaps even St. Paul, Apollo and Daphne, Hercules and Lichas, Mutius Scaevola, and a tale out of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, the famous story of Anastagio degli Onesti (*Dec.* V. 8). This mixture is typical of the Florentine Quattrocento, so eagerly absorbed in classical mythology, in Christian myth, in local lore. But on the pace of the King's throne there is a singularly interesting relief of a centaur and his family. The subject of this particular group is a very careful attempt to reconstruct a painting made in antiquity, lost, and reported by Lucian as the Calumny of Apelles, namely the painting by Zeuxis.<sup>51</sup> A comparison between Lucian's description and Botticelli's little panel beneath the throne reveals the fact that Botticelli followed word for word Lucian's description. Botticelli, therefore, knew his Lucian directly. And let us remember that in order to consult Lucian he may not even have needed to delve into the

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Lucian, *Zeuxis*, Sec. 3; Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 261. For Zeuxis also see Carlo Dati (cf. my note 3).

manuscript versions and translations of the Greek, because a printed edition of Lucian appeared in Florence in the year 1494—the very year in which Botticelli is supposed to have painted his Calumny of Apelles. Moreover, let us note that the assumption that Botticelli, in all probability, first received the suggestion of the subject from Alberti's Tractate, is not overthrown by the fact that Botticelli consulted his Lucian. In connection with Alberti, in fact, it is interesting to see that one of the subjects chosen by Botticelli in an earlier painting, The Three Graces (which is part of his famous "Spring"), had not only been mentioned in Alberti's book, but actually recommended as an excellent subject for a painting. This subject Alberti himself had taken from Seneca's *De Beneficiis*, from which he quoted.<sup>52</sup> And finally this was not even the first time that Botticelli had sought inspiration from Apelles. In fact, his exquisite Birth of Venus is supposed to have been suggested directly by the *Stanze per la Giostra* of Politian, who "intended to describe the lost painting of Venus Anadyomene, by Apelles."<sup>53</sup> Indeed it was very natural that as humanism brought to the literary a new worship for the literature of classic antiquity, it should likewise bring to artists a similar worship for the art of classic antiquity. Botticelli's humanism often caused him to deviate from sacred subjects to classic myth. For at that early period of the Renaissance profane subjects were rarely taken by painters for big pictures. There were special shops devoted entirely to profane pictures, which were used for profane uses, such as bed-panels, cassoni, birth plates, marriage-salvers, etc. Great painters very seldom used these forms as long as

<sup>52</sup> Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

religious subjects had the greater opportunity of monumental representation. Thus this profane art became more commercial. Botticelli and Piero di Cosimo were exceptional in their use of profane subjects for grand paintings. Botticelli's *Calumny*, though not a very large picture, is great in intention, in treatment, in its abundance of important detail and in beauty. And also, from the purely esthetic, I would almost say temperamental, point of view, discounting for a moment the fervor of humanism that filled Florence at that time, Botticelli was at heart "re-animate Greek," as Ruskin called him, and his works are "more nearly in the spirit of Greek art than anything which Florentine painting had as yet produced."<sup>54</sup> Whether Botticelli actually knew Greek is a matter of doubt. He certainly used a Greek inscription beneath one of his pictures, *The Nativity* (1500), a fact that does not prove his knowledge of the language, particularly as the inscription, done in uncial characters, is very obscure.<sup>55</sup> Though Botticelli received only an elementary education, beginning very early to work in a painter's shop, his works show many other unmistakable sources in the classics, in the Latin, for instance, of Lucretius, Livy and Valerius Maximus, corroborating the fact that he became in general culture a thorough humanist.

Furthermore, if we study Botticelli's work as a whole, we shall observe how fond he was of allegorical treatment. This might also account, to some extent, for his selection of the *Calumny* subject, taking his pattern from Apelles, who is reported as being the greatest and indeed actually the first to express allegory in pictorial art.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294, which contains a complete discussion of the inscription.

Finally, as all artists must, even in giving life to a subject of remote antiquity, express the time and the place in which they breathe, and the inner mood of their spirit, is it not permissible to give a rapid glance at the season in which this picture of Botticelli was created, and see if the days that surrounded him did not give occasion to such a subject, making its pessimistic message opportune? In April, 1492, Lorenzo il Magnifico, Botticelli's patron, had died. This was a catastrophe for Florence and for Botticelli in particular, in whose career this incident marks a definite pause. "Fortune, the adversary of genius," says Vasari, "deprived the artists of that time of their best hope and support."<sup>56</sup> And, to use Botticelli's own phrase: with the death of Lorenzo began "the troubles of Italy,"<sup>57</sup> inasmuch as Lorenzo's successor Piero, the Prince of Florence, "was a headstrong, arrogant youth of twenty-one," "cattivo di tutti i vizi," as a contemporary writer declares.<sup>57</sup> At this same time Savonarola's flaming sermons were stirring Florentines into sad introspection or factional fury, and the armies of France were soon to pounce upon Tuscany. At the age of forty-eight Botticelli, although already famous, saw himself suddenly forsaken by princely patronage, saw the whole of Italy entering a period that might well seem of fatal disruption, saw his own city torn asunder by political and religious strife, and, in command of the state, a "headstrong and arrogant youth." Is it not plausible that the pessimism of Botticelli's *Calumny*, which represented the triumph of a wicked thing in the presence of an asinine prince on a background of classically immortal beauty, was, at least in part, due to the circumstances surrounding him at this sombre time?

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183, quoting Vasari's *Vite*, edition of 1550, I, 495.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

Although in his maturity Botticelli did develop an unfortunate mannerism, placing in his figures too much motion, too much dramatic emphasis, such treatment in this painting is certainly excusable when we consider first the superbness of the pictorial result, and secondly the atmosphere of hopelessness, of impending catastrophe, which hung over Florence and over Botticelli's life and art. In so sensitive an artist, indeed, the threatening times would have made a deep impression even had they not directly affected his profession and his very subsistence. His spirit sought the serener atmosphere of antiquity, and found responsive expression in so bitter an ancient tale as the Calumny of Apelles.

And now, having traced the Calumny motive from Lucian to Botticelli, from humanistic scholarship to humanistic painting, we must see whether this same subject did not occasion any artistic manifestation in the literature of the Quattrocento.

### III

The only literary fragment in the Quattrocento seems to be a short poem by Bernardo Rucellai entitled *Trionfo della Calunnia*. This poem first appeared in print in Anton Francesco Grazzini's *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate o Canti Carnascialeschi andati per Firenze dal tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici fino all' anno 1559*, Firenze, Torrentino, 1559. This first edition is rare, and, in this country, unfindable. A second edition, printed in two volumes, Cosmopoli (probably Lucca), 1750, with the same title, was made by Neri del Boccia, assisted by Rinaldo Bracci. The editor explains, in a scholarly introduction, the sources for his additions to and numerous corrections of the old text; gives for every poem

variants in footnotes, and even adds pictures of many of the authors. This edition was reproduced in 1883 by Sonzogno, of Milan, and has reappeared in a little volume published in 1919 by the Istituto Editoriale Italiano of Milan, with alterations and an all too brief introduction by Massimo Bontempelli. In mentioning this book henceforth I shall always refer to the standard edition, the second of the four, that of 1750 by Boccia. The poem in question is in Vol. I, p. 140, and is accompanied by an interesting picture of the author, Bernardo Rucellai.

This printed book of Grazzini had been preceded by several collections of pageantic poems. One of Boccia's sources, for instance: *Canzoni nuove cantate nel Carnovale, composte da più diversi autori*, Firenze, 1523, preceded it by thirty-six years.<sup>58</sup> I found at the Biblioteca Riccardiana of Florence an extremely rare little volume entitled: *Canzone per andare in maschera per carnesciale facte da più persone*, without date of publication. On the R. of the initial page is written in the hand of Canonico Angelo Maria Bandini, who purchased the book in April, 1779:<sup>59</sup> "Di questa prima rarissima edizione de' Canti Carnescialeschi che pare fatta in Firenze colle stampe del Morgiani al tempo del Mag<sup>co</sup> Lor<sup>zo</sup> de' Medici niuno ne fa menzione, ed è stata pure ignota al Boccia, autore dell' ultima ristampa de' medesimi." Whether this little volume was familiar to Grazzini is not known, though it does contain poems later included by him. The exact sources of Grazzini's book would be interesting, because he often took his material from manuscripts now lost and even from oral report, but the literary leanness of the majority

<sup>58</sup> Grazzini, *op. cit.*, 1779, p. xiv.

<sup>59</sup> A modern note refers to Proctor 6380 (Robert Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, London, 1898).

of these pageantic poems would hardly justify such a lengthy investigation, which, by the way, could only be done in Florence.

But let me now return to the poem of Bernardo Rucellai, and, first of all, give it in full:<sup>60</sup>

#### TRIONFO DELLA CALUNNIA <sup>61</sup>

- 1 Ciascun gli occhi del corpo, e della mente  
 Porga a quel, che per noi se gli dimostra,  
 E vedrà spressamente<sup>62</sup>  
 Quel vizio, ch'assai regna all'età nostra;
- 5 E quanto poca gente  
 La Verità conosca in questa vita,  
 E del suo bel color vada vestita.<sup>63</sup>  
 D'Asin gli orecchi ha 'l Re, che 'n alto siede,  
 Perchè sempre ha l'intender per obietto;
- 10 Appresso se gli vede  
 Cieca Ignoranza, e 'nsieme van Sospetto:  
 Da questi due procede,  
 Ch'a chiunque vien, gli occhi, e le man porge,  
 E rade volte il ver dal falso scorge.
- 15 L'Innocenza per terra è strascinata  
 Dalla falsa Calunnia, che vien via,  
 D'ardenti faci armata,  
 A denotar, che lume al mal ne dia:  
 Maga, scinta, e stracciata
- 20 L'Invidia è innanzi, che non par, che goda,  
 Se non del mal, quant'ella vegga,<sup>64</sup> et oda.  
 La tarda Penitenza in negro manto<sup>65</sup>  
 Guarda la Verità, ch'è nuda, e pura;  
 Gli occhi suoi versan pianto,

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<sup>60</sup> This poem can also be found in O. Targioni-Tozzetti, *Antologia della Poesia Italiana*, Livorno, Giusti, 1909, 11th Edition, p. 349.

<sup>61</sup> The following notes on text variants come from the Boccia edition.

<sup>62</sup> *Chiaramente*.

<sup>63</sup> *Che di vario color s'è travestita*, C. B. (Codice Bracci, Boccia's main ms. source).

<sup>64</sup> *quand'ella il vegga*, C. B.

<sup>65</sup> *ammanto*, C. B.

- 25 Ch'ognun se stesso alfin nel ver misura:  
 Notate il nostro canto  
 Tutti, non pur ciascun, ch'impera, e regge,  
 Perch'in questa figura il ver si legge.  
 Color, ch'allato alla Calunnia vanno,<sup>66</sup>
- 30 Fede del falso con lor sottil'arte  
 Appresso il Re gli fanno,  
 La verità celando a parte, a parte.  
 L'uno da se<sup>67</sup> è l'Inganno,  
 L'altra è la Fraude; e così tuttatrè
- 35 Fanno al Signor parer quel, che non è.

Two things are obvious, even at a first reading of this poem: one is that it deals with our Calumny motive, and the other that it is not a great poem. Indeed, if we were merely seeking lyrical excellence, we could immediately discard it as hopelessly mediocre. For us, however, it has an interest not only because it seems to be the one manifestation in Italian verse of our story in the fifteenth century, but because it brings us into an entirely new field of exploration, that of Florentine pageantry.

In fact, the poems contained in Grazzini's collection, as his title makes clear, are the Triumphs, Songs and Chariots done in Florence beginning with the time of Lorenzo up to 1559. Florence in the Quattrocento, particularly in Lorenzo's time (1449-1492), was a wondrously joyous city, and one of its most popular forms of entertainment was to create magnificent floats, as we should call them today, and let them parade through the streets of the city. These floats, which go back to the Middle Ages, are connected with the celebrations of certain feast days, and probably showed, in the pious centuries, only groupings of biblical significance meant to incite the people to greater faith through plastic visions of sacred scenes. Such was,

<sup>66</sup> stanno, C. B.

<sup>67</sup> L'un ch'è da se, C. B.

in brief, the medieval origin of Florentine pageantry.<sup>68</sup> Concerning it I will now merely mention what to our study is an essentially important fact, and that is that only in Lorenzo il Magnifico's time, and indeed on the original and genial suggestion of Lorenzo himself, did the custom begin of accompanying these pictorial and statuesque floats with explanatory songs.<sup>69</sup> Such songs seem to have two distinct objects: that of adding, through human singing accompanied by instruments, to the beauty of the spectacle—a development which was especially natural in those days of accumulated beauty-making and merry-making; and the second more practical object of explaining, through sung words, the significance of the picture represented. It was a perfectly natural thing, also, that there should be at this time, the better to mirror through civic customs the spirit and the tendencies of the age, two main kinds of floats: the serious and the merely amusing. The serious, which might often have, besides the all-sufficient object of beauty, that of instruction, would be likely to contain pictures so allegorical or dealing in such detail with classical mythology as to require, for street throngs, an explanation; the merely amusing floats would have the tendency, on the other hand, of amusing through scurrility.

It is strange that this new invention of Lorenzo found its first expression, according to the report of Grazzini himself, not in a serious but in one of the humorous poems,

<sup>68</sup> A book on the subject: G. Melillo, *Intorno ai Carmi Carnascialeschi*, Foggia, Zobel, 1920, though announced in the *Italia che scrive* for January, 1921, was unfindable, even in Italy, at the time of this writing. As, however, it consists of only 33 pp., it cannot be an exhaustive treatment. See A. D'Ancona, *Le Origini del Teatro*, especially Vol. II; and Federico Ravello, *Attraverso il Quattrocento*, Torino, Derossi, 1904, especially pp. 45 ff.

<sup>69</sup> See Boccia's Introduction to the Grazzini Edition, 1779, pp. ix, x; and F. Ravello, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

though we can state, on the other hand, that the very best poem and the only one that should be ranked among the high poetic revelations of the Renaissance, is of the serious kind, the well-known *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, also by Lorenzo. The very first pageant poem is supposed to be one entitled *Canto dei Bericuocolai*. A *bericuocolo* was a kind of cooky, popularly sold in the streets; the *bericuocolai* the street venders of such sweets. This poem is not witty, but trivial and openly pornographic, in its double-entente recipe for cakes. Apparently one or more of the actors in the float sang these verses while pretending to make or actually making the cakes. The detail proving that such poems were actually sung on the float is that they very often contain such words as "qui vedete" or their equivalent. The singers stood on the float, and either spoke about themselves or pointed out the things of interest, explaining them in song.

I mention this poem because it is the first, because it was done by the best of pageant-poets, and because it is typical of a great quantity of such poems, all using a well-known trade as an excuse for a pornographic lyric. Let us observe that the poems thus treating similar subjects are, like this first one by Lorenzo, called *Canti*. Of the 336 poems in Grazzini's collection, 305 are *Canti*, 24 *Trionfi*, 2 *Canzoni*, 3 *Carri*, 2 *Mascherate*. The light, scurrilous trade-floats are obviously preponderant.

The triumphs, however, are much more interesting. Their subjects are usually taken from classical mythology, as in the following: *Bacco e Arianna*, *Dea Minerva*, *Le Furie*, *Paris ed Elena*, *Le Tre Parche*; or are instructive through allegory: *Amore e Gelosia*, *Fama e Gloria*, *La Prudenza*, *Le quattro scienze matematiche*, *In Disprezio dell'oro*. I will not dwell at this time on the *Carri* and

Mascherate, because they do not have features sufficiently characteristic to make them stand apart from the two main divisions of the poems into Canti and Trionfi.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, I am inclined to consider this terminology somewhat arbitrary, or at least subsequent in date to the composition of the early poems. In fact in the extremely old, and the first, edition of such poems, the one I found in the Riccardiana Library, Lorenzo's famous triumph is called *La canzone del carro di Bacco*, and the title of the book uses the generic word Canzone. Yet Grazzini, in his arrangement of the poems, obviously changed the titles according to his interpretation of the words triumph, canto, etc., an interpretation which we may assume to be the common one in the middle of the sixteenth century when pageantry in Lorenzo's style was an old-established custom.

Of course the word triumph was the traditional literary term for an allegorical poem whose invention goes back to the great trio of the fourteenth century. The *Triumphs* of Petrarch, which appear among his last lyrical compositions, though begun about the middle of his life, were really nothing but a lyric pageant. Already in one of his earlier poems Petrarch had adopted a similar motive, in the canzone *Standomi un giorno solo alla finestra*.<sup>71</sup> His meter and manner were in imitation of the Divine Comedy; his subject matter he may have taken directly from representations in sculpture of Roman triumphal processions, though it is usually considered that he imitated Boccaccio, in whose *Amorosa Visione* are exactly described in a pageant Glory, Wisdom, Love, Riches and Fortune, triumphant upon a chariot. The conception of the triumph of death over all things except glory is also due to the

<sup>70</sup> For a complete treatment of English triumphs see Robert Withington, *English Pageantry*, Cambridge, 1918-1921.

<sup>71</sup> Guglielmo Volpi, *Il Trecento*, Milano, Vallardi (1897-8), p. 78.

imagination of Boccaccio. In the fifteenth century this form of lyrical composition was imitated by several,<sup>72</sup> for instance by Cola Bonciani, by Cleofe de' Gabrielli, and perhaps most successfully of all by Foresi, a notary of Florence who, in 1464, wrote in exaltation of the deceased Cosimo de' Medici *Il Trionfo della virtù*, a poem in twenty-three chapters, rich in allegory and adulation.

These brief words will suffice to show how the triumph, an established lyric form akin to the vision, was artistically acted out at the time of Lorenzo in a pageant with musical accompaniment. It is interesting to note that even in this manifestation of humanistic life was felt the original influence of the two first Italian humanists, Petrarch and Boccaccio.

A word now about the authors of these pageantic lyrics. We find in the complete list of poems forty-seven writers, not including many "unknown and ancient" writers. Among these forty-seven are such great names as Lorenzo il Magnifico, Jacopo Nardi, Machiavelli, Giambullari, Benedetto Varchi; and after such eminent historians, Grazzini himself, the author of the "Boccacesque" *Cene*, and then a mass of names known little or not at all to literature, men who were not professionally literary, but who became, it appears from the numbers of pageant-poems they gave forth, professional pageant-poets. It is to be noticed also that among the eleven writers who are responsible for Triumphs there is a goodly majority of names literarily prominent, such as Lorenzo, Jacopo Nardi, Bernardo Rucellai, Ludovico Martelli and Gianbattista Strozzi. If we remember that out of a total of twenty-

<sup>72</sup> Vittorio Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, Milano, Vallardi, p. 179; Francesco Flamini, *La Lirica Toscana del Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico*, Pisa, Nistri, 1891, pp. 121 ff.

four triumphs, ten are by unknown authors, the remaining fourteen show a high standard of authorship, certainly superior to that of the Canti. Apparently, the Triumphs were in content, form and renown of authorship, the highest product in pageantic lyricism.

#### IV

Let us now examine Rucellai's *Triumph of Calumny*, and first of all say a few words about the author.

Bernardo Rucellai<sup>73</sup> was born in 1448 of Giovanni Rucellai and Jacopa Strozzi. He was held at baptism by Cosimo de' Medici, and married Cosimo's granddaughter Nannina, sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who was always his friend and patron. From early youth Bernardo showed remarkable sagacity. His life-work took two main directions: politics and letters. In politics he became remarkable as a shrewd ambassador, a powerful administrator, a reformer with Savonarola, a rigid old patriot, ambitious, presumptuous, unpopular. He soon attained great proficiency in historical studies, and his works, written in Latin, became a model of classic style.<sup>74</sup>

Concerning the date of his *Triumph* we have no knowledge at all. One of his biographers says: "he had barely

<sup>73</sup> Luigi Passerini, *Genealogia e Storia della Famiglia Rucellai*, Firenze, M. Cellini e C., 1861, pp. 122 ff.; Guglielmo Pellegrini, *L'Umanista Bernardo Rucellai e le sue opere storiche*, Livorno, Giusti, 1920, pp. 1-22; *Elogi degli Uomini Illustri Toscani*, Lucca, 1771, Vol. II, pp. clxi ff.; G. Marcotti, *Un Mercante Fiorentino e la sua famiglia nel Secolo XV*, Firenze, Barbera, 1881.

<sup>74</sup> Here are the titles of his books: *De auxilio Typhernatibus adferendo*, an oration published in London in 1733 as an example of perfect Latin, *De Bello Pisano historia*, *De Bello Italico*, *Bellum Mediolanense*, *De Urbe Roma* (his best work), *De Magistratibus Romanorum Veterum*. But see G. Pellegrini, *op. cit.*, who proves that Bernardo's historical writings were the rhetorical exercises of a humanist more than the scholarly studies of a historian.

reached his adolescence when he was sent to Pisa to read philosophy. At first he attempted poetic harangue, but was not seconded by the muses, and we know only his *Triumph of Calumny*, in five strophes, which really does not give a good sample of his genius."<sup>75</sup> This suggests vaguely that Bernardo wrote his poem in his youth. The biographer gives neither reason nor authority for this statement, which, therefore, cannot be taken for granted.

When I was in Florence I made careful search for manuscripts of Bernardo's poem from which I might possibly establish the exact text and date, but my search was fruitless.<sup>76</sup> I did, however, find a manuscript version in the Vatican Library and made an accurate transcription of it. The volume containing this version is MS. Barb. 3945,<sup>77</sup> and the poem is on pages 239, 240. The volume, whose exact title is *Poesie di diversi autori*, is obviously of

<sup>75</sup> Passerini, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>76</sup> I had the good fortune to enlist the services of Doctor Ferdinando Massai, Assistant Librarian of the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana of Florence, who had just been appointed to put in order the archives of the Rucellai family. He now advises me that nowhere among the Rucellai papers has he found data about Bernardo's *Triumph*, except in one document of the eighteenth century, which barely mentions the poem, referring to both the Grazzini collection and to Crescimbeni's *Commentarii all' Istoria della Volgar Poesia*, Venezia, Basegio, 1730, Vol. IV, Lib. 1, p. 49. Bernardo is also mentioned in Vol. I, Lib. II, p. 186, where his *Triumph* is called a madrigal, a form particularly adapted to music.

I take this opportunity of heartily thanking Dr. Massai for his assistance.

<sup>77</sup> For an interesting reference to this ms. see Ferdinando Neri, *Sulle prime commedie fiorentine* in *Rivista Teatrale Italiana*, XIV, 1, 18 Maggio 1915, p. 5, n. 2. I make no claim to having exhausted all Italian libraries, especially as there are published catalogues of only a few. I found no reference to this work in Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche Italiane*, Forlì, L. Bordandini, 1890—.

the sixteenth century, though it has no date, and is an anonymous anthology. Rucellai's composition is here entitled *Canzona facta da Piero di Bernardo rucellai p il triumpho della Calumnia*. Apparently a peculiar error in the first name of the author occurred, a singularly fortunate error in that it throws perhaps a little light on the date of this ms. In fact, the name Piero was written over a cancellation, which, as usual, is not perfect, and reveals, judging by the spacing, a name longer than Piero and one which, from the semi-cancelled initial, which looks like a *G*, and the semi-cancelled last letter, which is surely an *i*, must have been Giovanni. The natural conjecture is that since the most prominent member of the Rucellai family, from a literary point of view, in the sixteenth century was Bernardo's son Giovanni, author of the famous *Api*, the scribe who instinctively coupled the name Giovanni with Rucellai cannot have done so, presumably, until after Giovanni became generally famous. Giovanni Rucellai was born in 1475;<sup>78</sup> he wrote in 1523 *Le Api*, a work which was completed in 1524, but not published until 1539. He died in 1525. We may then logically place this ms. certainly after 1524, and possibly after 1539. The appearance, over this poem, of Piero Rucellai's name may be caused by a desire to shield his father, by a confusion (Piero also wrote verse), or by scribal carelessness. This carelessness becomes apparent when we examine the actual text of Bernardo's *Triumph*. Here is my transcription of the poem:<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> A. D'Ancona e O. Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, Firenze, Barbera, 1912. Vol. II, p. 421; Guido Mazzoni, *Le Opere di Giovanni Rucellai*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1887, Preface.

<sup>79</sup> In editing this transcription I added punctuation, making it parallel with that of the Grazzini text, I added apostrophes and accents, I resolved obvious abbreviations, leaving in italics the omitted

CANZONA FACTA DA PIERO DI BERNARDO RUCELLAI PER  
IL TRIOMPHO DELLA CALUMNIA

- 1 Ciascun hochi del corpo, et della mente  
Porga a quel, che per noi vi si di dimostra  
Et vedrà expressamente  
Quel vitio, che assai regnia all'età nostra;
- 5 Et quanta poca gente  
La verità conosca in questa vita,  
Et del suo bel color vadi vestita.  
D'asin horechi ha il re, che in alto siede,  
Perchè sempre ha l'intender per obiecto;
- 10 Aprezzo se li vede  
Cieca ignoranza, et insiem van suspecto:  
Da questi dua procede,  
Che a chiunque vien,<sup>so</sup> li orecchi, et le man porge,  
Et rade volte el ver dal falso scorge.
- 15 L'innocentia per terra è strascinata  
Dalla fiera calumnia, che vien via,  
D'ardente face armata,  
Ad denotar, ch'el lume del mal dia:  
Magra, scinta, et stracciata
- 20 L'invidia è inanzi, che mai par, che goda,  
Se non del mal, quale ella vegga, et oda.  
Coloro, che allato alla Calumnia vanno  
Fede del falso con loro subtile arte  
Aprezzo al Re li fanno,
- 25 La verità celando ad parte, ad parte  
L'una da se è l'inganno,  
L'altra è la fraude; che così tucta tre  
Fanno al Signore parer quel, che non è.  
La tarda penitentia in negro amanto
- 30 Sguarda la verità, ch'è nuda et pura;  
Gli ochi sua version pianto,  
Ch'ogniun se stesso alfin col ver misura:  
Notate il nostro canto  
Tucti: ma più ciascun che impera, et regge
- 35 Perch' en questa figura el ver si legge.

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letters, I changed the *u* to *v*, wherever necessary, as customary, and I separated words scribally attached. I did not change the orthography.

<sup>so</sup> This word is uncertain.

Besides several insignificant orthographical details (some of which point to a similarity between this text and that of Grazzini's first edition) this text presents verbal variants and the transposition of stanzas four and five. The verbal variants are: l. 13, *orechi* for *occhi*; l. 16, *fiera* for *falsa*; l. 18, *ch'el lume del mal dia* for *che lume al mal ne dia*; l. 19, *magra* for *maga*; l. 20, *che mai par* for *che non par*; l. 32, *col ver* for *nel ver*; l. 34, *ma più* for *non fur*. Only the last of these variants seems important and suggestive. In saying, as the Grazzini text has it:

Notate il nostro canto

Tutti, non pur ciascun, ch' impera, e regge.

Note our song

All of you, not only you who rule and govern.

the author meant to address his allegory to everybody. But in saying, as the Vatican text has it:

Notate il nostro canto

Tucti: ma più ciascun, che impera, et regge.

Note our song

All: but most of all you who rule and govern.

the author addresses himself especially and directly to a ruler. Let us note also that the transposition, possibly accidental, by which the fourth stanza becomes the fifth, puts this very significantly changed line at the end of the poem, driving its conclusion with that last line: "For in this figure one reads the truth."

In short, upon comparing Rucellai's poem, both in the Grazzini and in the Vatican ms. version, with a literal translation of Lucian, Guarini's version, and Alberti's two versions, one finds no evidence that Rucellai was particularly subservient to any previous version. Only three details need to be noted: first, that the transposition of the last two stanzas in the Vatican ms. follows more truly the

Lucianic order than the Grazzini editions; secondly, that Bernardo's wording indicates that his source very probably was Lucian directly, not through Alberti<sup>81</sup> (which would tally with Bernardo's humanism); thirdly, that the *Livore* of the Latin texts—the male figure, rough and shabby, which precedes Calumny—becomes, with Rucellai, a female, a change possibly accounted for by the fact that the word changes in his text from *livore* to *invidia*, and that it might have seemed inappropriate to have a man designate a verbally feminine quality. In Botticelli this figure is masculine, in accordance with the Latin versions.<sup>82</sup>

But these comparisons are rendered somewhat barren by the fact that Rucellai's poem, so sparing in description, is so abundant in personal allusions and additions. It is not merely a versified form of the calumny motive; it is a poem of animosity and indictment. Who, then, was the prince with ass's ears, and what significance is there in Bernardo's representation of Calumny?

A glance at Florentine history may answer these questions, and give us light on the date of the poem.

When, at the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent (April 8th, 1492), Piero de' Medici was offered the rulership of Florence, two counsellors were assigned to him: Bernardo Rucellai and Paolo Antonio Soderini. Very soon some shrewder Florentines (Piero Dovizi da Bibbiena, Agnolo Niccolini and perhaps Valori), began to undermine the authoritative position of the two counsellors, and made Piero suspect that Bernardo and Soderini had the secret

<sup>81</sup> Ferdinando Neri, *op. cit.*, loc. cit., affirms that Bernardo's description derives certainly from Lucian and not from Alberti.

<sup>82</sup> Lapo da Castiglionechio says, in his version: "hunc invidiam esse coniectare licet," echoing Lucian's doubt. See F. Neri, *ibid.*, who quotes Lapo from Ms. Laur. plut. LXXXIX inf. 13, c. 114 a.

intention of depriving him of his rulership. Piero allowed himself to be convinced by these slanderous insinuations, and unjustly dismissed Bernardo and Soderini. Only later, in 1493, did he condescend to their holding a state office, and only one which had practically no importance.<sup>83</sup> The hatred of Bernardo for Piero de' Medici rose to such a pitch that the former had to send his two sons, one to Rome and one to France, lest they should wreak their revenge on the prince.

In this historical episode we have ample justification for the expression, in a poem, of personal animosity against the prince. Bernardo had been, in his high position and dignity, a victim of slander poured by jealous rivals into the asinine ears of the ruler.

If this be true, the poem must logically have been written between April, 1492, and some time in 1493, and neither in Bernardo's youth, as was suggested by Passerini,<sup>84</sup> nor between 1487 and 1492, as stated by Pellegrini.<sup>85</sup> The poem, then, would slightly antedate Botticelli's picture, which, as we have seen, Horne placed about 1494,<sup>86</sup> and might be related to it, at least in the sense that both the poem and the picture expressed the personal resentment of the authors against the unjust misrule of Piero.

<sup>83</sup> G. Pellegrini, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Francesco Guicciardini, *Opere Inedite*, Vol. III, pp. 95-97 and *Storie Fiorentine*, X.

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>86</sup> Colonel G. F. Young, in *The Medici*, New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1913, pp. 357, 358, pointed out the probable political allegory of Botticelli's picture, but, assuming 1498 or 1499 as the date of the painting, he saw in the prince the symbol of the state, and in the victim of slander the symbol of Savonarola, who was martyred exactly in 1498.

Perhaps Botticelli's attack was even more pointed, because the prince in the Calumny of Apelles somewhat resembles Botticelli's portrait of a Man with a Medal,—a picture that is still supposed by some critics to represent Piero de' Medici. It is also stated that Botticelli's Calumny, which was painted for his friend Antonio Segni, was not allowed to be seen until after Botticelli's death.<sup>87</sup> This story, if true, would tend to confirm the identification of the prince, and the relationship of Botticelli's allegory with Bernardo's *Triumph*.

In a larger sense, what a vitality of human truth there is in this allegory! Born in the fancy of Apelles in remote antiquity, linked in legend with the painter's very experience, transmitted to the modern world through Lucian's casual description, through the painstaking voyages and translations of Guarini and of his brother humanists, then through Alberti's Tractate on painting, it gave rise in the height of the Renaissance to one of Botticelli's glorious paintings, and while relating itself to the merry beauty of Florentine pageantry, hid the bitter history of Lorenzo's unworthy successor, the prince with ears like those of Midas.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358. Colonel Young gives no authority for this report. See his discussion of the portrait, Vol. I, Appendix IX, and cf. Horne, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28, and T. De Marinis, *Un ritratto di Piero de' Medici* . . ., in *Dedalo* for June, 1921.

### XXIII.—THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY LEGAL ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMAN IN SPAIN.

The chief source of information concerning the legal attitude toward woman in the thirteenth century is the *Código de las Siete Partidas*, compiled during the reign of Alfonso X, and representing an attempt to bring order out of the legal chaos then existent and to substitute a general code for the local *fueros*. The few generalities to be made about the compilation itself can be summed up briefly.

As to the sources, Martínez Marina states that Roman laws—Decretals, Digest, Code, Pandects—were used,<sup>1</sup> and complains that in the first and fourth Partidas the laws of the Gothic codes and the municipal *fueros* were omitted, and Castilian customs were disregarded.<sup>2</sup> The identity of the authors is open to question,<sup>3</sup> although they were undoubtedly selected from the leading juriconsults of the day. Ureña calls attention to the marked development in the use of a legal terminology in Spanish which is substituted for Latin, previously the language of the law.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Francisco Martínez Marina: *Ensayo Histórico-Crítico sobre la legislación y principales cuerpos legales de los reinos de Leon y Castilla, especialmente sobre el Código de las siete Partidas de Don Alfonso el Sabio*. Segunda edición, Madrid, 1842. Vol. II, book 8, summary.

<sup>2</sup> Martínez Marina, Vol. II, book 9, page 111.

<sup>3</sup> Martínez Marina, Vol. I, book 7, page 376.

<sup>4</sup> Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud: *Historia de la Literatura Jurídica Española*. Madrid, 1906. Vol. I, Introducción, page 16. "Una de las más importantes fases del estudio filológico-jurídico de las Siete Partidas . . . es el presentar como los grandes juriconsultos, que bajo la inmediata dirección del Rey Sabio redactaron ese inmortal Código, procedieron cuidadosamente a formar un tecnicismo jurídico propio de la entonces naciente lengua castellana, sustituyendo, en el mayor número de casos con notable acierto, la técnica latina con otra nueva por completo, señalando direcciones que, por desgracia, han sido olvidadas por nuestros juriconsultos . . ."

How far did these laws meet with acceptance? How much can we rely on their influence? Martínez Marina does not agree with Baist<sup>5</sup> as to their power, but says: "Los grandes, la nobleza y principales brazos del estado desavenidos con el Sabio Rey le persiguieron sin perdonar aun a sus obras literarias, y no pudieron sufrir que tuviese aceptación un código que enfrenaba su orgullo y libertinage, y que arrancando hasta las raíces de la anarquía, bajo cuya sombra ellos habían medrado, los obligaba a contenerse dentro de los justos limites de la ley. El conjunto de estos sucesos y circunstancias políticas ocurridas en los últimos años del reinado de don Alonso el Sabio, mal digeridos y no bien examinados hasta ahora, suscitaron dudas, y nos han dejado en una grande obscuridad y incertidumbre acerca de la varia suerte del Código de las Siete Partidas, y de su autoridad en las diferentes épocas que siguieron a su compilación."<sup>6</sup> Whatever the influence of the Partidas, the fact remains that from this legal code we can collect the laws dealing with, or merely mentioning, woman which show her legal status in the various relations of life.

The first Partida deals with matters pertaining to the Catholic faith. It opens with a discussion of the laws in general; only a boy of fourteen and a girl of under twelve can be excused for ignorance of them.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Baist: *Die Spanische Literatur in Gröber's Grundriss*—Part II, Vol. 2, page 409.

<sup>6</sup> Martínez Marina, Vol. II, book 10, pages 129-130.

<sup>7</sup> Las Siete Partidas del Rey D. Alfonso el Sabio glosadas por el Licenciado Gregorio Lopez del consejo real de Indias de su majestad, con nuevos comentarios y las concordancias con los demás códigos y con las leyes y disposiciones publicadas hasta el día. Vol. 2, 3, 4, in *Los Códigos Españoles*—concordadas y anotadas. Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1848-1849. Part. 1, Tit. 1, Ley 21—Vol. II, page 19.

In going to confession, a woman must sit to one side of the confessor and not near him nor in front of him, so that he may hear her but not see her face, "porque dice el Profeta Abacuc, que la cara de la muger es asi como llama de fuego, que quema al que la cata." <sup>8</sup>

A series of laws set forth the penalties imposed upon a cleric who marries contrary to the canons of the Church, which define the condition of woman whom he may marry, whether maid or widow.

Women cannot become clerics, says the law, because a woman cannot preach or exercise any of the rights of a cleric however good she may be. For although the Virgin was better than all the Apostles, Christ did not wish to give her power of absolution, but gave it to them because they were men.<sup>9</sup>

Only women of a clearly defined degree of relationship may live with a cleric.<sup>10</sup> If any of the women so related are of bad character, the cleric must provide for their support out of his house.<sup>11</sup>

If a man after marriage desires to take holy orders, a wife who makes no objection has two obligations as a result: to live in chastity thereafter, and not to re-marry after the death of the first husband. Such a second marriage was not valid. If a husband takes orders against a wife's will, or without her consent, she can require him to return to live with her.<sup>12</sup>

A cleric who, after having taken orders, marries a *benedictiones* must leave his wife and do penance. If the

<sup>8</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 4, Ley 26—Vol. II, page 48.

<sup>9</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 6, Ley 26—Vol. II, page 123.

<sup>10</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 6, Ley 37—Vol. II, page 129.

<sup>11</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 6, Ley 38—Vol. II, page 130.

<sup>12</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 6, Ley 40—Vol. II, page 132.

woman has married, knowing the man to be a cleric, the bishop must put her in the servitude of the Church; if she is a slave, she must be sold and the price given to the church of the cleric in question. Children born of this marriage are subject to the Church, and cannot inherit the property of their parents.<sup>13</sup>

Clerics are not allowed to have *barraganas*. Any woman thus living with a cleric is to be put in a nunnery to do penance there throughout her life.<sup>14</sup>

It should be remembered in connection with these laws that there existed at this time three types of marriage. One was celebrated with all the ceremonies of the church, and the wife of this marriage is the wife *de bendicion*, the *muger velada*, of the laws. There was also the marriage *a yuras*; apparently this was legitimate, but clandestine. The third type, the *barraganía*, is best explained in the words of Martínez Marina: "La barraganía no era un enlace vago, indeterminado y arbitrario; se fundaba en un contrato de amistad y compañía, cuyas principales condiciones eran la permanencia y fidelidad, según se expresa en esta ley del fuero de Zamora. . . . La generalidad con que los fueros hablan de las barraganas, así de los clérigos como de los legos, y aun de los casados, y sus disposiciones políticas y leyes civiles acerca de la conservación, subsistencia y derechos de hijos y madres prueba cuán universal era la costumbre."<sup>15</sup> This relationship is commented on at a much earlier date by Hinojosa in his article on *El Derecho en el Poema del Cid*, "Marca así la diferencia esencial entre este vínculo y el de la barraganía o concubinato, unión puramente civil y disoluble a voluntad de

<sup>13</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 6, Ley 41—Vol. II, page 132.

<sup>14</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 6, Ley 53—Vol. II, page 133.

<sup>15</sup> Martínez Marina, Vol. I, book 6, pages 262-263.

las partes entre soltero y soltera, a la cual otorgaba efectos la ley, en algunos territorios con relación a los bienes y a la prole.”<sup>16</sup>

To take vows and enter a religious order a boy must be fourteen, a girl twelve.<sup>17</sup> Otherwise they can be removed within a year and a half by a father, or guardian, or by a mother if she was guardian at the time of the entrance into the order.<sup>18</sup> A married layman who takes orders without the consent of his wife can always be compelled by her to return if she is a woman of good character. If the wife gives her consent, she cannot take her husband from the order. Moreover, if she is young and has promised chastity when her husband left her, the bishop should endeavor to compel her to take orders; if she has not promised, he cannot compel her but must endeavor to persuade her husband to return to her. If the wife is old, she is to be allowed to remain in the world. If the husband should leave the order and go about in the world, the wife can ask for him to live with her, even if she had consented to his entering an order. If a wife should wish to take orders after her husband has done so, he cannot prevent it; if he should have returned from the order to the world, however, he can forbid it if they are living together.<sup>19</sup> If a promise of marriage exists, either one can enter an order, even against the wish of the other, and the one remaining in secular life can marry.<sup>20</sup>

As for vows, neither husband nor wife can make them,

<sup>16</sup> Eduardo de Hinojosa: *El Derecho en el Poema del Cid*. Page 575, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo—Estudios de Erudición Española*. Madrid, 1899.

<sup>17</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 7, Ley 4—Vol. II, page 153.

<sup>18</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 7, Ley 5—Vol. II, page 154.

<sup>19</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 7, Ley 11—Vol. II, page 157.

<sup>20</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 7, Ley 13—Vol. II, page 158.

except by mutual consent, as far as keeping chastity and entering an order are concerned.<sup>21</sup> Otherwise the husband can make whatever vow he likes without regard to the wife,<sup>22</sup> although he can forbid her vows, "e esto es porque el marido es como señor e cabeça de la muger."<sup>23</sup> In the matter of pilgrimages, the wife cannot promise any without her husband's consent. He can promise only to go to Jerusalem, "porque es mas alta romeria que todas;" but if the wife wants to go too, her husband must take her.<sup>24</sup>

In case of excommunication, a wife may remain with her husband without excommunication; he may not remain with her without penalty, as he has power to compel her to make amends and thus emerge from her position—a power which she has not over him.<sup>25</sup>

A wife may give whatever alms she pleases from her own property; from her husband's property (except for bread and wine) she is not supposed to give without his permission, although the law allows for latitude in urgent cases, recommending, however, that it be not done with intent to annoy a husband.<sup>26</sup>

The only women discussed in the second Partida are those of the royal family and household. The king is told what qualities he should seek in a wife and why: good family, beauty, good breeding and wealth. If any points must be omitted, let them be beauty and wealth.<sup>26</sup> For many reasons it is the king's duty to love, honor and guard the queen.<sup>27</sup> The daughters of royalty must have nurses

<sup>21</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 8, Ley 3—Vol. II, page 170.

<sup>22</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 8, Ley 8—Vol. II, page 173.

<sup>23</sup> Part 1, Tit. 23, Ley 12—Vol. II, page 313.

<sup>24</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 8, Ley 9—Vol. II, page 173.

<sup>25</sup> Part. 1, Tit. 9, Ley 34—Vol. II, page 196.

<sup>26</sup> Part. 2, Tit. 6, Ley 1—Vol. II, page 350.

<sup>27</sup> Part. 2, Tit. 6, Ley 2—Vol. II, page 351.

and governesses just as the sons should have like guidance. They should learn to read that they may read the Hours and the Psalter; they must be moderate and of good-breeding in eating and drinking, in bearing and dress; they must keep their tempers; they must learn skill in the tasks befitting noble ladies.<sup>28</sup>

Laws and penalties are established for anyone dishonoring any lady of the royal household. The punishment for dishonoring any lady of the royal family is death; if the culprit escapes, exile and confiscation of goods are decreed. Those who counsel such an evil deed are to lose their eyes and all their goods.<sup>29</sup> For wronging a lady of the queen's household, the penalty is exile for a noble; death for a man of lower rank, with confiscation of his goods if he escapes.<sup>30</sup> The same scale of punishments applies to those dishonoring women who come to court to ask favors or to have some wrong righted. In the case of the nurses and of the wardrobe-women, the penalty is heavier: death and confiscation of half his goods, or, if the man escapes, exile and loss of all his goods. This greater severity is easily explained in the case of the nurse; as for the *cobigera*, the law says it is because she is necessarily more intimate with the queen and therefore might be a dangerous influence for evil; also, because during her escapades she might wear the royal garments and so bring ill repute upon the queen.<sup>31</sup>

The third Partida speaks of woman in relation to courts of law. Husband and wife are limited to certain grounds for complaint in law-suits. Adultery and treason are the

<sup>28</sup> Part. 2, Tit. 7, Ley 11—Vol. II, page 357.

<sup>29</sup> Part. 2, Tit. 14, Ley 2—Vol. II, page 407.

<sup>30</sup> Part. 2, Tit. 14, Ley 3—Vol. II, page 408.

<sup>31</sup> Part. 2, Tit. 14, Ley 4—Vol. II, pages 408-409.

only causes admitted. It is not considered possible for any legal dispute to arise over possession or use of property owned by either, as man and wife are one.<sup>32</sup> If a case is brought to court, it must be before a judge who has power over the husband, even though the wife is from another land.<sup>33</sup>

A woman cannot be judge—"porque no seria cosa gui-sada que estoviesse entre la muchedumbre de los omes, li-brando los pleytos." If she is queen or countess or ruler over a land she may be judge, but she should be counselled by wise men.<sup>34</sup> A woman is not permitted to be a representative in court, or *Personero*,<sup>35</sup> except for relatives in a direct line who are old or ill. Then, if there is no one else whom they can trust, she may appeal for them.<sup>36</sup> In such a situation as this, a woman may speak in court for the accused, but only to give an excuse for his not coming, and not to defend him in the accusation.<sup>37</sup> No woman—"quanto quier que sea sabidora"—can be a lawyer. Firstly, because it is not fitting for a woman to assume the office of a man and to mix publicly with men. Secondly, because of a certain *California*, cited by the Sages as a terrible example. She was learned and so shameless that once in court she vexed the judges by her words so that they could do nothing with her. Therefore, they profited by their experience and forbade that any woman should ever again so disturb the court.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 2, Ley 5—Vol. III, pages 6-7.

<sup>33</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 2, Ley 32—Vol. III, page 20.

<sup>34</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 4, Ley 4—Vol. III, page 39.

<sup>35</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 5, Ley 1—Vol. III, page 65. "Personero e aquel, que recabda, o faze algunos pleytos, o cosas agenas, por mandado del dueño dellas. E ha nome Personero, porque paresce, o esta en juyzio, o fuera del en lugar de la persona de otri."

<sup>36</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 5, Ley 5—Vol. III, page 67.

<sup>37</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 5, Ley 12—Vol. III, page 71.

<sup>38</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 6, Ley 3—Vol. III, page 82.

Respectable women are not to be summoned to appear in court except in cases of bloodshed. To avoid contact with men in a public place, they are to stay at home and send their *personeros* to represent them. If the judge wishes to question them directly he may visit the house himself or send a notary to interrogate them and write down the replies.<sup>39</sup> If a judge wishes to marry a woman against her will, such a woman cannot be cited to come before him or to send a representative. Any complaint against her must be lodged before another judge.<sup>40</sup>

There are certain limitations on woman as a witness. No wife can testify for her husband, nor he for her.<sup>41</sup> A woman of good character can, however, be witness in any law-suit, except in one about a will. No woman of ill repute can be a witness at all.<sup>42</sup>

Forms are given for the documents in which a woman consents to a sale made by her husband;<sup>43</sup> in which there is a marriage agreement;<sup>44</sup> in which there is a form for the dowry brought by a wife;<sup>45</sup> and in which an orphan is put under the guardianship of his mother.<sup>46</sup> From this last formula it appears that a woman of good character may be guardian of her children, no other person having been named in her husband's will, on her promise and oath not to marry while the child and property are in her care.

These documents conclude the appearance of woman in this Partida except for the fact that if any one begins a

<sup>39</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 7, Ley 3—Vol. III, page 92.

<sup>40</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 7, Ley 6—Vol. III, page 93.

<sup>41</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 16, Ley 15—Vol. III, page 161.

<sup>42</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 16, Ley 17—Vol. III, page 162.

<sup>43</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 18, Ley 58—Vol. III, page 217.

<sup>44</sup> Part 3, Tit. 18, Ley 85—Vol. III, page 236.

<sup>45</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 18, Ley 86—Vol. III, page 235-236.

<sup>46</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 18, Ley 95—Vol. III, page 241.

building in a square or street or common ground without permission from the king or council, any one can forbid it except an orphan of less than fourteen years or a woman.<sup>47</sup>

Woman naturally plays a large part in the fourth Partida, which speaks of betrothals and marriages. Betrothal can take place after the parties concerned are seven, but the age limits for marriage are fourteen years for the man and twelve for the woman.<sup>48</sup> There are two types of betrothal: for future time (*por venire*) and for present.<sup>49</sup> In case of two betrothals, the form for present time is more binding.<sup>50</sup> Of the nine causes which permit a betrothal to be broken off, the same cause applies to either partner to the agreement.<sup>51</sup> Another law forbids parents to betroth their daughters in their absence or against their will.<sup>52</sup>

A law states that a woman, even of low rank, takes the rank of her husband, and in widowhood retains it unless she marries again.<sup>53</sup> Fifteen causes prevent marriage; they are equally fair to both parties, as are the reasons permitted for breaking off a betrothal. The degrees of relationship, and the spiritual relationship of sponsors in baptism, that prohibit marriage are carefully stated.<sup>54</sup>

Penalties are established for those who marry secretly without the knowledge of the woman's parents, because such a thing is often done with evil intent and "*todas las mas vegadas se sigue ende mas mal que bien.*"<sup>55</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Part. 3, Tit. 32, Ley 3—Vol. III, page 390.

<sup>48</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 1, Ley 6—Vol. III, page 407.

<sup>49</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 1, Ley 2—Vol. III, page 403.

<sup>50</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 1, Ley 9—Vol. III, page 409.

<sup>51</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 1, Ley 8—Vol. III, page 408.

<sup>52</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 1, Ley 10—Vol. III, page 410.

<sup>53</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 2, Ley 7—Vol. III, page 415.

<sup>54</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 2, Ley 10—Vol. III, page 417.

<sup>55</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 3, Ley 5—Vol. III, page 425.

Slaves can marry, and, if married, cannot be sold separately. If a slave of either sex marries a free person, the marriage is valid if the free knew that the other was a slave.<sup>56</sup> If bond and free marry in ignorance of the other's condition, a free man who marries a slave may leave her; a slave who marries a free woman cannot leave her because he was not deceived in marrying her, as she is his superior in position. The freewoman, on learning that her husband is a slave, may leave him or remain with him as she likes. If a slave marries another, believing her to be a freewoman, he cannot leave her, as he is not deceived in marrying a woman of the same rank as himself.<sup>57</sup>

To dissolve a marriage, either husband or wife may bring accusation.<sup>58</sup> There are only two causes allowed for divorce: religion and fornication.<sup>59</sup> If there is a suit for breach of promise, either side can use relatives of good reputation as witnesses if they themselves are equals in wealth and position.<sup>60</sup>

There is a lengthy discussion of dowries and donations. What a wife gives a husband is called a dowry and is considered her own patrimony. The husband gives the *donatio propter nuptias*, called *arras*, which has the force of a pledge that the marriage will be consummated. These dowries and donations may be settled before or after marriage, but must be made in the same way by both sides.<sup>61</sup> *Sponsalitia largitas* was the gift made unconditionally by either party before marriage. The law remarks that if it should happen that the wife makes the gift, "que es cosa que pocas vedegas aviene, porque son las mugeres natural-

<sup>56</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 5, Ley 1—Vol. III, page 429.

<sup>57</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 5, Ley 3—Vol. III, page 431.

<sup>58</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 9, Ley 1—Vol. III, page 446.

<sup>59</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 10, Ley 2—Vol. III, page 456.

<sup>60</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 9, Ley 16—Vol. III, page 453.

<sup>61</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 11, Ley 1—Vol. III, page 460.

mente cobdiciosas e avariciosas," in case of her death before the marriage, the gift should be returned to her heirs.<sup>62</sup> Gifts of this sort are not supposed to exceed one-eighth of the dowry. The *arras* is not to exceed one-tenth of the husband's property. The wife may choose control of either the gift or the *arras*, but only one is to be in her power, says a gloss to one of these laws.<sup>63</sup> While the marriage lasts, the husband cannot dispose of either his donation or his wife's dowry unless she set its value.<sup>64</sup>

A dowry may consist of things fixed or of things movable. If the dowry is of things immovable and the woman is under twenty-five, she must have the permission of the local judge as well as of her guardian; if the things are movable, the judge's permission is not necessary.<sup>65</sup> A debt owed a woman can be given by her as dowry.<sup>66</sup> The property of a woman that does not enter into the dowry is called *paraferna* in Greek, says the law, which offers no one Spanish word as a substitute. The woman may give her husband control over this property or not, as she likes.<sup>67</sup>

After the death of her husband, the widow is permitted to marry again, with the restriction that it should not be for a year under penalty of becoming of ill fame and of losing her *arras* and whatever property her first husband has left her. Permission from the king frees a woman from penalty in re-marriage within the year; and betrothal, broken by the death of the man, does not restrict her in marriage.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 11, Ley 3—Vol. III, page 462.

<sup>63</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 11, Ley 1—Vol. III, page 460, note.

<sup>64</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 11, Ley 7—Vol. III, page 464.

<sup>65</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 11, Ley 14—Vol. III, page 468.

<sup>66</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 11, Ley 15—Vol. III, page 468.

<sup>67</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 11, Ley 17—Vol. III, page 469.

<sup>68</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 12, Ley 3—Vol. III, page 482.

Here wives who are not *de bendiciones* are discussed. The Título on this subject says that Holy Church forbids *barraganas*, but that the Sages permitted them without temporal punishment, “porque tovieron que era menos mal de aver una que muchas.”<sup>69</sup> Any freeborn woman who has never been a slave can be received as a *barragana*, no matter how base her family. Anyone not in Orders can have a *barragana* if she is not a virgin, under twelve years of age, a widow of good repute, or a woman within the forbidden degrees of relationship. Governors—*præsides provinciarum*—are allowed to have only *barraganas* while in office.<sup>70</sup> Only one *barragana* is permitted by this code, and it is necessary that she be such that he who has her can marry her if he wishes.<sup>71</sup>

In the laws concerning rights over the children it is said that a father, in case of great hunger, may sell or pawn his child—a right that a mother does not have.<sup>72</sup> In case of divorce, mothers are to bring up children under three years, fathers those older; also the father is to supply the mother with means to care for them.<sup>73</sup>

Children born of a free father and a slave mother are slaves, “porque siguen la condicion de la madre quanto a servidumbre o franqueça.” If both parents are free the child inherits his father’s position.<sup>74</sup>

A slave-woman becomes free when her master puts her in a house of ill fame to earn money for him.<sup>75</sup> If a slave marries a free man and her master makes no objection she becomes free, just as she does if she marries her master.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 14—Vol. III, page 485.

<sup>70</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 14, Ley 1—Vol. III, page 486.

<sup>71</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 14, Ley 2—Vol. III, page 486.

<sup>72</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 17, Ley 8—Vol. III, page 502.

<sup>73</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 19, Ley 3—Vol. III, page 512.

<sup>74</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 21, Ley 2—Vol. III, page 517.

<sup>75</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 22, Ley 4—Vol. III, page 522-523.

<sup>76</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 22, Ley 5—Vol. III, page 523.

At the end of this Partida, in commenting on the condition of men, the compiler says: "Otro si de mejor condicion es el varon que la muger en muchas cosas, e en muchas maneras assi como se muestra abiertamente en las leyes de los Titulos deste nuestro libro." <sup>77</sup>

The fifth Partida is concerned with loans, sales, purchases and exchanges. Woman is only mentioned here in the matter of going security for another. Women are not allowed to be security for anyone, for the usual reason that it is not fitting for them to go to court and to mix with men in such matters.<sup>78</sup> Various reasons, however, do permit a woman to do this: as in cases of freeing a slave and of dowry. A woman should not dress as a man or use any such deception to go as security, for the privilege was not granted them to help themselves by deception, but "por la simplicidad y por la flaqueza que han naturalmente." <sup>79</sup>

Wills and inheritances occupy the sixth Partida. A woman cannot be witness in a will.<sup>80</sup> A woman who marries within a year of the death of her first husband cannot inherit from anyone unrelated to her, or related to her beyond the fourth degree.<sup>81</sup> If a father is willing to marry off a daughter and give her a dowry, he can disinherit her if she refuses to marry or if she leads an evil life. If he has delayed her marriage till she is over twenty-five, and if after that time she leads an evil life or marries against his will, he cannot disinherit her, as he is considered to be at fault.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Part. 4, Tit. 23, Ley 2—Vol. III, page 527.

<sup>78</sup> Part. 5, Tit. 12, Ley 2—Vol. III, page 717.

<sup>79</sup> Part. 5, Tit. 12, Ley 3—Vol. III, page 718.

<sup>80</sup> Part. 6, Tit. 1, Ley 9—Vol. IV, page 8.

<sup>81</sup> Part. 6, Tit. 3, Ley 5—Vol. IV, page 30.

<sup>82</sup> Part. 6, Tit. 7, Ley 5—Vol. IV, page 99.

If a man dies intestate, his wife can inherit all his property if he has no relatives to the tenth degree.<sup>83</sup> If a man has married a dowerless wife, at his death she can inherit the fourth part of his property. This fourth must not exceed one hundred gold *libras*, no matter how large his estate.<sup>84</sup>

No woman can be guardian of a child, except a mother or grandmother, who must promise not to marry while her charge lasts.<sup>85</sup> A widowed mother can by will appoint a guardian for her children.<sup>86</sup>

The seventh Partida speaks of crimes and penalties. A woman cannot bring an accusation, but a gloss adds that she can do so in the matter of her husband's death.<sup>87</sup> A wife cannot be summoned as a thief by her husband (nor the slave by his master).<sup>88</sup> If a woman is living with her husband, only he, her father, her brother or her uncle can accuse her of adultery.<sup>89</sup> If an accusation of adultery is proved, the man must die. The woman must be publicly beaten and placed in a nunnery, losing her dowry and *arras*. If her husband wishes to do so, he can take her back within two years. In that case, the property must be restored. If he should not wish to pardon her, or should die before the two years have elapsed, she must remain in the nunnery always.<sup>90</sup>

Any woman under accusation deserving of the death penalty or of corporal punishment should be kept in a nunnery and not in a prison with men.<sup>91</sup> No pregnant

<sup>83</sup> Part. 6, Tit. 13, Ley 6—Vol. IV, page 198.

<sup>84</sup> Part. 6, Tit. 13, Ley 7—Vol. IV, page 199.

<sup>85</sup> Part. 6, Tit. 16, Ley 4—Vol. IV, page 225-226.

<sup>86</sup> Part. 6, Tit. 16, Ley 6—Vol. IV, page 228.

<sup>87</sup> Part. 7, Tit. 1, Ley 2—Vol. IV, page 257.

<sup>88</sup> Part. 7, Tit. 14, Ley 4—Vol. IV, page 365.

<sup>89</sup> Part. 7, Tit. 17, Ley 2—Vol. IV, page 408.

<sup>90</sup> Part. 7, Tit. 17, Ley 15—Vol. IV, page 417.

<sup>91</sup> Part. 7, Tit. 29, Ley 5—Vol. IV, page 451.

woman is to be tortured. "Esto es por la honra de la sciencia y por la nobleza que ha en si; e a la muger por razon de la criatura que tiene en el vientre, que non meresce mal."<sup>92</sup>

These seven sections portray quite clearly woman's position in the eyes of the law during this period. The feeling that woman is unreliable prevails—she is evidently a dangerous and tricky character. The third Partida particularly shows a tendency to class her with the physically defective and the morally irresponsible. In the betrothal and marriage relation she is better off than in the matter of courts of law, where she is so carefully guarded from contact with men that her chances for justice suffer thereby. Her inability to witness a will and the limitations on her power to inherit from her husband's estate proclaim her dependent position.

The legal code is better material for facts than is the literary evidence, in that the former does not deal exclusively with court circles. It is quite possible that the legal status of woman exerted an influence on the literary portrayal of her during this period; it is my purpose to cite in a later article illustrations pointing in this direction. The code affords a basis for the comparison of the actual and the fictional treatment of the sex, and gives us a foundation of contemporary customs on which the literary glorification of woman was superimposed. In real life, according to the words of the old jurist: "Man is of better condition than woman in many things and in many ways."

RUTH LANSING.

<sup>92</sup> Part. 7, Tit. 30, Ley 2—Vol. IV, page 459.



# PUBLICATIONS

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### XXIV.—A FRENCH DESERT ISLAND NOVEL OF 1708

Desert islands and shipwrecked crews are apparently very old themes in French prose fiction. There is a desert island episode in *Les Amours de Clidamant et de Marilinde*, a sentimental novel of 1603.<sup>1</sup> The shipwreck of a Portuguese merchantman is the prelude to *L'Isle des hermaphrodites*, a satirical work of 1605.<sup>2</sup> Accounts of such adventures in the "true voyage" literature of the first half of the 17th century in France are numerous. To cite only some works which went through several editions in this period, the *Voyages* of Jean Mocquet<sup>3</sup> contains the story of a lone European on an unknown shore. Repeated editions in French translation of Garcilaso's *His-*

<sup>1</sup> Paris, in-12. Cf. G. Reynier, *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, Paris, 1908. p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, in-12. Cf. G. Atkinson, *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700*. New York (Columbia University Press), 1920.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, 1617, in-8, livre II, pp. 148-150. First ed. Paris, 1616; other editions are of Rouen, 1645, and Rouen, 1665.

*toria de los Incas* <sup>4</sup> contain the better known Serrano desert island story, while two editions of the *Voyages du sieur Vincent Le Blanc* <sup>5</sup> furnish other material of like nature.

*Robinson Crusoe* was considered by one French critic in 1719 to be a novel in the style of *Jacques Sadeur* (1676) and of the *Histoire des Sévarambes* (1677-1679).<sup>6</sup> Each of these voyage novels had gone through more than three editions in French before 1719, and were in all probability known at the time by a considerable number of French readers. The hero of the *Sadeur* novel is the lone survivor of a shipwreck, whereas Captain Siden, the hero of the *Histoire des Sévarambes* is one of a number of Europeans cast away upon a distant and uninhabited shore.

The similarity of both these early novels to *Robinson Crusoe* ceases, however, upon the introduction of the travelers into the civilization of the utopian Antarctic Land. Only the landing, after shipwreck in *Sadeur*, and the building of a stockade on the shore in the *Sévarambes* resemble the Defoe story. Here is no solitude, no meditation, no total reduction of the complexity of civilization. As in the earlier *Utopia*, *Nova Atlantis*, and *Civitas Solis*, or as in the later *Télémaque*, the travelers find civilization of a high order.

The "Robinson" atmosphere of solitude and righteousness on a desert island is, however, found in the French

<sup>4</sup> Paris, 1633, 2 vols., in-4 (transl. J. Beaudoin). Other editions are of 1658 and 1672. The Serrano story may be readily found in the more common 1737 edition, I, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Paris, 1648, in-4, part I, p. 120. Other editions, Paris, 1649, in-4; Troyes, 1658.

<sup>6</sup> W. E. Mann, *Robinson Crusoe en France*, Paris, 1916, p. 14. Dr. Mann cites the *Nouvelles littéraires* of Amsterdam for December, 1719.

Voyage Novel over ten years before 1719. The following lines were printed in 1707:

Las du tracas du Monde, & fatigué des peines que j'y avois souffertes, j'en quittai la vanité & le tumulte, sans aucun regret; & dans un âge déjà avancé, je songeai à tacher de vivre & de mourir en paix, hors de ses ordinaires & fréquents dangers. . . Je pouvois esperer pour toujours le délicieux repos que je n'ai trouvé que pour un tems, dans l'Isle où j'ai très doucement passé deux années. . . J'y ai été nourri en Prince, dans l'aise & dans l'abondance, sans pain, & sans Valets. J'y ai été riche sans Diamants, & sans or; comme sans Ambition. J'y ai goûté un secret & indicible contentement, de ce que j'étois moins exposé qu'à l'ordinaire, aux tentations de pécher.

There is more than a suggestion of "primitive man" and the "state of nature" a few lines later in the same book:

Mes sérieuses réflexions m'ont fait voir là, comme au doigt & à l'oeil, le néant d'une infinité de choses qui sont en grand' vogue parmi les habitans de cette malheureuse terre; de cette terre, où l'Art détruit presque toujours la Nature, sous prétexte de l'embellir.

These quotations are from the preface of a French desert island novel, written in the year 1707 and printed for the first time at the very end of the same year. The title page of the first edition bears the date 1708, but the book was reviewed in the December issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* for 1707, as well as in the supplement for the year 1707 of the *Journal des Sçavans*. The title of this curious novel is:

VOYAGE / ET / AVANTURES / DE / FRANÇOIS LEGUAT / *Et de ses Compagnons*, / EN DEUX ISLES DESERTES / DES / INDES ORIENTALES; / Avec la Relation des choses les plus remarquables qu'ils / ont observées dans l'Isle Maurice, à Batavia, / au Cap de Bonne-Esperance, dans l'Isle St. / Helene, & en d'autres endroits de leur Route. / *Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures.* / A LONDRES, / Chez DAVID MORTIER, Marchand Libraire / MDCCVIII.

The book is in two volumes, duodecimo. The same year there appeared an English translation, printed at London

in the same form by the same publisher, and a counterfeit edition in French, published at Amsterdam by Louis de Lorme. A fourth publication of the same work, within a year of its first appearance, is a Dutch translation, Utrecht, 1708, in-4, bearing the title: *De gevaarlyke en zeldzame Reyzen van den Heere François Leguat naar twee onbewoonde Oostindische Eylanden*. A German translation appeared at Frankfort in 1709. A third edition in French is cited by Haag<sup>7</sup> as of London, 1711. A fourth French edition, bearing "London 1720," but probably printed at Rouen, is followed by still another edition in French, printed at London (David Mortier) in 1721. Other German translations of the 18th century are of Frankfort, 1723, and Leignitz, 1792. This last bears the title *Der Französischer Robinson*.

That the story of *François Leguat* has retained an interest for some readers of English and of French in the Nineteenth Century would seem to be indicated by its publication in the *Bibliothèque d'Aventures et de Voyages* (2fr. le volume broché) at Paris in 1883, and in the Publications of the Hakluyt Society, at London in 1891. The Hakluyt edition of the *Leguat* is a reprint, profusely annotated, of the first English edition of 1708.

Authority is not wanting to prove the authenticity of the *Leguat* story. Critics, by classifying the book as a true story, scholars, by excluding it from the field of imaginative writing, naturalists and geographers, by citing "Leguat, the philosophic Huguenot" as an authority upon now extinct bird-fauna, all have added the weight of their opinion to the apparent authenticity of the book itself. For over two hundred years this novel has been considered

<sup>7</sup> E. Haag, *La France Protestante*, Paris, 1849-1860, article, *Leguat*.

by many as a true story. The *Journal des Sçavans* (Supplément de l'année 1707) retails the story and casts no doubt upon its authenticity. The brothers Haag, in *La France Protestante* (Article *Leguat*) go so far as to say: "Le Guat a su se tenir en garde contre le défaut habituel des voyageurs. Il a bien observé et décrit simplement ce qu'il a vu." In such a work as *Robinson und Robinsonaden, Bibliographie, Geschichte, Kritik*, of Hermann Ullrich,<sup>8</sup> the *Leguat* story is found under the heading *Wirkliche Robinsonaden*, together with the story of Selkirk. In a recent thesis of Friederich Wackwitz<sup>9</sup> there is no mention of this "true story." In a purely scientific article<sup>10</sup> a scientist, the late Alphonse Milne-Edwards, makes various conjectures as to the cause of disappearance from the Island of Rodriguez of the fauna described by *Leguat*. Sir Alfred Newton, the explorer and naturalist, in a paper on the *Extinction of Marine Mammalia*, is quoted as saying: "Where are the Dugongs of Rodriguez, so charmingly described by Leguat? Vanished!"<sup>11</sup> Well-reputed naturalists of the nineteenth century have gone so far as to confer upon a bird described in the *Voyage de François Leguat*, the euphonious title, *Erythromachus Leguati*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> In *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, vii Heft, Weimar, 1898.

<sup>9</sup> *Entstehungsgeschichte von Defoe's Robinson Crusoe*, Berlin, 1909.

<sup>10</sup> *Nouveaux documents sur l'époque de la disparition de la Faune ancienne de l'île Rodrigue*, in *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*, (6ième Série, Tome 2, Art. 4). Paris, 1875.

<sup>11</sup> Hakluyt edition of *Leguat*, I, 74. The paper quoted was printed in *Nature* for Dec. 11, 1873.

<sup>12</sup> Milne-Edwards, the French scientist, proposed this title, but Dr. Günther of the British Museum and Professor Arthur Newton of Cambridge University preferred the title *Aphanapteryx Leguati*. Cf. Hakluyt edition of *Leguat*, I, 81, note 3.

According to Captain Pasfield Oliver, the editor of the Hakluyt edition of the *Leguat* story:

The chief modern scientific interest, however, in Leguat's description undoubtedly hinges upon the circumstantial delineation which he gives of the curious bird-fauna then extant in the Mascarene Islands, the subsequent destruction of which has rendered the personal observations of the philosophic Huguenot invaluable to naturalists, marked as they are by such evident simplicity and veracity.<sup>13</sup>

The "authentic Leguat" legend is supported by the authority of the standard encyclopedias and biographies. Notwithstanding this weighty testimony, it is the contention of this article that the *Leguat* story is not in any way the authentic account of a real voyage, but is on the contrary a novel. It is further contended that although a man named François Leguat may have lived and traveled, nevertheless the book which bears his name is not an account of the travels and observations of this man, but is, on the contrary, a mosaic of the observations of many travelers in both Africa and America.

It is evident that the *Voyage de François Leguat* must fall in one of the following categories:

- (1) A story of personal experience, true and original in all its essential details.
- (2) A story of personal experience, embroidered somewhat by an ingenious editor or collaborator.
- (3) A fiction in which the element of first-hand experience is negligible.

That it is a story of personal experience, uninfluenced by a reading of other voyage literature can be easily disproved. A comparison of the *Leguat* account of the Cape

<sup>13</sup> Editor's Preface, p. ix. The present writer found one copy of the *Leguat* in the Geographical Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

of Good Hope<sup>14</sup> with the description of the same district and people by the earlier traveler Tavernier<sup>15</sup> will convince anyone, be he prejudiced or unprejudiced, that the author, or perhaps the editor of the story of *Leguat*, pilaged Tavernier's narrative without fear and without shame. To cite instances seems useless, as in these twenty-five pages of *Leguat* phrase after phrase and line after line correspond with the earlier account by Tavernier.<sup>16</sup>

In addition, the story of *Leguat* contains direct references to Tavernier (with regard to precious stones, on which he was the authority of his time), as well as direct references to La Boullaye le Gouz.<sup>17</sup> Mention is made likewise of Thomas Corneille's *Dictionnaire des Arts et Sciences* and of Rocefort's *Histoire Naturelle des Antilles*. These direct references to earlier books, as well as references to the Mall at London, to King James' Oak and to other English matters, are ascribed in the Hakluyt edition of *Leguat* to Maximilien Misson, as editor of the first edition of the *Voyage et aventures de François Leguat*.

Good authority has long ascribed the preface of the *Leguat* story to François Maximilien Misson (generally listed as "Max. Misson").<sup>18</sup> Misson, who was one of the

<sup>14</sup> *Leguat*, II, 139-164. (The paging of the French editions of London, 1708, Amsterdam, 1708, and London, 1721, is identical.) In the Hakluyt edition, II, 271-298.

<sup>15</sup> *Les six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, Paris (Clousier) 1681, in-4, pp. 458 *et seq.* (Or 1st ed. Paris, 1676, pp. 502 *et seq.*, or Engl. transl. London, 1677-1678, vol. ii, pp. 204 *et seq.*) In all editions the account in question is in Part II, Book III.

<sup>16</sup> This indebtedness of the author of *Leguat* to Tavernier has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned previously. Tavernier is, of course, especially known as a traveler in Persia and India.

<sup>17</sup> *Voyages*, Paris, 1653. A careful and restrained writer of the type of the later Bernier.

<sup>18</sup> A. A. Barbier, *Examen critique et complément des dictionnaires*, Paris, 1820, 1 vol. in-8., p. 355. Eug. & Emile Haag, *La France*

chief figures in the fantastic affair of the "French Prophets" at London in 1707,<sup>19</sup> is best known as the author of a *Voyage to Italy*. This work went through five editions in French between 1691 and 1731 and at least four English editions between 1695 and 1714. It became so well known that the term "Misson" seems to have been used as we used, until recently, the term "Baedeker." People went to Italy "with their Misson under their arm."

That Misson wrote the *Préface* of the *Voyage et aventures de François Leguat* is generally admitted. That he interpolated the book itself with remarks geographical and historical is also easy of belief. That a well read editor did not, however, compile practically the entire book, and without any appreciable assistance from "François Leguat," has been contended by more than one student of the book.

An interesting attempt to prove the authenticity of the *Leguat* story is that of the late Thomas Sauzier. This gentleman reprinted and edited the *Mémoires* of Henri Du Quesne,<sup>20</sup> a document of great value to students of the history of the French Protestant refugees. The contention of Sauzier regarding "Leguat" is, however, curious. His thesis is, briefly: "A man named François Leguat lived and traveled. This man died in London in 1735.

*Protestante*, Article *Misson*. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, Paris, 1879 IV, 1103. Thanks to a long quarrel between Misson and Casimir Freschot and to the successive prefaces in which they belabor each other, there can be no doubt about this attribution, made by Barbier.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. G. Ascoli, *L'Affaire des Prophètes français à Londres*, *Revue du dix-huitième siècle*, 1916 (jan.-avril, pp. 8-28; mai-décembre, pp. 85-109).

<sup>20</sup> Un *Projet de République à l'Île d'Eden (l'Île Bourbon)* en 1689 par le Marquis Henri Du Quesne. Réimpression d'un ouvrage disparu . . . précédé d'une notice par Th. Sauzier, Paris, 1887, in-8.

Therefore the *Voyage et aventures de François Leguat* is a true story." This is, of course, very much the same sort of thesis as that in which the existence of d'Artagnan is taken as proof of the authenticity of Dumas' novel. The evidence adduced by him in support of his thesis is curious enough to warrant mention even in a short treatment of the subject.

First, there is the verbal testimony of a great-granddaughter of one Paul Bénelle.<sup>21</sup> Although no valid evidence that "Leguat" lived or traveled is produced by Sauzier, nevertheless he found contemporary and documentary evidence of Leguat's having died. This evidence is contained in the *Bibliothèque Britannique* for September 1735.<sup>22</sup> One notice from London in this publication reads in part:

Mr. Leguat est mort ici, au commencement du mois de septembre, âgé de nonante & six ans, & ayant conservé jusques à la fin une grande liberté de corps & d'esprit. C'est le même qui publia en 1706 (sic) *La Relation d'un Voyage*.

The title is given—except for date and place—and the notice concludes with:

On peut voir un extrait de ce livre dans les *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* de Mr. Bernard, tom. xviii, p. 603.

Upon the slender thread of this evidence in a literary journal hangs Sauzier's contention, not merely that "Le-

<sup>21</sup> There is frequent mention of Paul B . . . le in the *Leguat* story. He is the only survivor in Europe beside "Leguat" himself. The story is explicit in stating: *Il demeure présentement à Amsterdam*. Sauzier would not have been, with some others, the victim of this literary trick if he had known the earlier voyage novels of Foigny and Vairasse. Cf. Note 2 *supra*.

<sup>22</sup> *Bibliothèque Britannique ou Histoire des ouvrages des savans de la Grande Bretagne*, t. 5, Partie ii, La Haye (chez Pierre de Hondt), 1735, article xi, *Nouvelles littéraires*.

guat" lived, but that he wrote a considerable part of a certain book.<sup>23</sup> It is of course possible that a man named François Leguat did travel and did die in London in September 1735. It is also easily possible that a man named Leguat died in London in 1735 and that the correspondent above quoted presumed that the dead person was "Leguat the traveler." It is further possible that the death itself was invented, for the purpose of making a bit of news, or perhaps to increase the sales of the last editions of the book.

Although the mere existence of "Leguat" has little to do with the authorship of the novel in question, an interesting light is cast upon this same authorship by the comments of Jacques Bernard in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, which is referred to in the "death notice" just quoted. Bernard's criticism of the *Voyage et aventures de François Leguat* begins with the words:

La Préface de ce Livre n'est pas de l'Auteur de l'Ouvrage. Celui qui l'a composée y maltraite diverses personnes de mérite. . . . Une personne très-bien instruite de tout ce dont on donne la Relation dans ce Voyage, m'avertit . . . que tout ce Livre est un tissu de fatras, qui enveloppe tellement les aventures véritables, qu'il faut le refondre pour le corriger.<sup>24</sup>

If the "Leguat" who "retained a great freedom of mind and body to the age of ninety-six" was the same "Leguat" who wrote the story of his life and adventures in 1707, it is strange that he never answered the statements of Bernard. The defenders of the authentic "Leguat" have never been able to find one written word from

<sup>23</sup> This evidence, published by Sauzier in 1887, and cited by the Hakluyt edition of *Leguat*, is to be found in the *Biographie universelle* (ed. Michaud), Paris, 1819, t. 23, Article *Leguat*, in which it is probable, although not certain, that Sauzier found it.

<sup>24</sup> *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, décembre, 1707 (Jacques Bernard, éditeur), article I, pp. 603-622.

his hand except the "Voyage" in question. It is peculiar, not to say incredible, that such an author set pen to paper once, and once only.

Misson, on the contrary, did not remain silent under the lash of Bernard—whose article was perhaps inspired by Misson's ever-faithful enemy Freschot. In the 1714 edition of Misson's *A New Voyage to Italy*, there is a violent answer to Bernard's statements, on behalf of the silent "Leguat." After referring to *Mr. Leguat (a good and honest gentleman)*, Misson refers to:

The account of Mr. Leguat's Book in the Journal that is intituled *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*; in which the author of the said *Nouvelles* uses very ill, without any Reason, both Mr. Leguat, and the Relation he has published. These sorts of *Journals* ought not to be turned into Defamatory Libels, no more than *Sermons*. The Journals of *Paris, Amsterdam, Leipsick, Trevoux*, nor any of the Rest, have nothing in 'em but what is civil; and the good *Republick of Letters* is not at all pleased with reading such slandering *News*. . . . Some Reasons which are not necessary for me to explain here, oblige me to say here in favor of Mr. *Leguat*, that the Relation he has published is *faithful* and *true*.<sup>25</sup>

A few pages further on, and in another connection, Misson says:

He who writes (or did not long ago) *la Suite des Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, has always sought after every Opportunity of disobliging.<sup>26</sup>

The thesis of Sauzier and Misson's answer to Bernard on behalf of *Leguat* are both summarized in the *Editor's Preface* of the Hakluyt edition of the *Leguat*. Captain Pasfield Oliver, the editor, was not swayed to any extent by Sauzier's "proofs," but based his conviction of the authenticity of the story upon the "circumstantial delin-

<sup>25</sup> 4th ed. in English, London, 1714. 3 vols. in-8. *To the Reader*, p. xvii.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p. xxv.

eation of the curious bird-fauna " and upon the " careful personal and detailed observations " to be found in the *Leguat* story itself. Captain Oliver's reasoning is infinitely better than that of Sauzier and is therefore more difficult to refute. The editorship of Misson being admitted—even by Captain Oliver—it remains to be determined what part of the " careful personal and detailed observations " in the book are the authentic first-hand observations of " Leguat." If only a negligible part of these observations is incapable of being traced to earlier accounts, then the *Voyage et aventures de François Leguat* must be excluded not only from the category of essentially true stories, but also from the second category of stories of personal experience somewhat elaborated by editors.

Considering the influence and authority of the scientists associated with him in editing the Hakluyt *Leguat*, it would seem that Captain Oliver's work is quite justifiable. If the rather fragmentary bibliography of French voyage literature existing in 1891 be considered, due credit must be given Captain Oliver for his judgment. He himself made bibliographical discoveries later, however, which caused him to limit his first thesis slightly.

In 1897, Captain Oliver translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society the *Voyages faits par le sieur D. B.*<sup>27</sup> This publication is a " Supplement to the Voyage of François Leguat issued by the Hakluyt Society." The *Voyages* of D. B. (Du Bois) is in fact the direct source of most of

<sup>27</sup> An excessively rare book. *Les Voyages faits par le sieur D. B. aux Isles Dauphine ou Madagascar, & Bourbon, ou Mascarenne, &c années 1669. 70. 71. 72; ensemble les moeurs, religions, forces, gouvernemens & coutumes des habitans desdites isles, avec l'histoire naturelle du País.* Paris, (Claude Barbin) MDCLXXIV, 1 vol. in-18. The Hakluyt edition has for title a literal translation of the French, with translator's name. London, 1897. 1 vol. in-8.

the descriptions in the *Mémoires* of Du Quesne reprinted by Sauzier, as well as both a direct source and an indirect source (through Du Quesne) of some of the descriptions in the *Voyage et aventures de François Leguat*.

In editing this supplementary volume, Captain Oliver seems to have had a slight suspicion that the *Leguat* story had been considerably embroidered upon the basis of earlier accounts. The editor's notes are very few and terse. One concession is made with regard to earlier works:

It was doubtless from Du Quesne's compilation of the foregoing accounts brought home by Carré, Du Bois, and de Lespinay, that François Leguat identified the Didine bird of Rodriguez as similar to the Solitaire of Bourbon.<sup>28</sup>

In a very modest postscript to the Hakluyt edition of the *Voyages* of Du Bois, Captain Oliver admits that there remains work to be done on the subject of *Leguat*. He does not lay claim to having made the ultimate discovery in this little field. What wonder then that with greater knowledge of early French Voyage Novels, and with the greater bibliography now at hand, it is possible at the present time to push on some distance beyond the last marks set by Captain Oliver, whose pioneer work has made later investigations easier.<sup>29</sup>

It is now possible to trace a very large proportion of the "personal and detailed observations" found in the *Leguat* to their original authors. Moreover, that part of the description of birds, animals, fish, and plants which cannot

<sup>28</sup> Introd., Hakluyt, *Du Bois*, p. xxvi.

<sup>29</sup> Since 1897 there have been published bibliographies such as the monumental *Sources de l'histoire de France* (1610-1715) (*Géographie et Histoires Générales*) by E. Bourgeois and L. André, Paris, (Picard) 1913, besides *l'Orient dans la littérature française* of M. P. Martino, Paris, 1906, and *l'Amérique et le rêve exotique* of M. G. Chinard, Paris (Hachette) 1913, and many books of more restricted scope.

be so traced appears to be not only small in quantity but extremely untrustworthy as first-hand evidence. It is the purpose of the present writer to give a more complete treatment of the *Leguat* sources, as to both description and incident, in a volume on the Novel of Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1721. A few examples must suffice, in an article of this length, to prove the statement which holds true of the "first-hand descriptions" of the entire book.

On comparing the account of bats in the *Leguat*<sup>30</sup> with that of Du Bois,<sup>31</sup> the only statement not traceable to the earlier author and not a matter of common knowledge with regard to European bats, is the following: *Les Chauve Souris volent de jour comme des autres oiseaux*. Granting that bats do sometimes fly by day in Rodriguez, or that the variety which used to do so is now extinct,<sup>32</sup> it would be peculiar if *Leguat* undermines commonly accepted ideas of natural history every time that his accounts vary from those of earlier French writers.

As it is particularly the testimony regarding birds which convinced men of science of the veracity of this novel, let us examine the account of the *gelinotte* (*Erythromachus Leguati*, or *Aphanapteryx Leguati*).

*Leguat.*

Nos Gelinotes sont grasses, pendant toute l'année, & d'un goût très-délicat. Elles sont

*Cauche.*

Il y a des Pintades, appellées par les habitans ACANGUES, ayant le bec droit, court, & fort,

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<sup>30</sup> French editions, 1708 and 1721, I, 107-108, or Hakluyt ed., I, 84-85.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 180-182 or Hakluyt ed., p. 81.

<sup>32</sup> The Hakluyt edition suggests that these "bats" are "flying foxes" common in the East Indies. The difficulty is not removed by this explanation, for the flying fox hangs all day and flies by night, *as do other bats*.

toutes d'un gris clair, n'y ayant que très-peu de différence de plumage, entre les deux *Sexes*. Elles ont un ourlet rouge autour de l'œil. Et leur bec qui est droit & pointu est rouge aussi, long d'environ deux pouces. Elles ne sauroient guères voler, la graisse les rendant trop pesantes. Si on leur présente quelque chose de rouge, cela les irrite si fort qu'elles viennent l'attaquer pour tâcher de l'emporter; si bien que dans l'ardeur du combat on a occasion de les prendre facilement.<sup>33</sup>

les plumes mouchetées de gris, blanc, & noir. . . . Des poules rouges, au bec de becasse, pour les prendre il ne faut que leur présenter une pièce de drap rouge, elles suivent & se laissent prendre à la main; elles sont de la grosseur de nos poules, excellentes à manger.<sup>34</sup>

The subtraction being made, there remain as proofs of the authenticity of the *Leguat* story: (1) *Elles ont un ourlet rouge autour de l'œil*. (2) *Elles ne sauroient guères voler, la graisse les rendant trop pesantes*. The first of these observations is apparently without parallel in earlier works. Perhaps Cauche, Carré, Du Bois, Du Quesne, Flacourt, Pouchot de Chantassin, and others whose writings on Madagascar antedate 1700 found the red border about the eye of a fowl too commonplace to deserve mention. Certainly it requires no great stretch of the imagination to invent this detail. The second observation of *Leguat* finds a direct parallel, however, in Du Quesne (with regard to the famous Solitaire bird, akin to the dodo): *Ils se prennent à la course, ne pouvant presque voler à cause de leur graisse*.<sup>35</sup>

The *Leguat* account of the famous Solitaire bird<sup>36</sup> is

<sup>33</sup> French editions, I, 103. Hakluyt ed., I, 81.

<sup>34</sup> *Relations véritables et curieuses de l'Isle de Madagascar et du Brésil*. Paris (Courbe), 1651. p. 132.

<sup>35</sup> *Recueil de quelques mémoires servans d'instruction pour l'établissement de l'Isle d'Eden*. Amsterdam, 1689. in-12. p. 62. This is the document reprinted by Sauzier. Cf. Note 20 *supra*.

<sup>36</sup> French editions, vol. 1, pp. 98-102. Hakluyt ed., vol. 1, pp. 77-81.

based directly upon the accounts of the same bird by Du Bois,<sup>37</sup> Du Quesne,<sup>38</sup> Carré,<sup>39</sup> and Cauche,<sup>40</sup> as well as upon Cauche's account of a large variety of Madagascar partridge.<sup>41</sup> This account of *Leguat*, which is unfortunately too long to be given entire here, contains some passages that cannot be traced to any earlier books known to the present writer. These unidentified passages follow:

La femelle est d'une beauté admirable; il y en a de blondes & de brunes; j'appelle blond, une couleur de cheveux blonds. Elles ont une espece de bandeau comme un bandeau de veuves au haut du bec qui est de couleur tannée. Une plume ne passe pas l'autre sur tout leur corps, parce qu'elles ont un grand soin de les ajuster, & de se polir avec le bec. Elles ont deux élévations sur le jabot, d'un plumage plus blanc que le reste: & qui représente merveilleusement un beau sein de femme. Elles marchent avec tant de fierté & de bonne grace tout ensemble, qu'on ne peut s'empêcher de les admirer & de les aimer; de sorte que souvent leur bonne mine leur a sauvé la vie. Pendant tout le temps qu'ils couvent, ils ne souffrent aucun oiseau de leur espece à plus de deux cens pas à la ronde; & ce qui est assez singulier, c'est que le mâle ne chasse jamais les femelles; seulement quand il en aperçoit quelqu'une, il fait en piroûttant son bruit ordinaire pour appeler la femelle qui vient donner aussi-tôt la chasse à l'étrangère. La femelle en fait de même & laisse chasser les mâles par le sien. C'est une particularité que nous avons tant de fois observée, que j'en parle avec certitude.

Nous avons remarqué que quelques jours après que le jeune étoit sorti du nid, une compagnie de trente ou quarante en amenoient un autre jeune & que le nouveau déniché avec ses pere & mere, se joignant à la bande, s'en alloit dans un lieu écarté. Comme nous les suivions souvent, nous voyions qu'après cela, les vieux se retiroient chacun de leur côté & laissoient les deux jeunes ensemble: & nous appellions cela un mariage.

The beauty of the females and their loveliness will scarcely be held to be scientific evidence of first-hand

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 170 or Hakluyt ed. pp. 77-79.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>39</sup> Abbé Carré, *Voyage des Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1699, 2 vol. in-16. Vol. 1, pp. 12-13.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

observation. The chasing of males by males and females by females must of course be taken as conclusive testimony, for the author himself, as if half fearful of disbelief, insists upon his personal knowledge of this peculiarity.<sup>42</sup> The same means of authenticating a strange statement is found in the novel of extraordinary voyage in French, as early as 1676, in the *Sadeur* story by Foigny. The reason for the strange marriage ceremony among the birds is amply explained by the author a few lines later, in sentences that might well have been written at a much later date:

J'envoyois l'homme à l'école des Bêtes. Je loüois mes Solitaires de ce qu'ils se marioient jeunes: (ce qui est une sagesse de nos Juifs) de ce qu'ils satisfaisoient à la Nature dans le temps propre, . . . selon l'état de cette même Nature, & conformément à l'intention du Créateur.

Inasmuch as no earlier author had ever seen more than two of these birds together, it is strange that "Leguat" should have seen quite often "une compagnie de trente ou quarante." The author evidently moulded the "state of Nature" to fit his own theories, thereby establishing a precedent which found many ardent followers in later years.

The *Voyage de François Leguat* contains a deal of interesting and apparently authentic information concerning turtles, tortoises, and sharks. With regard to sea-turtles, almost the entire description,<sup>43</sup> is a mosaic of Rochefort,<sup>44</sup> of Du Tertre,<sup>45</sup> and of Pouchot de Chan-

<sup>42</sup> Strong assertion of first-hand information is found repeatedly in the *Leguat*. Almost always this type of assertion is found coupled with some otherwise unbelievable statement.

<sup>43</sup> French editions, I, 90-91. Hakluyt, I, 72-73.

<sup>44</sup> *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Antilles*, Rotterdam, 1658, in-4., p. 230.

<sup>45</sup> *Histoire Générale des Antilles*, Paris, 1667, 2 vol. in-4., II, 231-232.

tassin.<sup>46</sup> Not one convincing first-hand statement remains after subtracting the parts undoubtedly taken from these authors. The curious part of it all is that neither Rochefort nor Du Tertre, to whom the indebtedness is greatest, were writing of the part of the world where the *Leguat* scene is laid. With regard to land tortoises, the *Leguat* account is a mosaic of the accounts of Du Bois<sup>47</sup> of Du Quesne<sup>48</sup> and of Rochefort.<sup>49</sup> Only one observation made<sup>50</sup> is at striking variance to these earlier accounts and indeed to all descriptions ancient and modern which are known to the present writer:

Elles font aussi une autre chose qui est singuliere, c'est qu'elles posent toûjours de quatre côtez, à quelques pas de leur troupe, des sentinelles qui tournent le dos au Camp, & qui semblent avoir l'œil au guet; c'est ce que nous avons toûjours remarqué; mais ce mystere me paroît d'autant plus difficile à comprendre, que ces animaux sont incapables de se défendre & de s'enfuir.

Here again, as if feeling somewhat self-conscious upon venturing beyond the authority of his sources, the author of the *Leguat* insists upon his personal observations of the phenomenon and upon his inability to explain it. This old voyage-novel trick of substantiating strange statements, a trick at which Misson is far less clumsy than his predecessors, is strikingly illustrated in the *Leguat* account of sharks:

Quand nous nous baignions dans la mer, nous nous sommes souvent trouvez environnez de grandes troupes de Requins, parmi lesquels il y en avoit des plus gros, qui ne nous ont jamais attaquez.

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<sup>46</sup> *Relation du voyage et retour des Indes Orientales pendant les années 1690 et 1691*, Paris, 1692, in-12. p. 311.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 176-177. Hakluyt ed. pp. 79-81.

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 230-235.

<sup>50</sup> French editions, I, 90. Hakluyt ed., I, 71-72.

... Je laisse au Lecteur à juger si cet animal est aussi vorace qu'on dit, ou si les Requins de ces mers sont d'une nature differente des autres.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps no other naturalist except "Leguat" has reported the setting of sentinels by tortoises. Du Tertre, however, gives several excellent descriptions of the setting of sentinels by birds. More as an example of the style of this unjustly forgotten naturalist than as an undoubted source of the *Leguat*, the following is submitted:

Les flamants sont tousjours en bande, & il y en a tousjours un en sentinelle, tout de bout, le col estendu, l'œil circonspect, & la teste inquiete: si tost qu'il apperçoit quelqu'un, il sonne la trompette, donne l'alarme au quartier, prend le vol, & tous les autres le suivent.<sup>52</sup>

After reading a few pages of Du Tertre—pages written in 1667—one is less astonished at the "personal observations" in the *Voyage de François Leguat*, of forty years later. There is, in the work of such gifted observers as Du Tertre, a splendid model of realistic description, upon which this later author of fiction drew with profit.<sup>53</sup> In descriptions of other animals, birds, plants, and trees, the indebtedness of the *Voyage de François Leguat*, is no less clear. It has been necessary, because of limitation of space, to take here merely the two best known bird descrip-

<sup>51</sup> French editions, I, 121. Hakluyt ed., I, 96. Captain Oliver, in a note to this page, explains the statement of "Leguat" by saying that although the sharks of Rodriguez were found to be "extremely aggressive forty years later," still "those observed by Leguat had doubtless ceased to be dangerous to man, owing to the abundance of animal food."

<sup>52</sup> Du Tertre, *op. cit.*, II, 268.

<sup>53</sup> Although it is weary work at times to read quarto volumes of travel printed during the 17th century in France, nevertheless it would seem that such reading must be the basis of some of the criticism of later French novels.

tions upon which the "scientific" reputation of *Leguat* is based, and to consider briefly the short descriptions of bats, turtles, tortoises, and sharks.

The incidents of the story seem also to be taken from earlier accounts. The Hottentot and Cape of Good Hope description has been traced, earlier in this article, to Tavernier. An important incident, the finding of ambergris by the companions of "Leguat" and their subsequent imprisonment, was probably taken from a similar incident in Tavernier. The building of a boat to leave the island was probably inspired by the Du Quesne *Mémoire*, referred to above, which is certainly the source of the incidents of departure from Holland. Two other incidents regarding enormous eels are traceable directly to Du Bois.

After subtracting those incidents and descriptions which are evidently borrowed from earlier authors, not even the shell of a story is left. The *Voyage de François Leguat* is evidently a voyage made in an armchair, within reach of many books of other men's voyages. The continued publication of the book itself is doubtless a justification, according to some standards, of this method of writing voyage novels. There are indeed few books of travel written in the early eighteenth century which one finds reprinted in two languages toward the close of the nineteenth century. The *Leguat* story is one of these. As a novel, written in 1707, often reprinted, and believed to be an essentially true story, after two hundred years, it is perhaps without a parallel. Regardless of the general style of the *Leguat*, it is a curious fact that its carefully authenticated realism—borrowed largely from the forgotten naturalists Du Tertre and Du Bois—has deceived modern readers and critics to whom *Robinson Crusoe* is an old story.

GEOFFROY ATKINSON.

## XXV.—THE PERSONALITY OF HIPPOLYTE TAINÉ

Writers almost always, either consciously or unconsciously, make of their books mirrors of their personalities, eagerly exposing every trait to the public. But occasionally a writer wears a mask before this literary mirror and the public sees him only in disguise save perhaps in the pages of his intimate correspondence. Such a man was Hippolyte Taine, and it is a curious task to study this reserved scholar as he reveals himself in his books, to watch for the rare lines where he has dropped his mask in unguarded moments of secret ambition, of ennui or despair, of sudden mockery or mirth.

Taine never takes his reader into full personal confidence. He desired to be for the public merely an "animal on two legs armed with a pen, having ideas of a certain color and a style of a certain sort." In deference to this retiring nature of his the most intimate passages were extracted from his correspondence before publication. Besides his mutilated letters, the books which throw the most light on his shadowy personality are his notes on travel in England and France, his *Journey in the Pyrenees*, and the few chapters of his unfinished novel *Etienne Mayran*. This novel promised to become autobiographical and the writer, unwilling to dissect his most intimate emotions for the public, laid what might well have been one of his most enduring books aside.

To English and American readers Taine wears the inevitable tag of his *History of English Literature*, and remains a scholar to be admired rather than a personality to be studied. So in his own generation he was of most interest because of his knowledge in the fields of literature,

history and psychology. He startled conservative historians into the belief that a genius is not an accident but the product of heredity, of the accumulated culture of years, of the peculiar political, literary or social conditions of his age. Taine set rolling a wave of interest in psychology which poured over the work of such men as Jusserand, Lavissee, Ribot, Bourget, Barrès, Bergson and Le Bon. Unfortunately Taine forged hand-cuffs for himself when he formulated his great theory of *moment*, *milieu* and *race*, for he remained fettered with the idea in every field in which he worked.

The very tenacity with which he applied this theory is indicative of the most outstanding trait in his character: the trait, which, while it is responsible for his greatness as a scholar, is no less surely the trait which choked in him the creative writer he desired to be. Stubborn will mastered him from youth on. It drove him to such intense study that he lost his health in the early twenties and never recovered it. It crushed youth and spontaneity out of him and made him at twenty-five essentially the man he was at his death. His actual character development was in a way as static as his method. This is the well-known side of the man, the tenacious scholar, the irreproachable self-restrained gentleman. But there are moments when the most perfect gentleman resorts to something stronger than exclamations, moments when instinct is stronger than will, when the covered pot boils over.

One wonders if Taine will live by the books which his will guided and completed, or if he will not rather survive by the few volumes written when the lid was off, when he forgot himself as a scholar and indulged momentarily those trampled desires for self-expression, the desire of the artist—such books as his *Journey in the Pyrenees* and his *Notes on Paris*.

Individual natures are made up of light and dark as the churches in Auvergne are built of black and white marble. In Taine's case the dark predominates. But there is a fair amount of gaiety in him although even that is largely veined in black. The study of a man's gaiety or pessimism will often open the door of his character, and we shall seek to use these as keys to the personality of Taine.

The form of a man's humor betrays his tastes, his insight into the life and characters of others, and his relations with himself. True humor as defined by George Meredith is utterly impossible to Taine. His nature is too cold and unsympathetic to allow him to be truly humorous, to laugh all around a man, "tumble him, roll him about, deal him a smack, and drop a tear on him, own his likeness to you and yours to your neighbor, spare him as little as you shun, pity him as much as you expose." That is the most serious lack in Taine's make-up. It is the lack which makes him unlovable in spite of his fine clean life and his magnificent will.

Neither has Taine the expansive geniality of a humorist like Dickens. His gaiety is not emotional but intellectual. He is a son of Voltaire and more typically French than the greater humorist Daudet. Actual humor, indeed, is not a French trait, but gaiety, even in the face of suffering, is an acknowledged characteristic of France. One need only cite Gaspard's continual jests flung in the face of the great war.

One is forced to admit that Taine's wit has a decidedly pessimistic coloring. Even when the mockery is not biting enough to be called satire, one feels behind the jest a sense of hauteur and consciousness of superiority on the part of the author. Neither is his wit remarkably original or subtle. But he makes many clever observations like the

following: "The bishop of Carthage was considered too intelligent, so he remained grand vicar a long time." "It is so natural to want to live, to live well. But it is especially agreeable to live at another's expense." "There are four sorts of persons in the world: the amorous, the ambitious, observers and fools. And the happiest are the fools."

Many amusing passages in Taine betray his ability as a scientific observer both in the physical and the psychological worlds. Though it may not be a commonly realized fact, humor loves the concrete. It is in the oddities that grow by the road that the chance for laughter lies, and Taine was quick to see them. He had an excellent opportunity to know not only Paris and her people but the provinces and theirs. He sums up the scatter-brained *Parisienne* in a most effective sentence: "She touches," he says, "serious things with the tip of her parasol, looks at them for half a minute, then makes a face and passes around them." The crude northern types are "taillés à coups de hache" by the divine Creator who was then making things on a large scale. Taine pictures the care-free spirit of the *Marseillais* in the benevolent form of Monseigneur X blessing the congregation with graceful hands: the stupid egoism of some Flemings, who insist on being considered "*Franchais*." As he wore out his feet on the sharp little stones that pave Pyrenean sidewalks and envied the horses walking comfortably on round cobblestones, Taine gathered together odd bits of character study, mostly at the expense of his provincial hosts. At one time the guides insisted on a visit to a grotto. The visit was made but there was nothing to see. Nevertheless ten sous were exacted. "That explained it all," says Taine, "the peasants of the Pyrenees have a great deal of intelligence." The peasants of the past were no less intelligent. Their "hold-ups" were merely of a different style. In the time

of Napoleon the prefect took a certain peasant to task for not paying his taxes. The explanation was of the simplest: "No one has passed on the highway of late," he said reproachfully.

In the same way Tainé has humorously laid bare the peculiar traits of foreign races. He spent much time in England. While there he saw a certain Reverend Reginald presenting a young convert to the public and this is his reaction: "Now there's a truly English idea, to furnish the document, the proof, the living specimen, as a zoologist might, to support a mystic doctrine." French and English morals are compared rather amusingly: there is no gradual descent from virtue to vice in England as in France, but a sharp differentiation: so in religion England has but Heaven and Hell while France is blessed with Purgatory. He calls London in the rain a huge decent cemetery: he admits that he has the blues there, but, he says, that is merely a matter of local color. America is laughed at because of her fondness for sensational newspaper lies. Tainé cites an American newspaper in which he is said to be blind in one eye with the prospect of becoming blind in the other: that he had just married the daughter of a rich butcher, and that his wife had published a volume of verse. He comments, "There you have four fine American truths which I hope you don't believe."

The form of Tainé's humorous observations gives numerous illustrations of Bergson's theory of laughter. Rigidity, he says, is its *leitmotif*: the unintentional failure of a man to respond in the usual way to a physical or mental situation. The idea of rigidity is almost too obvious in Tainé. It gives his wit too mechanical a turn, so that it seems to be cut after a pattern and not wholly spontaneous. The very word "machine" has become a tic

with him, even in his most serious books. It is so often repeated both seriously and humorously that it seems to give a sort of whale-boning to his style. It is characteristic of the man's life and manner. He is constantly seeing men as machines or marionnettes. The constant recurrence of such comparisons implies an underlying scorn. If a lady has a piercing voice he wonders where the squeak is in her body. Professors are speaking automatons often in need of oiling. A man with a stiff neck suggests a rusty machine. Taine writes in comic despair of the slow northern candidates for St. Cyr: "You can see the interior clockwork slowly begin to move, one wheel pushing another, so that at last with considerable hitching the hour strikes." Quite often he contemptuously shoves men quite out of the half-human Punch and Judy show into the kingdom of sticks and stones. At Paris "you are Number such and such, that is to say, an overcoat and a hat which go out in the morning and return at night." Scornfully bored by the Boeotian *Nivernais* with whom he is forced to spend a year, Taine writes, "It is only occasionally that I turn the leaves of my neighbors and colleagues."

Taine often resorts to the animal world for his comparisons. He presents us with a distinguished orang-outang . . . probably an intended bridegroom." Parisians are ants well peppered. He introduces a *bon bourgeois* of a bear, fine, prudent and healthy in his gray great-coat. There are traces of the melancholy romanticist in the face of the chamois "alert, intelligent, resigned, sad, with gleams of caprice and originality." But the Pyrenean pigs are the most winning: "Philosophic teasing eyes and a roguish nose . . . there is something indifferent and mocking in their attitude." One is startled at recognizing Renan and Anatole France. (Pray don't be shocked.

Taine assures us that the pigs of the Pyrenees are very respectable, attractive even: far removed from their cousins of the north).

Repetition, which is foreign to nature, is humorous also in that it suggests the mechanical. This occurs fairly often in Taine. One of the cleverest passages is the tale of Jeannette and the sou. It is especially interesting as a bit of French peasant character study.

One day Paul asked his servant to sew a button on his trousers. An hour later she comes in with the trousers, and, in an anxious, uncertain manner, as if afraid of the effect of her request, says, "It's worth a sou."

Paul pulls out the sou without a word. Jeannette goes on tip-toe to the door, thinks better of it, comes back, picks up the trousers and points to the button: "It's a fine button!" (A pause.) "I didn't have any in my box." (Another longer pause.) "I bought this one at the grocer's. It's worth a sou." She looks up with anxiety; the owner of the trousers, still without saying a word, gives her another sou.

It is clear that there is a mine of sous there. Jeannette goes out and a moment later opens the door again. She has made up her mind, and says, in a sharp piercing voice with admirable volubility, "I didn't have any thread. I had to buy thread, and I used a lot of thread. The button won't come off again. I sewed it on tight. It's worth a sou."

Two hours later, Jeannette, who has had time to reflect, reappears. She prepares dinner with exceeding care; she wipes up the most microscopic stains, she softens her voice, she walks noiselessly, she is most charmingly thoughtful; then she says, displaying all manner of obsequious graces: "I can't afford to lose. You wouldn't want me to lose. The cloth was thick and I broke my needle. I didn't know it a moment ago. I just discovered it. It's worth a sou." Paul pulled out the fourth sou.<sup>1</sup>

Transposition in humour, as Bergson describes it, means the change from an ordinary tone to an unusual one. Insignificant events are treated in a mock heroic fashion: or world affairs are looked at as though through the large

<sup>1</sup> From the *Journey in the Pyrenees*.

end of an opera-glass. Or again the moral or intellectual may be handled as though physical. *Gulliver's Travels*, *A Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, *The Nonsense Novels*, are typical. Taine describes with the gusto worthy a bull fight the silly game of duck indulged in as a time-killer by the Pyrenean tourists. He was very fond of confusing the moral and the physical. The *Notes on Paris*, which contain the observations of the embittered pork-packer Graindorge, were said to be gathered together by the "one time professor of rhetoric, private secretary, and corn-doctor of Mr. Graindorge." Taine condemns a bear for eating its cubs and dancing badly.

Transposition is often rendered more ridiculous by some severe logical system. Part of the fun in the ascent of the *Pic du Midi de Bigorre* is due to its rigid conformity to guide-book methods. Taine conceives of an ingenious mechanical administration "composed of functionaries of leather and wood, each with his own individual leather cushion and his own green glasses, managed by a central machine of which the minister would be the chauffeur. Worn-out officials would be retired, that is hanged to a hook in the store-room. Taine arranges a similar marriage system with a special office where one could find doweries calculated, and photographs of the intended in his night-cap or in the act of shaving (essential in order to prevent disillusionment). One of Taine's amusing transpositions is that of pleasure into punishment. A young fellow has come from Venezuela to be formed, or "deformed" as Paul has it, in Paris. Paul kindly initiates him into the mysteries of a ball, that "funereal and penetential ceremony" where men wear mourning and all smile to show their resignation. The very music is sad and the condemned dance with the same step used by the cotton spinners in the Poissy prison. The most piquant form of

transposition is that of the immoral treated as moral. In the *Notes on Paris* some one explains to a shocked Hollander a "code of conduct approved by the French government, in which it is decided that the French are obliged to be atheists, that true marriage is adultery, and that the first duty of a man is to assassinate his neighbor." As Taine is pre-eminently a logician, this systematic humour suggests a parody of his serious style.

In most of the examples of Taine's wit already given, there is evident a strong tendency toward satire. It is often actually bitter. His satire is as unsweetened as Swift's and implies a similar sediment of pessimism. "A satirist," George Meredith says, "is a moral agent, often a social scavenger, working on a storage of bile." Society is of course the field of satire and Taine does not confine himself to a corner. He criticizes the superficial education of the time and the shoddy morality. The young men are shallow-brained dandies and a woman "thinks only of marriage. It is her big idea at sixteen as a tart was at eight" . . . "she is pious; she has been candied in devotion as a bonbon in sugar."

Taine attacks the materialism of his time: "A good appetite compensates for all ills . . . the body persuades the soul that all is for the best in the best of worlds." In the *Life and Philosophic Opinions of a Cat* which appears in the *Journey in the Pyrenees* and is a prototype of the *Notes on Paris*, or the *Life and Opinions of Thomas Graindorge*, Taine scathingly satirizes materialistic ideals: "He who eats is happy; he who digests is happier; he who sleeps while digesting is even happier still." The cats look upon heaven as a nice dark attic full of fat rats. Taine does not trouble to put on gloves when handling the bourgeois sons of M. Jourdain who purchase poetry by the yard and desire to have their portraits painted in their

bathrobes. Of course the bourgeois tourist does not escape . . . "afraid of being considered prosaic, everybody today has a sublime soul; and a sublime soul is condemned to cries of admiration. There are even sheeplike minds which admire on some one's else's word and grow excited by imitation." And Taine merrily describes a worthy family touring the Pyrenees. The guide points out to them a bluish line on the horizon with the information, "There is Toulouse." The father, his eyes shining, repeats to his sons, "There is Toulouse." The sons seeing his joy, cry in ecstasy, "There is Toulouse!"

Political institutions are satirized in the poultry yard comedy recounted by the cat. In the preface to his *Revolutionary Government*, Taine exposes the cult of the crocodile of which the dogmas are government by the people, the rights of man, and the social contract. After the death of eye-witnesses, says Taine, continuing his satire of the Revolution, it was possible to persuade the good public that "crocodiles were philanthropists, that several among them were even geniuses, that as a rule they devoured only the blame-worthy, and that, if they sometimes ate too much, they did it ignorantly, in spite of themselves, or through devotion, the sacrifice of themselves to the common good."

Taine has his fling at the law, "that majestic statue which we salute and pass by," and at attorneys of whom he praises one for having obtained out of twelve cases, twelve condemnations of which three are capital. (A line which carries the theme of Brioux's *Robe Rouge*). Taine smiles with equal mockery on the sciences. The Springs at Cauterets, he explains, cure a different disease every century. At Barèges you must have a great deal of health to get well.

There is a phase of Taine's satire which one might call illegitimate. I mean his penchant for sheer perversity. It represents one of the pathological states of romanticism

and frequently develops into sadism. There is a stifled romanticism in Tainé, and he shares with his beloved Beyle and with Mérimée, the desire to shock the bourgeois. This desire to shock seems peculiar in a man of Tainé's sobriety and earnestness, but it is probably due to a repressed self which demanded expression and forced itself out in this way. Tainé writes to his friend Suckau of himself: "The passionate struggling animal which you knew starts up from time to time and grows restless, but I will put it to sleep, I hope, to awaken it only if ever there comes the day of the great judgment."

In matters of religion Tainé's perversity is unfailing, and he directs numerous sallies against the church, the clergy, God. I do not mean to say that Tainé is perverse because he has no religion, but because he enjoys annoying the religious. Tainé writes to Suckau, who is preparing some philosophical thesis: "Surely it's not for the doctorate that you are distilling that chemical mixture of which the three substances are Jesus Christ, Hegel and Spinoza." While waiting anxiously for judgment to be passed on his own thesis, the *Sensations*, he wrote: "I am waiting for the Last Judgment as the saints who contemplate the Almighty with trembling. Mortar-board, doctor's robe and sheepskin, it seems to me that that august trinity is stealing away before my eyes saying, 'I'll never come back again.'" Ceremonies and sacred symbols are sometimes artistic, sometimes laughable, and he rather enjoys finding them laughable. At Eaux-Bonnes he says people stand in line to pray as they do to drink, and that they crowd into the chapel as they do about the faucets. He watches the choir-boys, "little scamps in their red vestments" coming out of church and calls them a "band of monkeys led by a good fat priest, with plaited neck-band, cuffs, and lace dangling and floating like wings." He agrees with

Stendhal that religion in England spoils one day out of every seven and destroys one-seventh of the possible happiness. In the following quotation there is a turn of wit like that of Anatole France in his customary irreverent mood. In writing to his sister Virginia about Bernadin de St. Pierre, Taine tells her that his "physics and physiology are candied in God and that God, mason and scullion, plays rather an insipid role in all his explanations." He calls the *Te Deum* "monkey-shines" and prefers the opera.

Taine allows himself much less latitude in his mockery of idealism: for if he was not a religious idealist he was certainly a man with a high moral ideal, that of an honest workman rather than that of a dreamer, for he says: "whoever has lived or thought knows that only the ability to hold himself to tiresome daily work, and honesty toward himself and others, can make a human being honorable in his own eyes and tolerable in social life." He writes more picturesquely, "From twenty to thirty, man, with no little trouble, strangles his ideal; then he lives or thinks he lives in peace, but it is the peace of the girl-mother who has killed her first child." After this it is clear that what Taine says scoffingly of the ideal is said rather for an effect than in earnest.

Perversity, especially among later French romanticists, often develops into sadism, exhibiting itself in the depiction of physical suffering. It arises partly from the unhealthy curiosity of the "dandy," the desire to test out every form of sense impression and to prove himself able to endure anything without betraying emotion. Mérimée goes to an execution in Spain to study the effect on his nerves. His *Tamango* exemplifies this love of the physically horrible. Taine shows a like taste in the tale of Pé de Puyane related in the *Journey in the Pyrenees* and also in the description of a harrowing suicide recounted

in the *Notes on Paris*. In a letter written to Guillaume Guizet to defend art for art's sake and philosophy for truth and not for morality, Taine coldly describes the most scientific way of killing. (This letter might well have suggested to Bourget the theme of *Le Disciple*, a book which hurt Taine very deeply).

We have already seen how much pessimism has filtered into Taine's gaiety. Looking on him frankly as a pessimist, we shall try to explain the forms and the causes of his pessimism.

Pessimism is an illusive state of mind, to be fixed firmly in no school of philosophy, in no country, in no time. It was common before Koheleth and will stay with us till the world conceives even more clearly than did Dante a *lieto fattore*. Pessimism may be due to the influence of the times, it may be emotional, or intellectual.

Taine was permeated with the ills of all three stages of the *mal du siècle*. He bears traces of Byronism, of the disillusionment of the Second Empire, and of the despair of the decadents. The nineteenth century in France was littered with the fragments of broken political, scientific and moral ideals, so that much of the literature is depressing, hopeless, brutal. Men turned to debauch as an avenue of escape. Hence nerve victims such as Des Esseintes. Taine turned to science as a refuge. He was early disillusioned and the cord of hope, as he says, broke in his "machine" before he was twenty-five and he never succeeded in mending it. His early correspondence veers constantly in the direction of ennui: "I yawn, I wertherize, I byronize, I wish I were at the bottom of the Red Sea." Taine is keenly conscious of the depression of his generation: "We will find truth but not calm. All that we can cure at present is our intelligence; we have no hold on our feelings." He explains the general sadness in

this way: "The democracy excited our ambitions without satisfying them; the proclaimed philosophy lighted our curiosity without contenting it."

Thus we find Taine not a scholar apart from the interests of his time, but a sensitive man marked by that period which, as Bourget says, conceals an incurable principle of sin, of grief and of death.

But effect of moment and milieu is not entirely responsible for Taine's pessimism. If we isolate him like a Robinson Crusoe, we can find in his private life and his nature causes for emotional pessimism. To begin with he had bad health all his life and his letters like those of Mérimée in his later years, are full of illusions to his "machine" which is working badly or almost not at all. It is an open question as to whether bad health causes pessimism or pessimism bad health. But certainly suffering does not add to a man's happiness.

In the early years of his career Taine met with numerous mortifying failures, due largely to the timorous conservatism of his judges. He failed at the aggregation, was forced away from philosophy, his chosen field, and was driven to accept inferior positions in tiresome provincial towns. In addition to such disappointments, Taine seems to have felt his work, whether the production of books, teaching, or his duties as examiner for St. Cyr, as a task which brought him little pleasure. Toward the end of his life came family griefs, the quarrel with the Bonapartes, and the painful shock which Bourget's *Disciple* caused him. One cannot point to a single *grande douleur*. Taine endured a petty warfare of trials calculated to wear out the nerves rather than to ennoble the character. Taine could not throw off annoyances of that sort. He describes their effect in a letter to Suckau: "The trouble is that every little disappointment, like a pebble, stirs up the

depth of black philosophic mud which we used to play in together at school. The annoyance endures and I think of the blessed Red Sea which you know."

Perhaps this lack of a *grande douleur* is in part the cause of the unsympathetic coldness of Tainé. He has the *alma sdegnosa* of Dante without the justification of great generous sympathy. Tainé admits his own tendency to see the ugly in men. His receipt for the making of men is indicative of that tendency; "Stupidity, violence, ignorance, rascality, those are the main ingredients which the good God mixed to make the human species." He draws a sharp distinction between men in general and the intellectual class and he writes with a certain haughty superiority to Boutmy in '88: "I had taken my gospel, Marcus Aurelius, with me. He is the gospel for those of us who have passed through philosophy and the sciences: he says to men of our culture what Jesus said to the people." Even in his relations with his intimate friends one feels a tendency to force his ideas on others, an intellectual intolerance.

Along with this disdain, one finds in Tainé its opposite, self-depreciation, which is no less a symptom of egoism. It is easily understood in a naturally retiring disposition, especially when a man leads a rather solitary, very studious life. He is constantly afraid of ridicule and draws attention to his own peculiarities as though to forestall another in doing so. Tainé's easily wounded vanity counts among the ingredients of his pessimism.

Tainé was very ambitious, and for the most part, his ambitions as a scholar were realized. But, especially in his youth, he was eager to become a writer of imaginative literature for which he did not have sufficient gift. He confesses this himself in a letter to Prevost-Paradol: "My misfortune is to have desires higher than my ability, I dislike myself as much as others: I feel that I am and will

always be insignificant; it is useless to cultivate ungrateful soil, one can draw from it only what it contains, so I have a permanent unavoidable depth of sadness." He writes later: "It enrages me to be an atom, and were I not disgusted with being others, I would be disgusted with being myself." To cool this tormenting ambition, he floods his mind with cold reasoning, insisting that it is quite natural that he should be among the three million nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand eight hundred eggs of the cod which are lost, and by infusing a concoction of Spinoza into this idea he becomes, "a reasonable conventional creature, in a long coat, spectacles and a black cravate, doing his work as regularly as a mill horse, esteemed in the world, useful to the social order, and perfectly worthy of being a porter or a minister."

Taine's ambition is shadowed by his critical mind. The keener a man becomes to the faults of others the less blinded is he allowed to remain to his own short-comings. Taine explains Mérimée's sadness by his too critical nature and one might explain a large degree of Taine's in a similar way. The young Taine shows a decided, almost an embarrassing tendency, to contrast himself with his friends. His desire to have successes similar to theirs is not such as to deserve the term envy, but it betrays an unhealthy self-preoccupation. In '53 he writes to his mother that About's enthusiasm is contagious: "How comes it that I have so little, that I do everything by will, that only from time to time there comes to me a burst of passion or a breath of power?"

We have found Taine reflecting the sadness of his age, and inclined toward gloom by his own nature. His philosophy shows him also intellectually pessimistic.

He is a stoic, an ardent disciple of Marcus Aurelius, consoling himself with that bitter consolation which is the

contemplation of the nothingness of man. This constant preoccupation has added a wealth of sadness to the poetic pages of Pierre Loti. Taine as a thinker rather than as a poet, is profoundly aware of the littleness of man as measured by the yardstick of eternity. "We are but a temporary excrescence, made of a little thickened air" he writes in the *Journey in the Pyrenees*, or, in Stevenson's words, "a hairy bubble of the dust." Hence the bitter question: Of what use is it all? "I understand of course that with everyone pushing a little at the wheel, the thirty-six million hands will force the machine on. But every effort and every worker is so imperceptible that at the very most one pushes for conscience sake: it is absurd to push with enthusiasm and in the hope of seeing a great movement."

In addition to the influence of stoicism Taine felt that of materialism and positivism. He studied Stuart Mill closely and writes with regard to materialistic philosophers "they have purged the human heart of its illusions, of its ambitions, of its fancies." One must keep one's eyes on the dust and stones of the road, on the facts of life to be a materialist, and the facts are not beautiful. Taine struggled against the title of materialist and his definition of materialism is not flattering: "A sort of negative, destructive good sense which consists principally in suppressing fine truths and in degrading noble things." Nevertheless he was influenced by materialism and, as Prof. Guérard says of him, "he was dragged skyward by Hegel, earthward by Stuart Mill."

There are many instances in which Taine's pessimistic ideas seem to coincide with those of Schopenhauer. That German bird of ill omen has cast his shadow over the thoughts of Taine. There is the same lament that the higher civilization goes the greater becomes man's capacity

for suffering. Taine hesitates to marry, dreading to pass the sadness of living on to others. Apropos of Beethoven's music, Taine expresses Schopenhauer's theory of the will to live: "It is the universal chorus of the living which one hears rejoicing and complaining, it is the great soul of which we are the thoughts, it is all nature incessantly wounded by the necessities which mutilate and crush it, but quivering in its own death and among the thousands of dead which are heaped on it, lifting again toward heaven its hands filled with new generations, with that low inexpressible cry, forever stifled and forever re-born, of unassuaged desire." To live is to suffer, wails Schopenhauer, and Taine repeats that no one can escape the necessity of suffering. He finds a hundred times more pain than pleasure in life. "When you find a moment's pleasure, look upon it as a happy accident" is certainly the counsel of a man who believes happiness to be a "poetry which exists no longer." "Happiness is impossible," Taine writes, "calm is the supreme end of man."

How often he alludes to "calm," to "nothingness" to "Nirvana" as the end of life. He turns to Musset to indulge his ennui, to Marcus Aurelius for his consolation. "La gentilezza del morir" suggested to him neither the pistol of Werther nor the lantern-gallows of Gérard de Nerval. He was safeguarded by his God who counselled proud resignation and promised after death a paradise of eternal night.

One of the most pessimistic results of Taine's studies is his theory of hallucination which is developed in his *Intelligence*. Our mental life is always on the verge of madness . . . hallucination and perception are one and the same thing. He expresses it also in his study on Carlyle: "Ideas changed into hallucinations lose their solidity: beings seem dreams: the world, appearing in a nightmare,

seems to be nothing more than a nightmare: the witnessing of the corporeal senses loses its authority before interior visions as lucid as itself. Man can no longer distinguish between dreams and perceptions."

It is scarcely necessary to mention Tainé's lack of any religious belief whatsoever. He regarded gods as forms in which men express their ideas of nature: christianity is a "beautiful poem believed to be true." "God," he says, "hinders scientific progress in England, producing a jargon, prejudices, intolerance and flatterers."

In view of Tainé's inclination toward gloom, one is not surprised to find him constantly shaking his head over the world's ruin. The pessimism of his *Notes on Paris* is so thick that one grows a little suspicious of its sincerity. Seen with his eyes his times look black indeed. His general pessimism regarding politics, the clergy, science, art and society must be discounted somewhat. Tainé had the dangerous through picturesque habit of exaggeration. He sought to redeem a monotonous life with an imaginary life of grandeur. There is a touch of Balzac in him. He loved to contemplate *beaux monstres* such as Napoleon and Byron, and he strove to make the world a fitting abode for them, a black forest peopled with fierce beasts and cut-throats.

Tainé hated the Revolution bitterly and was never done laying at its doors the ills of France. Possibly he hated it most because a dull democracy resulted from it. Although Tainé did his best to help his country in the hard days after the Franco-Prussian war, he was never encouragingly optimistic: in fact, he was always expecting a political catastrophe. He disliked Gambetta most unjustly and in May 1877 he wrote, "I foresee Gambetta president of the Republic in four months. Instead of a slow descent to gross democracy, we will doubtless have a sudden fall."

In the month of August of the same year, he prophesies even more sadly: "Whatever happens in politics will be for the worse. I foresee with great fear a coup d'état, a bonapartist restoration . . . I have no hope in any direction." As late as '88 he is still despondent and writes to Boutmy that he is ashamed before foreigners for her literature and her government have made of France a scandal.

Political and religious questions are always getting knotted together in France, and Taine was no less hostile to the clergy than to the government. He expresses his opinions freely in his *Note Books of Travel*, which deal with France. In the course of his frequent trips he had occasion to study the intellectual gendarmerie in the provinces, a stagnant pool wherein the ecclesiastical net is spread.

As Taine is neither a politician nor priest, but a scientist we might well expect him to be more optimistic with regard to his favorite subject. In '49 he considered science as the sole remedy for the general poisoned condition of the nineteenth century: "the only road along which one can advance without becoming spattered with mud." Already in '54 he admits scepticism, "except for mathematics our sciences are mere probabilities. In the *Notes on Paris* he calls science a slow intelligent suicide of which the best fruit is cold resignation, which, pacifying and preparing the soul, reduces suffering to bodily pain." But, in spite of his scepticism Taine clings to science, insisting that there can be found in it a new art, morality, politics and religion and that these should be sought. If he was pessimistic regarding science, it must have been very much against his will.

Taine by his *Etienne Mayran* penetrated the domain of the novel. In the few chapters which he wrote he imitates the pessimistic realism of the time. It is not easy

to forget the miserable scholars he describes, the grease spots on the tables, the wretched dwelling place of the old music master. Taine seems to have been in a fair way to imitate the "deformities and coarseness" of Monnier, Champfleury, etc., who, he says, have ceased to feel true beauty. Evidently he is not enthusiastically in favor of the literary tendencies of the period. Likewise he complains that artists paint "to have the cross at the Exposition, to create excitement, to arouse curiosity, to enliven the tired taste of a few Parisiens."

It is impossible to consider in detail Taine's pessimistic opinions of society. Indeed there is little else in the *Notes on Paris*. Men are still animals who fight to have their bit of raw fish, but under the eye of a policeman and not with a stone knife. Men cannot understand each other. Conversation itself renders men and women cynical, and the opinions given are never sincere. Married couples are always unhappy: "The husband wears himself out working and the wife is bored with doing nothing." "They study one another for three weeks, love for three months, dispute for three years, and endure one another for thirty years, and the children begin it over again." Marriage is a stone that oppresses the heart. The system of education is false, etc. After sad reflections on provincial life, Taine says that perhaps his impressions are at fault as they are pessimistic; and that it would be better to see the good as Schiller and Goethe do, tacitly comparing our society with the savage state.

What has the study of Taine's gaiety and pessimism revealed to us of his character? Within a highly moral nature governed by an indomitable will there is evident an impetuous personality difficult to restrain. Taine had enough of the artist in him to make the platitude of his life tormenting without having enough ability to satisfy his

craving. While to all appearances his pleasure lay in the uninterrupted round of study and simple living, there was a strange love of violence and power in his nature betrayed in his studies on Carlyle, Byron, Napoleon and the Jacobins, not only in the gloomy magnificence of the subjects but in the violent excited style in which the articles are written. He escaped from the ordinary by his imagination and lived a life apart with villain heroes, admiring them while he condemned. His life was not even colored by a *grande passion*. His marriage was one of convenience. He has given proof of a lack of sympathy, of marked contempt, where mankind is concerned, and of the great pride of intellect. In some cases even he has been stubbornly unjust, as in his treatment of the Revolution and of Gambetta. His natural tendency was toward pessimism, and his philosophy of stoicism, the prevailing *mal du siècle*, the unhappy political events which he witnessed naturally increased this tendency. Even his gaiety is for the most part satire. Taine is a man who will have our undying respect, especially as we realize some of the odds against which he worked, but there is a certain coldness and rigidity in his nature, an utter lack of the poetic mysticism of Renan, a want of human understanding which will always preclude any great affection for him as a lovable personality.

HILDA LAURA NORMAN.

## XXVI.—THE FIELD OF THE ESSAY

Of all the literary terms in common use, the word "essay" has perhaps the widest field and the most indeterminate content. Since the form to which it applies has taken on a fresh character in the hands of almost all its chief exponents, it has become in practice the designation for any piece of prose of moderate length, and has consequently embraced a bewilderingly various subject-matter. Moreover, the essayists themselves are by no means all of a piece. Bacon and Lamb, for instance, have little in common; and the type of 'essayist' represented by Macaulay and Carlyle has little in common with either. As a result of this wide extension, studies of the essay either include so much as to be very indefinite,<sup>1</sup> or else are based on partial views, the upshot, in either case, becoming sufficiently vague. At the same time, the word "essay" goes on being used, and collections, of curiously assorted content, go on being made; and it therefore seems worth while to pass in review the different types represented in actual practice, in order to see just how much continuity is discernible among them.

I take it that the chief distinguishing marks of the essay would be held to be relative brevity and a prevailingly informal tone. The first requisite is certainly fulfilled by Bacon and Addison, and in the main by Lamb and his successors; but the second is certainly not fulfilled by Bacon, nor, on the whole, by Hazlitt, especially if we compare him with Addison and Lamb. Moreover, relative

<sup>1</sup> So, particularly, Professor Hugh Walker's *The English Essay* (London, 1915), which, in spite of some attempt at exclusion, ends by including a little of almost everything. But I have yet to find a study which practices a vigorous delimitation.

brevity no longer necessarily applies when we turn to critical and biographical work, as is at once obvious in the case of Macaulay. We here encounter a third connotation of our elusive term, that of experimental rather than exhaustive approach—the essay as opposed to the treatise, the biographical essay, for instance, as opposed to the full-length and voluminous life. This connotation, too, is not foreign to the Baconian essay;<sup>2</sup> but if it is applied as a mediating factor between Bacon and Macaulay, the consideration of relative brevity is at once demolished. An essay of Macaulay's is more like a condensed book than an essay of Bacon's is like an essay of Macaulay's. Thus the attempt to keep these three criteria together shows us that they need not be, and in practice often are not, found in combination; so that any attempt to apply them systematically tends to split up the field into groups marked by one or two of them, but seldom by all three.

A similar cleavage is revealed if we consider the types of writing which essays represent. One type, formal argument, is obviously very rare; Bacon's *Of Usury* is unique in his collection, and the informal argument which appears in Addison is very different in procedure and in tone. Nowadays we should hardly look for explicit argument in anything properly to be called an essay, or, conversely, should think the appearance of such argument sufficient ground for denying the title. As Professor MacDonald observes,<sup>3</sup> "Throughout the history of

<sup>2</sup> Which, as Professor Northup well says, "was to be literally an attempt, a trial (Latin *exagium*, 'a weighing, balance'), an estimate of pros and cons, a debate which should determine the practical worth of motives and qualities and characters" (Riverside edition, p. xxiii).

<sup>3</sup> Charles Lamb, *Greatest of the Essayists*, in these *Publications*, xxxii, p. 552.

the essay contemporary events and controversial questions have been excluded." The other three major types, however, are liberally represented. Bacon describes the ideal country-house and the ideal garden; such ampler collections as the *Spectator* and the *Sketch-Book* abound in instances of description and narration, easily classifiable under their respective forms. Closely united with these is the character-sketch, as distinguished from the formal biography.<sup>4</sup> As for exposition, it is obvious that probably a majority of essays fall within it, and that much of the supposed 'essay-quality' resides precisely in them. We have formal exposition in Bacon, with a conclusion emphasized and enforced; we have informal in Addison, with the conclusion not insisted on, or even left for the reader to draw; we have the use of discussion and dialog to bring out and develop differences in point of view. Whatever our angle of approach, then, we find in the essay

<sup>4</sup> The relation of the "character" to the essay, though undeniable, is elusive and in need of watching. The 17th century type, whether a vehicle for satire and stylistic cleverness as in Overbury, or for sounder and more sympathetic observation as in Earle, was an unstable form, which, so far as it remained a living force in literature, tended to make its subject more individual and more plausibly human, even where the generic label was retained. This development, beginning with Steele and Addison, is carried still further in Lamb's descriptions of the South Sea House clerks and the old benchers of the Temple, with an emphasis on picturesque and individual traits which reaches a climax in such pieces as Stevenson's *English Admirals* or *Portraits by Ræburn*. The result is a steady transition from the purely analytic or satiric mood to sheer delight in the quaintness of individual human beings, a change which we can also trace in the 19th century novel. That it has influenced both style and point of view in the essay proper is clear; but equally so is the fact that all such "characters" are only assimilated to the true essay, not examples of it; their proper place is under the head of descriptions of persons, with or without the addition of an analytic element.

a mixture of types and of procedures; and our problem is to decide how this mixture is to be accounted for. To solve it, we must have recourse to the historical method.

If we look back well beyond the accepted beginnings of the modern essay in Montaigne and Bacon—back, indeed, to the beginnings of modern prose literature in the humanists of Italy—we shall find the genesis of a double literary development in which lies the clue we seek. The point of departure is the Latin letter which the humanists revived after the example of the younger Seneca, and which is shown in its first stage in the works of Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati. In their hands the letter was less a means of friendly intercourse than a medium of scholarly communication; it was carefully and conscientiously written, it often passed freely from hand to hand, it might attain a very considerable length. No sharp line was drawn between the letter of this type and the treatise; the ostensible recipient was often forgotten, and the treatment became lengthy and formal. Soon, however, a wider and exacter knowledge and appreciation of ancient models began to clarify this confusion, until we have, on the one hand, real letters, following the example of Cicero, and on the other genuine treatises, frankly designed for general circulation. The process has been excellently described by Professor Rossi: "Long letters, which in their content may be compared to philosophical treatises, are frequently encountered in the correspondence of Petrarch and Coluccio, but less often in those of the humanists of the Quattrocento. For the example of Cicero, operating by a double path, favored the short and lively letter, and indicated a fitter form for the exposition of philosophical matters in the dialog. Treatises freed from that last relic of the epistolary arrangement, the superscription—the dedicatory letter might precede, independently—abound

in the humanistic literature."<sup>5</sup> This influence of the Ciceronian (and ultimately Platonic) dialog also has its share in the subsequent development. Before long all these types were taken over by vernacular writers; a capital example of the developed treatise is Leon Battista Alberti's *Three Books on Painting*, of the dialog his discourse *On Tranquillity of Mind*. We must also, before quitting this period, mention the commentary—a conveniently inclusive term for any collection of observations which did not pretend to the formality of a treatise, and which covers, among other works, Vespasiano da Bisticci's lives of his distinguished contemporaries and Ghiberti's sketch of the history of the fine arts before and during his own time.<sup>6</sup>

After wider and exacter literary training had brought about this differentiation, a new force was added by the invention of printing. Thus, the slighter and more casual treatise assumed the form of the pamphlet, of what Professor Schelling, in speaking of the Elizabethan development, has aptly called "the prose of contemporary comment;" later the periodical essays, their brevity strictly conditioned by the circumstances of their issue, take shape in the hands of Steele and Addison; later still, the development of journalism creates the article and the editorial, thereby, we may note, furnishing a channel for the argumentative stream which has flowed away from the essay as we now understand it. But the old connection with the letter is still visible. Some of Seneca's moral epistles would serve well enough as short editorials in a religious paper of to-day; certain letters of Petrarch and Salutati

<sup>5</sup> *Il Quattrocento* (Milan, 1900), p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> Alberti calls his treatise on painting a commentary, probably with a view to modesty, for it is sizable and systematic.

are easily conceived of as the ancestors of the modern review article; and conversely we still find numerous "letters to the editor" in newspaper and weekly.

Such, then, is the complex heredity which lies behind the essay in the sense of a short piece of prose. Its kinship with the letter is unmistakable, as is also its connection with the short treatise and the dialog. We may note in the *Spectator* the large part played by letters, real or imaginary; the discussions in which members of the Club, and others, participate; and the direct addresses to the public. But the kinship with the letter is the most important, and the longest to survive. In Lamb, for instance, the germs of several of the *Essays of Elia* can be found in his correspondence; and some of his letters are virtually indistinguishable from miniature essays,<sup>7</sup> a statement also true of the letters of others. I can see no sense in which Gray's well-known letter on the laureateship differs in mood or style from an essay; it merely carries brevity to an extreme.

Yet another point of contact deserving mention is that between the essay and the journal or diary.<sup>8</sup> We might conceive the *Spectator* as a series of detached leaves from the complete record of its author's observations and reading; and we know that various writers have actually used the journal as a repository for material later to be utilized for developed works. Joubert's *Pensées* are gleanings from the journal which he kept almost throughout his life; and the examples of Thoreau and Emerson are too

<sup>7</sup> See, among others, the letter on brawn (Everyman ed., I, p. 232; that on the roast pig (*ib.*, II, p. 15); and that on life at Enfield (*ib.*, II, p. 256).

<sup>8</sup> Such titles as *The Tatler*, *The Spectator*, *The Rambler*, *The Citizen of the World*, are of obvious reference here.

familiar to need more than mention.<sup>9</sup> The addition of a certain thread of plot gives such a record sufficient continuity to produce a type of story, in which the reflections of author and characters provide the main interests, as in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* and Holmes' *Breakfast Table* series, the plot being merely a mechanism to keep the characters moving, and provide occasions for discourse—a device for avoiding formal presentation.<sup>10</sup>

The upshot of all this is that when traits belonging to letter, informal dialog, or journal are discerned in a short piece of unclassified prose, the temptation to call it an "essay" is ready at hand; and yet what is meant is not a form, but a tone or an attitude. This tone, this attitude, may appear in such different shapes as a letter, a *Spectator* paper, or *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*; and it is therefore not surprising that the field to which the term "essay" is applied should be broad and indeterminate. Defining the essay on the basis of any collection, by one author or by several, is like trying to define a magazine on the basis of its contents; the only satisfactory account of a miscellany is just that it is a miscellany, and only a general labelling of content and intention is possible.

We thus seem brought to the conclusion that what we mean by "essay" is after all largely a matter of 'essay-quality,' and obliged to inquire whether we can give a satisfactory account of that quality. Even among the 'canonical' essayists the wide diversity of style and point

<sup>9</sup> "The volume was, indeed, a kind of treatise to be:—a hard, systematic, well-concatenated train of thought, still implicated in the circumstances of a journal."—Pater, *Sebastian van Storck*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dixon Scott's remark on Henry James' *Passionate Pilgrim*: "The action of the tale—its love affair and phantom—is scarcely more than a piece of delicate clockwork to keep his impressions softly circling" (*Men of Letters*, p. 83).

of view is obvious. We can, however, limit our search by not carrying it back to Bacon; for his work, though it apparently stands at the beginning of the English essay, yet in a broader view represents the end, not the beginning, of a tradition—the tradition, that is, of humanism, clarified by experience, modified by the dawn of modern science, but unmistakable. This fact explains many traits of the *Essays*, and indeed of Bacon's general attitude.<sup>11</sup> It explains his distrust of contemporary physical science, and of the vernacular as a permanent literary medium; it explains his contempt for romantic love, and his rather slighting attitude toward poetry; it explains why one of the longest and most highly finished of the essays is that on the stock humanistic theme of friendship; it explains his fondness for the younger Seneca, always a favorite with the humanists. When he refers us to Seneca as the source of his own conception of the essay he is absolutely right, and those who wonder at his silence touching Montaigne exhibit an oddly needless perplexity.

For all practical purposes, then, the essay in its modern aspect begins with Addison, and in his work we may first examine the adjustment of author's attitude to diversified material. We find in him, as already noted, description, narration, and informal discussion; and we also find a class of essays characterized by *the inversion of a normal expository process*. That is, they expound a matter seemingly too trivial or absurd for serious exposition, or they expound it in an unexpected and whimsical way. The paper on the Fan (*Spectator*, No. 102) is a mock explan-

<sup>11</sup> For a capital account of the general background of ideas in England from which the Baconian essay emerges, see J. Zeitlin, *Commonplaces in Elizabethan Life and Letters*, in *Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.* XIX (1920), pp. 47-65. The traits which he there points out can be traced well back into the Renaissance.

ation of a process, soberly setting forth the workings of the academy which offers systematic drill in the management of the "little modish machine." The paper on the Cat-call (*ibid.*, No. 361) in reply to a letter inquiring the origin of the instrument, gives the various theories on the subject offered by learned friends, and discusses its applications in the writer's own day. So the proposal (*ibid.*, No. 251) to appoint a comptroller-general of the street-cries of London, which are duly divided into vocal and instrumental, with their relative sub-groups, is perfectly regular in development. In papers such as these the essay assumes a radically new shape, and discharges a novel function.

The same inversion, under a more bewildering stylistic cloak, can be traced in much of the most characteristic work of Lamb. The *Dissertation on Roast Pig*—if classification of that delicious whimsey be needed—is a mock process; *The Two Races of Men* is a mock division; *Imperfect Sympathies* is a thesis supported by deliberately humorous examples. We have also the mock encomium—a form which can trace its ancestry well back into classical times, and which was also practised in the Renaissance—in *The Praise of Chimney-sweepers* and *A Complaint of the Decay of Beggars*. In his hands this subdivision of the essay makes steady progress in unexpectedness of topic, treatment, and style, until the second and third of these elements decisively prevail over the first. It is a method which obviously admits large amounts of paradox and parody, and may indeed employ them in excess, in which case the 'essay-quality' inevitably suffers, as it does with Mr. Chesterton. In Lamb, however, serious views usually underlie the discourse, however whimsical its outer aspect; and so they do in most of his successors who have adopted the type.

This method of inversion, it must be noted, necessarily falls in the domain of exposition, that is, on the intellectual side of writing; for the perception of unlikeness on which it rests involves comparison. An absurdity is not an absurdity to one who is unconscious of its conflict with ordinary experience; and in literature the wildest record of emotion, the most fantastic narrative, is in *method* indistinguishable from any other piece of description or narration. A fanciful story may be sober and close-knit like *Through the Looking-Glass*, or diffuse and rambling like *Water-Babies*; but only the reflective intelligence can distinguish either from a tale of common fact. So in general with inversion, paradox, irony: to the unreflective they are something quite other than what they are intended to be, and as unreflective readers abound, the puzzlement and irritation often caused by such methods are easily accounted for.

The unity of the essay, then, so far as it exists, is that of the essayist's point of view and manner of approach, not that of the several pieces, often radically different in method and temper, grouped under the term. Hence only resemblances between authors enable us to equate groups. The effort to discover a single continuous 'essay-tradition' in English is vain; I can see no reason to suppose that Lamb's work would have been in the slightest degree altered if Bacon had never written a line. Kinships between authors we can find; but they are exceedingly likely to cut across accepted literary divisions. Lamb derived much from Burton and Sir Thomas Browne; but can either be called an essayist in the sense that he is one? Dr. Holmes and Dr. Crothers have much in common; but surely the narrative interest in *The Autocrat* distinguishes it from

*The Pardoner's Wallet*. In other words, the principle of classification is less that of literary form than that of author's attitude and intention.

Is it, however, possible to use this last criterion as the basis of a sounder division? I believe that it is; and in conclusion I wish to point out the various main groups which have come to light in the course of our survey, and to suggest names for them, so far as reliable practice supplies them. We have three main classes, with some sub-divisions, the relations of which will be clearest if they are arranged in quasi-tabular form.

I. The non-exhaustive treatment of a historical, biographical, or critical topic, the best general term for which is *study*, as in Froude's *Short Studies in Great Subjects*, Lord Bryce's *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, or Mr. Symons' *Studies in Prose and Verse*. Sometimes, in purely critical work, the term *estimate* appears, as in Professor Mather's *Estimates in Art*, or Mr. Drinkwater's *Swinburne: An Estimate*. In biography the variations of scope and treatment may justify the use of a separate term, the best, apparently, being *portrait*, as in Mr. Gamaliel Bradford's *Confederate Portraits* and *Union Portraits*.<sup>12</sup>

II. The brief description of a place or a character, whether the latter be general, as in the older type, or specific. The best term for this is *sketch*, as in Irving's *Sketch-Book*, or Henry James' *Transatlantic Sketches*. The term *character*, however, will doubtless be retained in its technical sense with reference to the seventeenth-century type or to later work directly modelled on it.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Bradford, as is well known, does not wholly like *portrait*, for which he would substitute *psychograph*. The latter, however, beside being ugly, seems not readily intelligible, and is hardly likely to make its way into accepted use.

III. The purely expository essay, of which we can distinguish three main types:

1) the essay which condenses the writer's experience and reading about a single topic, as in Bacon.

2) the essay which provides informal discussion of a point of manners or taste, as often in Addison and his successors.

3) the essay which inverts or whimsically applies a normal expository process, as in the examples cited from Addison and Lamb.

All three of these are sufficiently distinct to deserve separate names, especially the last; but I do not find that current practice justifies any. Certainly neither *informal* nor *familiar* can properly be restricted to either the second or the third class (neither fits the first); and there would seem to be a good opportunity for an inventor to supply us with the needed terms. Perhaps *commentary* might be revived to designate miscellaneous discussions of life in general; but it of course does not apply to any type of the essay proper.

It is now possible to see the lines by which the field of the essay is really divided. Brevity is at least highly desirable; informality has come to be largely taken for granted; tentativeness of approach and method, on the other hand, is a feature not necessarily restricted to the purely literary essay. As for the kinds of writing, the essayist's type of mind is most clearly reflected in the expository form, descriptive and narrative pieces being either subdued to it or given independent place, and argument given its own sphere in editorial or article. The literary essay as thus conceived has been well defined by Mr. D. T. Pottinger<sup>13</sup> as "a written monologue or—in

<sup>13</sup> *English Essays* (Macmillan, 1917), p. ix.

terms of another art—a personal letter addressed to the public.”<sup>14</sup> It might puzzle him to explain in what sense Pater’s *Child in the House* (which he includes in his collection) is either. In truth, the portrait is obviously distinguished from the pure essay by the fact that it discards the direct approach of writer to reader, and confines itself to the presentation of its real or imaginary subject; and the style which it adopts, whether rich and full-textured as in Pater, or keenly analytical in Mr. Bradford, is necessarily far removed from that of the *causerie*.

Thus we conclude that the unifying personality of the essayist, if sufficiently strong, can bring together a great variety of themes, and that the individual essay has free scope for variation. “We have to admit,” says Mr. Ernest Rhys, “that so long as it obeys the law of being explicit, casually illuminative of its theme, and germane to the intellectual mood of its writer, then it may follow pretty much its own devices.”<sup>15</sup> But when it becomes interested in depicting a character or narrating an event for their own sakes, it begins to pass from the circle of the essay proper to that of the sketch or the portrait; in Irving’s *Sketch-Book* no long scrutiny is needed to separate the real essays from the tales, and the task is fairly easy in many other cases. But the true province of the essay is in the setting forth—directly or invertedly—of its author’s moods, tastes, predilections, aversions, and all other reactions to experience. “We might end,” says Mr. Rhys again, “by claiming the essayists as dilute lyrists, engaged in pursuing a rhythm too subtle for verse, and life-

<sup>14</sup> “The Essays want no Preface: they are *all Preface*: A Preface is nothing but a talk with the reader; and they do nothing else.”—Letter of Lamb to his publishers (Everyman ed., II, p. 33).

<sup>15</sup> *A Century of Essays* (Everyman’s Library), p. viii.

like as common-room gossip."<sup>16</sup> In a sense it is very true that the essay in the hands of such a writer as Lamb exemplifies the finest capacities of prose as a medium of self-expression precisely as lyric poetry expresses those of verse; but thereby an *Essay of Elia* and a pure lyric are as unlike as are the two media which they thus present at their most highly finished development; they are parallel, but unmistakably different, and neither could conceivably discharge the function of the other.

I do not suppose that any examination such as the present will result in a much more careful restriction of the term "essay"; the free and easy use has gone on too long to be easily discarded. None the less, the discrimination of the true essay from the study, the portrait, and the sketch is worth making, and a perception of the real distinctions between them may in time help to make usage a little more exact.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ix.

## XXVII.—ENGLISH SONGS ON THE NIGHT VISIT

### THE NIGHT VISIT

Traces of the aube in English and Scottish literature are to be found in a few titles and a few fragments or adaptations of the type. But the aube, which deals with the parting of lovers at dawn, seems to me to represent only one group in a large body of songs that picture the various phases of a lover's secret visit to his lady at night. No such number of these related songs, either medieval or modern, is to be found in England as on the Continent, but enough material survives in one form or another to suggest their main conventions.

The songs must have arisen from a very ancient pagan custom which seems to have been practically universal among the people of Western Europe—that which allowed a youth to visit a girl secretly and spend the night with her before marriage. Even in the early stages of what might be called civilization in Europe, the custom was perhaps general, and it has been recorded within the last century in Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, England, Scotland, Wales, and America. It may have sprung from a primitive division of the sexes into groups with distinct living quarters, as in ancient Sparta and Rome, and from an obligation of a youth to visit his mate secretly.<sup>1</sup> In modern times the custom seems to have developed into the practice of secret and trial marriages, to be continued beyond a short period or not according to the will of the interested pair.<sup>2</sup> Survivals of temporary marriage, usu-

<sup>1</sup> See Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 215-16, 219, 328, 332; Macculloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, 335-36, and references given there.

<sup>2</sup> See Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 131-32; 11 *Notes and Queries*, I, 66, 176-77.

ally for a year, are recorded especially for Celtic Britain and Germany.<sup>3</sup> Probably relics of an ancient annual distribution of mates by lot at a spring sex festival are to be found in customs of Valentine's Day.<sup>4</sup> A related custom required a girl at the coming of the spring festival to forswear her husband or deliver up a symbol of her connection with the maiden group.<sup>5</sup>

The conventions of the night visit and its connection with formal song perhaps appear most fully in the modern survival in Switzerland known as "Kiltgang," the authorized visit of a suitor to his betrothed at night. Miss Lucy E. Broadwood has very kindly called my attention to the importance of the Swiss survival and has given me in personal letters an interesting description of the custom, based partly on her own observation. I summarize her account:<sup>6</sup>

The wooer comes; the girl awaits him at the window and protests conventionally, but admits him. The parents are aware of this but do not interfere or appear, for the

<sup>3</sup> See Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, p. 116, for the relation of a man to the clan of his wife until a child is born, and p. 135, n. 1, for the husband's secret visit to his wife for a year among the Circassians.

<sup>4</sup> See *Antiquary*, v, 41-50; Potter, pp. 131-32; Gomme, *Traditional Games*, I, 292-93; *Studies in Philology*, xvii, 38; Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, I, 109-10 (in the Vosges).

<sup>5</sup> See *Antiquary*, v, 142; Bolte, *Alemannia*, xiv, 189-93 (a sixteenth century song of a group of German maidens demanding that a girl forsake her husband or return the bride-ball to the group). Compare related customs in *Folk-Lore*, xxvii, 270-274, and Potter, pp. 131-32.

<sup>6</sup> Miss Broadwood refers to Ernst Buss, "Volksjustiz der Nachthuben in Kanton Bern," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, x, 162-66. See *Alemannia*, iv, 1-12, for an account of the modern *kiltgang* by Rochholz, who prints the songs, and also for an eighteenth century account.

young people are supposed to profit by it as they are enabled to break off the final marriage arrangements should either desire to do so. The wooer is obliged to make long rhymed or prose speeches before the girl consents to open the window. These speeches pass from mouth to mouth, but they are sometimes offered for sale at fairs. There is indeed a regular ritual in which the lovers, the girl's parents, and the "Nachtbuben" take part. The last are "young village fellows who act as night-watchmen of behaviour, whose part it is to know all about these courtships, pursue and place obstacles in the way of the wooer, study and proclaim the characters of both parties, and, in short, act as village spies and administrators of a rude justice and censorship showing themselves in accepted forms and customs."

The custom of the *kiltgang* was known among the Germans under the name of "fenstern" and among the Dutch under the name of "queesting."<sup>7</sup> In England, Scotland, Wales, and America, a similar practice survived well into the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The persistence of the custom in the face of the attitude of the church is indicative of a strong hold among the folk. The church fought long against the treatment of betrothal as marriage, but the folk possibly regarded it as, like handfasting, an ample rite. Moral pressure, however, in the end so modified the traditions of the night visit that, though the lover was received into the girl's bed, inhibitions were supposed to keep the relation an innocent one.

<sup>7</sup> See Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, pp. 134-35; for analogous customs among Asiatic people, see pp. 135-36.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 136-37; Moore, *Marriage Customs and Ceremonies* (1814), p. 35; Stiles, *Bundling; its Origin, Progress and Decline in America*.

The mass of literature dealing with the general subject I need not summarize. I am interested here only in the marks which the very ancient and very pagan ceremony of the night visit seems to have left on English literature even down to modern times. But the English material is very fragmentary, and the relation between the English songs and those of the Continent, especially of France, is so obviously close that from time to time continental literature will be cited for illustrative and supplementary material.

#### GENERAL SONGS ON THE NIGHT VISIT

Possibly there first developed on the Continent a group of songs dealing with the night visit of the lover without stressing any particular feature, though such songs cannot be found in so early a period or distributed over so wide a region of Europe as the aube. The lover's secret coming, his request for admittance, the parley with the girl, his entrance, and finally his departure before dawn, would furnish the main elements. With the small amount of popular medieval poetry that survives there is no possibility of determining the nature of such general songs on the night visit except by attempts at reconstruction through traces of them in medieval literature and through traditional songs and ballads. But there are several pictures of the visit of the lover,<sup>9</sup> which may give a suggestion of the norm.

<sup>9</sup> Only a single English fragment so far as I know suggests the custom of a visit from a girl to her lover on Valentine night—the song of the mad Ophelia in *Hamlet*, iv, 5:

Tomorrow is S. Valentines day, all in the morning betime,  
And I a Maid at your Window, to be your Valentine.

In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, the lover is instructed:<sup>10</sup>

And ryse on morwe up erly  
 Out of thy bedde, and harneys thee  
 Er ever dawning thou mayst see.  
 Al privily than shalt thou goon,  
 What weder it be, thy-silf aloon,  
 For reyn, or hayl, for snow, for slete,  
 Thider she dwellith that is so swete,  
 The which may falle aslepe be,  
 And thenkith but litel upon thee.  
 Than shalt thou goon, ful foule aferd;  
 Loke if the gate be unsperd,  
 And waite without in wo and peyn,  
 Ful yvel a-colde in winde and reyn.  
 Than shal thou go the dore bfore,  
 If thou maist fynde any score,  
 Or hole, or reft, what ever it were;  
 Than shalt thou stoupe, and lay to ere,  
 If they within a-slepe be;  
 I mene, alle save thy lady free.  
 Whom waking if thou mayst aspye,  
 Go put thy-silf in jupartye,  
 To aske grace . . .

. . . . .  
 For whom thou hast so greet annoy,  
 Shal kisse thee er thou go away,  
 And hold that in ful gret deyntee.  
 And, for that no man shal thee see  
 Bfore the hous, ne in the way,  
 Loke thou be goon ageyn er day.

In spite of the refinements of courtly poetry this passage seems to reflect the general features of the ancient

Then up he rose, & don'd his clothes, & dupt the chamber dore,  
 Let in the Maid, that out a Maid, never departed more.

See, however, Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*, pp. 148, 150, n., for the girl as the visitant in Italian songs.

<sup>10</sup> Ll. 2640-80; *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 2516-54.

night visit. A fifteenth century French poem, "Trop penser me font amours," published by Gaston Paris in *Chansons de XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*<sup>11</sup> gives a complete representation of the assignation, the coming of the lover, the meeting of the pair, and the parting before day, without emphasis on any special feature. And even in forms of these songs in which particular features are stressed there is often a picture of the whole visit. A number of aubes that belong to the folk represent both the coming and the parting. The traditional English aube "The Grey Cock" in several versions depicts the coming, the wooing, and the departure of the lover.<sup>12</sup> Indeed many individual songs in the special types of which I shall speak approximate only loosely to the conventions of their type, so that they might be regarded as belonging to a mass of general songs which reflect the night visit as a whole.

Emphasis, however, on one feature or another seems to have developed special types of songs. In certain ballads, both serious and comic, prominence is given, for example, to the secret entrance of the lover and the discovery of him by relatives of the girl. But the songs on the night visit would naturally fall into two types, those stressing the arrival of the lover and his reception, and those stressing his departure. It is to be expected, I think, that the second type, the aube, should have developed first and been more widespread, since the parting offered the dramatic moment for the expression of lyric passion. And such

<sup>11</sup> Société des anciens textes français, No. xxx.

<sup>12</sup> See Herd's version, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs*, II, 208, and a North Carolina version collected by Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, pp. 128-29. For foreign examples see Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, pp. 149-50; Victor Smith, *Romania*, VII, 56-58; Erk and Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, Vol. II, No. 813.

seems to have been the case on the Continent. I shall deal first, however, with the group of songs and ballads depicting the lover's approach and reception.

### "OPEN THE DOOR"

In connection with the coming of the lover certain details recur frequently enough to make up what might be called the type song on the theme. "Open the door," the lover pleads, with so little variation that the refrain "Open the door" may be regarded as identifying a song with the group we are studying. A feature that I take to be an early development is the suffering of the lover from the rain or snow and the cold, as in the *Romaunt of the Rose*. The parley between the lovers offers the chief point of expansion. Sometimes the lady scorns the wooer and sends him off. Conventionally she makes a show of reluctance and finally yields, at times with an enlightening disregard of modern standards. The warning that the father and mother or some other member of the family will be awakened and will interfere is usual. This warning or the refusal has developed a second refrain, "Go from my window," which is distinctive of a large number of the songs.

The earliest suggestion of the refrain "Open the door" which I have found in English literature occurs in the title of a work printed by Wynken de Worde, *Undo your dore*.<sup>13</sup> The title was probably borrowed from a popular song. On August 1, 1586, entry was made on the Stationers' Register of a ballad called "*Open the dore &c begynninge you Maidens &c*,"<sup>14</sup> which must have been a

<sup>13</sup> See *Hand-lists of Printers, 1501-1556*, Bibliographical Society, p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Arber's *Transcript*, II, 209.

moralization of such a song. An echo of the refrain "Open the door" is found in *Monsieur Thomas*, III, 3, a scene gay with snatches of popular ballads and with parodies of ballads. Launcelot, in answer to a maid who appears "above" with the question "Why who is this?" sings,

Oh, damsel dear,  
Open the door, and it shall appear;  
Open the door!

and the maid sings in reply,

Oh, gentle squire,  
I'll see thee hang first; farewell, my dear!

During the sixteenth century there was perhaps a broader currency of songs with this refrain than is indicated by the few early references cited. At least in the broadside ballads of the seventeenth century the refrain and the conventions appropriate to it seem to have been popular. The opening stanzas of "John's Earnest Request"<sup>15</sup> are typical:

"Come open the Door, sweet *Betty*,  
For its a cold winter's night!  
It rains, and it blows, and it thunders,  
And the Moon it do's give no light.  
It is all for the love of sweet *Betty*,  
That here I have lost my way;  
Sweet, let me lye beyond thee,  
Untill it is break of day."

"I dare not come down, sweet *Johnny*,  
Nor I dare not now let you in,  
For fear of my Father's anger,  
And the rest of my other kin;  
For my Father he is awake,  
And my Mother she will us hear;  
Therefore be gone, sweet *Johnny*!  
My Joy and my only Dear."

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<sup>15</sup> *Rowburghe Ballads*, Ballad Society, VI, 202-3. See Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, pp. 504-6, for the vogue of the air.

After a show of objection on Betty's part and further complaint of the cold on William's, the lover is admitted. The first line of "The Repulsive Maid" is "Sweet, open the door, and let me come in."<sup>16</sup> The maiden pretends to refuse for fear of her parents, but she finally sends the wooer off with a closing stanza in the spirit of the maid of *Monsieur Thomas*:

"Walk Knave!" is a Parrot's note,  
And if the Hang-man don't get your coat,  
I'll met you at *Holborn-hill* in a Boat,  
If ever I love you more.

"Loves Return, Or, The Maydens Joy"<sup>17</sup> opens:

Arise from thy bed,  
My Turtle and dear,  
And let in thy true Love,  
that stands coldly here.

"The Young Man's hard shift,"<sup>18</sup> with the refrain "Come away, pretty Betty, and open the door," has the conventions of the "cold tempestuous night," the admittance, and the parting before day. In a song in D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth*<sup>19</sup> which depicts the night visit, the refrain varies on "The fair one let me in."

Later balladmongers continued the tradition. In "A Favourite Love Song," printed about 1770 according to Ebsworth,<sup>20</sup> "Open the Window," "Go from my window," and "Open the door" all appear, along with the

<sup>16</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi, 209-11.

<sup>17</sup> *English Ballads, 1651-5*, British Museum, C 20 f. 14. See *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi, 66; ix, 678.

<sup>18</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi, 213.

<sup>19</sup> i, 324-25. See Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, pp. 509-11, for the vogue of this song. It also occurs in *Vocal Miscellany* (1738), i, 287-88.

<sup>20</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi, 207.

complaint about the weather, the girl's excuse that she fears her parents, the stealthy entrance, and the parting "in the breaking of the day." "Indifference; or a Rap at the Door," published in Logan's *Pedlar's Pack* <sup>21</sup> without indication of the source, begins, "The last time I came o'er the muir," and includes the assignation, the request "Open the door," the reference to the girl's father and mother, and her dismissal of the lover as the seducer of others. The final stanza is a variation on that of "The Repulsive Maid." A number of the broadsides, especially those of an intrigue type, show the influence of one convention or another belonging to the night visit, but I have not attempted to take these into account.

The situations and conventional phraseology of the night visit appear also in a group of closely related traditional ballads published by Child in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Here the interference of the girl's family in one way or another brings a tragic outcome. In Jamieson's version of "Clerk Saunders" (No. 69) the lover comes to his lady's bower and "tirls at the pin":

"O sleep ye, wake ye, May Margaret,  
Or are you the bower within?"

"O wha is that at my bower-door,  
Sae well my name does ken?"

"It's I, Clerk Saunders, your true-love,  
You'll open and lat me in."

"Willie's Fatal Visit" (No. 225), Buchan's version of "Willie and Lady Maisry" (No. 70), and "The Bent sae Brown" (No. 71) have much the same wording.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Pp. 363-64.

<sup>22</sup> A similar dialogue occurs twice in "Glasgerion" (No. 67), where the assignation is followed by an account of how the lady is visited by the lover's servant as well as by the lover himself. In "The Lass of Roch Royal" (No. 76) the lady, seeking admittance at the lover's castle, uses the same phraseology, in most versions with emphasis on the rain and cold. See also No. 249.

The youth of "Clyde's Water" (No. 216) adds that his "boots are full of Clyde's water, And frozen to the brim." In Motherwell's version of "Willie and Lady Maisry" the lover after killing the guard cries:

"Oh open, open, Lady Margerie,  
Open and let me in;  
The weet weets a' my yellow hair,  
And the dew draps on my chin."

The last lines echo the convention of the rain. Willie's buckles, moreover, are stiff with frozen blood.

"O open, open, my true-love,  
O open, and let me in,"

says the lover of "Young Benjie" (No. 86), and Marjorie replies,

"I dare na open, Young Benjie,  
My three brothers are within."

The ballads of this group echo each other and borrow bodily from each other, an indication, no doubt, of the association of them in the mind of the singer, but the passages which I have cited are stock features of the whole group of poems on the night visit.

Two popular songs on the subject were adapted by Burns. One pictures the lover as dying of cold before the lady admits him. The poem begins, "It's open the door some pity to show," and has the refrain, "So open the door to me, oh!"<sup>23</sup> The other, called from its refrain "Let me in this ae night,"<sup>24</sup> runs in part:

"O pity me before I goe,  
And rise and let me in, jo!

<sup>23</sup> See Dick, *Songs of Burns*, pp. 128-29, 399.

<sup>24</sup> See Hecht, *Songs from Herd's Manuscripts*, pp. 149-52, 300; and Herd, *Scottish Songs*, II, 167 ff.

The night it is baith cauld and weet,  
 The morn it will be snaw and sleet,  
 My shoen are frozen to my feet  
 Wi' standing on the plain, jo."

"My father's wa'king on the street,  
 My mither the chamber-keys does keep,  
 My chamber-door does chirp and cheep,  
 And I dare nae let you in, jo."

The lover prevails and enters stealthily. The final stanza tells how the bottom falls out of the bed and betrays the pair to the mother. The last two stanzas may be an accretion. They are in narrative form while the rest is pure dialogue.

A modern folk song, "The Cottage by the Wood,"<sup>25</sup> after a stanza describing the cottage, quite abruptly introduces what is probably an old fragment:

It rains, it hails, it snows, it blows,  
 And I shall get wet through all my clothes,  
 So I pray you love, love, let me in.

"Oh! no, kind Sir, that can never be," the lady replies, but a narrative close tells how she relents immediately when he is about to leave, and admits him for the night.

These conventions of the night visit, though simple and natural enough in themselves, recur so persistently in different types of popular poetry as to suggest that to the popular mind the theme called for the use of certain formulas, and that back of the few examples of "Open the door" recorded early there lay a considerable body of song which had arisen among the folk.

The currency of these conventions in the songs of the continental folk also is still stronger evidence for an ancient

<sup>25</sup> See *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, I, 18; VI, 19.

tradition.<sup>26</sup> Thus part of a song from the Alps, "Ce matin me suis levé,"<sup>27</sup> recalls the song "It's open the door" adapted by Burns. Two stanzas are especially conventional:

Ouvre ta porte tendrement,  
Jeune fille tant aimée! } [bis]  
— Venez de jour si vous voulez me parler,  
Car pour la nuit, ma porte est bien fermée.

— Votre porte s'ouvrira,  
O ma mie, ma douce mie. } [bis]  
Quand je saurais, belle, y mourir de froid,  
Devant ta port' j'irais coucher ce soir.

The youth endures through the bitter night, but when the *jeune fille* opens her door at dawn it is to receive his adieu "pour la dernière fois." In "Le galant indiscret"<sup>28</sup> the lover cries, "Ouvrez la porte," the girl bids him come when her parents are asleep, she overhears him telling others of the assignation, and when he returns with the plea to open the door and with a complaint of the cold, she scorns him.

It is very significant, I think, that the same conventions which distinguish songs on the night visit can be traced in the songs belonging to the elaborate marriage ritual of the French peasants. The mere connection with customs of folk marriage would indicate that the conventions are very old and were widely popular at an early

<sup>26</sup> I have made no systematic search for foreign versions. What I offer is merely illustrative.

<sup>27</sup> See Tiersot, *Chansons populaires recueillies dans les Alpes françaises*, pp. 246-247. In *Romania*, VII, 53-54, "Vieilles chansons rec. en Velay et en Forez," Victor Smith gives a variant of this song and refers to F. Mihel, *Le Pays basque*, p. 313; Caselli, *Chants pop. de l'Italie*, p. 199; and Ferraro, *Canti Monferrini*, p. 84.

<sup>28</sup> Tiersot, pp. 272-73. See Victor Smith, *Romania*, VII, 54, for a variant.

period. In the wedding ceremonies there are songs for the siege of the bride's house on the morning of the wedding, for the entrance to the house afterward, for the entrance to the bridal chamber at night or on the morning after the marriage, and so on.<sup>29</sup> Many of these songs have no reference to the usual features of the night visit, but a number begin with the cry "Ouvrez la porte," and in several the mention of the cold is added. One of them, the Norman "Chanson des oreillers," will be discussed later. Scheffler prints a portion of a dialogue<sup>30</sup> sung in parts of France when the bridegroom and his attendants appear before the barred door of the bride's house bearing gifts on the night before the wedding. To the request "Ouvrez la porte" the bride or her party answers:

Moi, vous laisser entrer,  
 Je ne saurais le faire.  
 Mon père est en colère,  
 Ma mère est en tristesse.  
 Une fille de si grand prix,  
 N'ouvre pas la porte à ces heures-ci.

This mention of the father and mother in connection with the refusal is reminiscent of songs on the night visit. To the siege of the bride's door by the bridegroom and his attendants belongs a song from Lorraine reported by an English observer about the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> The men entreat:

Open, Marie, for a husband young  
 Cometh thy love to win;

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<sup>29</sup> See Scheffler, *Französische Volksdichtung und Sage*, I, 164, 170-71, 179-183, 191, 193, and the authorities cited by Scheffler.

<sup>30</sup> *Französische Volksdichtung und Sage*, I, 170-71.

<sup>31</sup> *Folk-Lore Record*, III, 261-66.

The rain falls fast, and the winds blow cold,  
Open, and let him in;

and the women reply,

My father's away, and my mother in bed—  
I prithee no longer stay;  
You cannot come in at this hour of the night,  
Germain, go hence away!

The close kinship of this song to the English tradition is apparent.

Among the Teutonic peoples of central Europe the number of extant songs that may be regarded as reflecting the night visit of the lover is considerable. The larger part of these are of the aube type, but many depict the whole visit or the coming of the lover.<sup>32</sup> In a fifteenth century song, which begins, "Tritt auf, tritt auf, den Riegel von der Thür,"<sup>33</sup> the girl at first refuses the youth admittance for fear of the noise he will make, but he promises to enter stealthily. The refrain here, "Stand auf und lass mich ein," is typical of the *fensterlieder*.<sup>34</sup> Several modern songs contain the warning that the parents are within or the reference to the cold and rain.<sup>35</sup> The value of these *lieder*, however, for a study of the corresponding English songs lies less in their use of similar details than in their evidence for the antiquity of the entire genre. The oldest of them show that the traditional songs collected in modern times are but carrying on conventions that were in full swing in the middle ages.

<sup>32</sup> See Erk and Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, Nos. 469, 797-830; Buss, "Volksjustiz der Nachtbuben in Kanton Bern," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, x, 162-66; Rochholz, *Alemannia*, iv, 1-10; etc.

<sup>33</sup> Erk and Böhme, No. 469; compare "Undo your dore" printed by Wynken de Worde.

<sup>34</sup> See Erk and Böhme, Nos. 813, 816, 817, 820, 821, 822.

<sup>35</sup> See Nos. 818, 819, 820, 824, 830.

### "GO FROM MY WINDOW, GO!"

Among the more general songs dealing with the night visit there developed, through emphasis on the girl's warning or refusal, a large group distinguished commonly by the refrain "Go from my window." So far as I know the earliest reference in English to what seems to be a song of this type dates from about 1525. Among ballads listed in *The Seven Sorowes that women have when theyr husbandes be deade*, Copland includes the title "Go from my durre"<sup>36</sup>—apparently a direct answer to "Open the door." A song usually known by its refrain "Go from my window, go," was extremely popular in the second half of the sixteenth century. It was entered on the Stationers' Register on March 4, 1588, as a ballad "intituled *Goe from the windowe goe*."<sup>37</sup> One part of "Attowel's Jigge," 1595, was sung to the tune "*Goe from my windo*."<sup>38</sup> Apparently Nashe is parodying the song or an adaptation of it when he says in the Epistle Dedicatory to *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599, "(as it runnes in the old song) Go from my Garden go, for there no flowers for thee dooth grow." Seven music books are recorded as containing the air around 1600.<sup>39</sup>

A moralization of this or a kindred song in the Scottish *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*<sup>40</sup> about the middle of the sixteenth century testifies to an even earlier popularity and gives us our first clue to the form of the song:

<sup>36</sup> *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, III, 219.

<sup>37</sup> Arber's *Transcript*, II, 226.

<sup>38</sup> *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Clark, No. LXI; Arber's *Transcript*, III, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Chappell, *Old English Popular Music* (ed. Wooldridge, 1893), I, 146-147.

<sup>40</sup> Edited by Mitchell, Scottish Text Society, pp. 132-36.

Quho is at my windo, quho, quho?  
 Go from my windo, go, go.  
 Quha callis thair, sa lyke ane stranger,  
     Go from my windo, go!  
 Lord I am heir, ane wratcheit mortall,  
 That for thy mercy dois cry and call,  
 Unto thé my Lord Celestiall,  
     Sé quho is at my [thy?] windo, quho.

The final lines of the next two pairs of stanzas correspond to the final lines here, but a number of stanzas follow with a refrain varying on "In at thy dure lat me go." A relenting deity finally answers,

Quho is at my windo, quho?  
 Go from my windo, go;  
 Cry na mair thair, lyke ane stranger,  
     Bot in at my dure thow go.

What must have been an English moralization of a form of "Go from my window" was entered on the Stationers' Register on March 2, 1588, as a ballad "the begynnynge wherof is, *goe from thy wanton and be wyse &c.*"<sup>41</sup>

From the opening of the seventeenth century many plays and miscellanies contained adaptations of "Go from my window."<sup>42</sup> The most complete form is found at the end of Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*. It seems to be a comic adaptation, but it gives some stanzas for which the corresponding original stanzas are apparently lost. I omit the long refrains varying on the lines of each stanza.

"Arise, arise, my Juggy, my Puggy,  
     Arise, get up, my dear;

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<sup>41</sup> Arber's *Transcript*, II, 485. See 2 *N. and Q.*, XII, 22, for a reference to "Be wise; come away from thy lady so gay."

<sup>42</sup> See Chappell, *Old English Popular Music* (1893), I, 146-47, for the references.

The weather is cold, it blows, it snows;  
Oh, let me be lodgèd here."

"Begone, begone, my Willy, my Billy,  
Begone, begone, my dear;  
The weather is warm, 'twill do thee no harm;  
Thou canst not be lodgèd here."

"Farewell, farewell, my Juggy, my Puggy,  
Farewell, farewell, my dear;  
Then will I begone from whence that I came,  
If I cannot be lodgèd here."

"Return, return, my Willy, my Billy,  
Return, my dove and my dear;  
The weather doth change, then seem not strange;  
Thou shalt be lodgèd here."

In the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, III, 5, Merrythought sings at different points in the scene two stanzas which may belong to different versions of the song. One is substantially the second stanza of Heywood's version. The other runs—

Go from my window, love, go;  
Go from my window, my dear;  
The wind and the rain  
Will drive you back again,  
You cannot be lodged here.<sup>42</sup>

The scene in *Monsieur Thomas* (III, 3) in which a fragment of "Open the door" is found contains also a final stanza of "Go from my window" which is probably closer to the original than is that of Heywood's version:

Come up to my window, love;  
Come, come, come;  
Come to my window, my dear!  
The wind nor the rain

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<sup>42</sup> A variant of three lines of this stanza appears in *The Woman's Prize*, I, 3.

Shall trouble thee again,  
But thou shalt be lodged here."

"Go from my window" clearly belongs to the type of song in which a girl pretends to be unwilling to receive a lover but calls him back when she sees that she is about to lose him. This we might expect from the final stanza of the moralized version. Large numbers of folk songs, broadsides, and love songs in the miscellanies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries develop the motive *ad nauseam*.

The vogue of "Go from my window, go" is responsible for the refrain "And sing, Go from my Window, love, go!" in a broadside ballad of the late seventeenth century called "The Secret Lover."<sup>45</sup> Except for the refrain and a narrative opening and end, the ballad is in dialogue with the lover, the lady, and her father as speakers. The second stanza reads:

"What is my Love a-sleeping? or is my Love awake?"  
"Who knocketh at the Window, who knocketh there so late?"  
"It is your true love, Lady, that for your sake doth wait."  
*And sing, Go from the Window, love, go!*

He asks admittance but is denied for fear of the father, who has been roused. The girl frames explanations to deceive the father—she is out of bed because of sickness;

<sup>45</sup> A stanza from a moralization preserved in Brit. Mus. ms. 17. B. XLII of King's Library (quoted in Ritson's *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, 1877, p. lxxviii) may reflect the "calling back" stanza of this or more probably of some kindred song:

Com home agayne,  
Com home agayne,  
Mi nowne swet hart, com home agayne;  
Ye are gone astray  
Out of your way,  
There[for, swet hart,] come home agayne.

<sup>46</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi, 205-6.

the noise he hears is the watchmen passing. This is a motive which appears in some of the traditional ballads, as in Jamieson's version of "Clerk Saunders," and is elaborated in an intrigue ballad to be discussed later. The lover is finally admitted.

A much later broadside, already mentioned, "A Favourite Love Song,"<sup>46</sup> after a stock description of the lover as lying on his bed oppressed by thoughts of love continues:

Unto my Love's window I came,  
I boldly call'd her by her name:  
" 'Tis for thy sake that I came here,  
Thro' the bitter frost and snow.  
So open me the window, my Love, do!

"My Dad and Mammy's both awake,  
And if they chance to hear you speak,  
There will be no excuse, but sore abuse,  
With words and many a blow,  
And it's Go from my window, my Love, do!"

The lover has peeped, he says, and found the parents sleeping. He is admitted with the warning to "whisper low," and remains till break of day. This song or one on which it was founded probably had a wide popularity. The song in the *Scots Musical Museum* beginning "As I lay on my bed on a night" (No. 581), supposedly transmitted by Burns, is a fragment of three stanzas which evidently have the same original as the first three stanzas of "A Favourite Love Song." A Dorset version collected in 1906 by Mr. Hammond represents the first five stanzas of the ballad.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, VI, 207.

<sup>47</sup> *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, III, 79-80. On pp. 78-79 Hammond gives a fragmentary version with a kindred first stanza but with a shift to the motive of the deception of the parents.

In a number of badly contaminated songs collected among the modern folk the motive of the night visit is overlaid. A fragment recorded by Mr. Percy Merrick from Sussex is "O, who is that that raps at my window?" With the warning that the daddy lies in the next chamber and the mammy has sharp ears, the girl bids her lover, "Begone, begone, and court some other, And whisper softly in my ear."<sup>48</sup> The song "I will put my ship in order"<sup>49</sup> contains the stanza:

"Awake, awake, ye lovely sleeper,  
 The sun is spreading the break of day."  
 "Oh, who is this at my bower window,  
 That speaks lovingly to me?"  
 "It is your own true constant lover,  
 That would now have some words with thee."

The lover here wakens the lady to ask not for admittance but for the parents' consent to marriage. The father "is in his chamber sleeping" and the mother "in her bower dressing," says the girl, and she too bids him begone and court another. But when she sees him leave, she breaks out with the cry, "Oh, are ye gone, love, are ye

<sup>48</sup> *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, I, 269.

<sup>49</sup> Christie, *Traditional Ballad Airs of Scotland*, I, 224-26. A very similar dialogue of four stanzas but with phraseology differing throughout is found in *Vocal Miscellany* (1738), II, 141, beginning,

Awake, thou fairest thing in Nature,  
 How can you sleep when Day does break?

This dialogue also contains lines similar to lines just cited in a Sussex song:

Go, tell your Passion to some other,  
 Or whisper softly in my Ear.

See *Vocal Miscellany*, II, 3-4, for a broad burlesque of songs of the type.

gone, love?" The closely related song quoted by Cunningham in his *Works of Burns* (1834) <sup>50</sup> as "an old Nithsdale song" opens:

"Who is this under my window?

Who is this that troubles me?"

"O, it is I, love, and none but I, love,

I wish to speak one word with thee."

I judge that Cunningham did not forge this opening at any rate. A song collected by Mr. Sharp, "Arise, arise, you drowsy maiden," <sup>51</sup> uses much of the conventional phraseology, but develops the narrative interest differently. Though no attempt has been made to deal with instances where the conventions of the night visit have affected other themes, I mention these songs because, along with the stanza from "The Secret Lover," they support the theory that the opening of the sixteenth century moralization "Quho is at my windo, quho, quho?" followed closely the form of some popular song.

The lines which I have quoted from these related modern songs bear a strong resemblance to corresponding parts of some of the *lieder* connected with the custom of *fenstern*. One illustration will be sufficient:

"Wer ist denn dafür?

Wer klopft an der Thür?" —

"Schönster Schatz, ich steh allhier,

Ich komm aus Lieb zu dir:

Mach mir auf die Thür!" <sup>52</sup>

The "Begone, begone" of the seventeenth century English songs is paralleled by the "Geh, geh, geh du nur fort!" of another of these German songs. <sup>53</sup> An illustration from

<sup>50</sup> IV, 285.

<sup>51</sup> *One Hundred English Folksongs*, pp. 106-7.

<sup>52</sup> See Erk and Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, No. 814\*, second form.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 820.

French songs is found in a single stanza of "Rossignolet du bois joli," which Tiersot calls the oldest "serenade d'amour" transmitted to us by popular tradition:<sup>54</sup>

Amant qui ét' sous ma fenêtre,  
Je vous prie de vous retirer,  
Car la nuit s'en va,  
Et le jour viendra,  
Ma mèr' grondera;  
Amant retirez-vous de là.

This stanza seems to me to reflect the conventions of the girl's warning to the lover who visits her by night rather than those of the serenade.<sup>55</sup>

#### THE INTRIGUE BALLAD ON THE NIGHT VISIT

An extension of the song on the night visit is found in a ballad of an intrigue type very widespread among the European folk. Several traditional forms collected in England and Scotland show, by reason of similar lines, a very close connection with the old comic song of the London stage. In this ballad a youth visits by agreement an old sweetheart who has married and borne a child, and the wife as she sings to the child warns the lover that her husband has unexpectedly remained at home.

The form of the ballad closest to the Elizabethan song is a mixture of prose tale and song recorded by Baring-Gould as repeated to him by a blacksmith who heard it about 1860.<sup>56</sup> The story is of a girl forced by her father to marry a rich old man instead of the poor youth whom she

<sup>54</sup> See *Chansons des Alpes françaises*, pp. 238-39.

<sup>55</sup> The conventions of the song on the night visit would very naturally be carried on by the serenade. See, for example, Tiersot, pp. 241-2, 249, 251, 252.

<sup>56</sup> *Strange Survivals* (1894), pp. 203-6.

loves. When the husband is away the lover taps on her window and is admitted. One night the lover's signal wakes the husband, who happens to be at home. The wife explains the youth's tapping as the sound of an ivy leaf against the pane, his calling as the hooting of owls. But she rocks the cradle and warns him away in a stanza sung as a lullaby. The lover, not understanding, taps and calls again and again. Each time when the husband asks the wife the meaning of the sound, she frames an explanation and continues her song of warning. At last in despair she springs out of bed to send the lover off with a final stanza sung from the window. The complete song is—

Begone, begone, my Willy, my Billy!  
Begone, my love and my dear.  
O the wind, and O the rain,  
They have sent him back again,  
So thou can'st not have a lodging here.

Begone, begone, my Willy, my Billy!  
Begone, my love and my dear.  
O the weather is so warm,  
It will never do thee harm,  
And thou can'st not have a lodging here.

Begone, begone, my Willy, my Billy!  
Begone, my love and my dear.  
O the wind is in the West,  
And the cuckoo's in his nest,  
So thou can'st not have a lodging here.

Begone, begone, my Willy, you silly;  
Begone, you fool, yet my dear.  
O the devil's in the man,  
And he can not understand  
That he cannot have a lodging here.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Two correspondents in *Notes and Queries* (First Series, vi, 75, 153) recall fragments of this song, but with the opening "O go from the window." In 1852 a correspondent recorded the story much as it was given to Baring-Gould (*ibid.*, p. 227).

In 1855 a Liverpool correspondent gave in *Notes and Queries* the following traditional version:<sup>58</sup> A collier's wife makes an assignation expecting her husband to be in the pit that night. When the lover taps, she sings,

The wind is in the west,  
And the cuckoo's in his nest,  
And the coal-pit is *to-morrow*  
[Wife nursing] *Uz, uz, uz, uz.*

The rapping continues.

The wind and the rain  
Have driv'n him back again,  
And the coal-pit is *tomorrow*.  
*Uz, uz, uz, uz.*

The lover is still obtuse, and she ends,

And is the foo' so fond,  
That he cannot understand  
That the coal-pit is *tomorrow*  
*Uz, uz, uz, uz.*

Buchan records a version <sup>59</sup> which accounts for the fact that the wind has driven the husband home. He is a sailor. A form that is essentially the same as Buchan's is given by W. A. Barrett in *English Folk-Songs* (No. 26) as traditional. It begins:

Go from my window, my love, my love,  
Go from my window, my dear;  
The wind is blowing high and the ship is lying by,  
So you cannot get a harb'ring here.

Then follow three stanzas with the variations "The wind's in the West, and the cockle's in his nest," "The

<sup>58</sup> First Series, XII, 498.

<sup>59</sup> *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*, II, 221;  
6 N. and Q., XII, 224.

wind and the rain have brought you back again," and "The devil's in the man that he will not understan'."

This theme of a wife's warning a lover through a lullaby appears in ballads of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.<sup>60</sup> The German versions printed by Erk and Irmer follow closely the story of the English ballad, but with the refrain "Mein Mann ist zu Haus." The first (No. 49) opens with the wife singing:<sup>61</sup>

Et het geriept un het gefroren,  
 drum is min Moan nich ut-gefoahrn;  
 min Moan is t'Hus, min Moan is t'Hus,  
 min Moan, min Moan, min Moan is t'Hus!  
 Un schloape du, min Kingeken,  
 schloap du in goder Ruh,  
 un duh die Oeglen tu! Widiwisch wisch wisch,  
 widiwisch wisch wisch! un duh die Oeglen tu!

The two remaining stanzas are essentially the same as the last two of the second version (No. 50), which I give in full:

#### Der Liebhaber auf der Lauer.

(Das Wieb singt:)

Wenn et regent, då wird et nass,  
 då fährt min Mân nich na de Stadt.  
 Min Mân is to Hus, min Mân is to Hus,  
 min Mân, min Mân, min Mânneken.  
 Busse busse busse busse busse busse bei,  
 Busse busse busse busse busse busse bei!—  
 Min Mân is, etc.

<sup>60</sup> See Bolte, *Die Singspiele der eng. Komödianten*, p. 45, note. Bolte refers to Erk and Irmer, *Die deutschen Volkslieder*, 1, 6, Nos. 49 and 50, and Berggreen, *Folksange og Melodier*, 5, No. 73, for the German; Berggreen, 11, 166, No. 28, for the Danish; *ibid.*, 2, No. 27 a-c, for the Norwegian; and Arwidsson, *Svenska Fornsånger*, 3, 155, No. 62, for the Swedish. He cites also "eine übereinstimmende Prosaerzählung" in Ruckard, *Die lachende Schule*, 1725 and 1736, No. 126.

<sup>61</sup> *Die deutschen Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1843.

(Das Weib singt)

Geht mir 'nmal den Dummerjahn!  
Der kann mir gâr nich recht verstâhn!  
Min Mân is to Hus, etc.

(Der Mann spricht:)

Weib! was singst' denn da?

(Das Weib singt:)

Kann ick nich singen, wat ick will!  
Die Gören schwiegen och gar nich still!  
Min Mân is to Hus, etc.

Of this intrigue ballad I have run across only a fragment in French and that quite recently in an unexpected quarter. It is one of a number of "chansonnettes" said to have been popular in New Orleans fifty years ago which Miss Lydia E. Frotscher has secured in that region and has kindly communicated to me:

Qui frappe, qui cogne,  
Mon mari est ici,  
Il n'est point à la campagne,  
Comme il m'avait promis-mis-mis.  
Que dit -tu, ma femme?  
J'endort le petit, mon amie. [bis]

If we disregard the use of a lullaby, the motive of a wife's warning a lover of the presence of her husband occurs early and late in French. It is a wife who is addressed in a song published by Raynaud from a manuscript belonging to the end of the thirteenth century:

*Ovrez moi l'uis, bele très douce amie,  
Ovrez moi l'uis dou petit praelet.  
Si m'aïst Dieus, ce n'est pas cortoisie;  
Ovrez moi l'uis, bele très douce amie.  
— Ralez vos en, vos n'i enterroiz mie,  
Car mes mariz, li jalous couz, i est.  
— Ovres moi l'uis, bele très douce amie,  
Ovrez moi l'uis dou petit praelet.*<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> *Recueil de motets*, II, 106, from MS. 12786 of Bibl. Nat. Fran.  
See Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, p. 143,

The popular refrain here may be much older than the rest of the song, and may have attached itself because of its long use in the more primitive type of song on the night visit. At any rate the basis of our intrigue ballad is here shown to have developed by the end of the thirteenth century.

I have already mentioned the Norman "Chanson des oreillers" used in the peasant marriage. It is a pure dialogue chanted by two "voices." In the first part a knight complains of the loss of his love and is directed to rap three times on the door of his lady. In the second part the knight demands, "Belle, ouvrez votre porte, nouvelle mariée." The wife cannot open for she is with her husband, but she bids the lover return in the early morning when her husband will be "à sa journée." He replies that he and his horse suffer from the cold—though he brings the lady flowers from the "garden of the king." The bride yields. The symbolism which Scheffler discusses as underlying this little drama<sup>63</sup> is, I think, less obvious than its basis in an old song on the lover's visit.

Among the ballads of the folk dealing with the night visit, the form in which the woman is married would, as it seems to me, represent a late development. In sophisticated literary treatments, however, such a form is to be expected. The courtly aube ordinarily portrays the lady as a wife.

for a fragment of a Greek poem from Athenaeus in which a woman wakes her lover at dawn and begs him to leave before the husband's return; and pp. 148-49, for a pure dialogue in Italian—from a fourteenth century manuscript—beginning "Lèvati dalla porta" and containing a warning against the husband, who is asleep.

<sup>63</sup> *Französische Volksdichtung und Sage*, I, 181-83. Scheffler gives the song from Beaurepaire. See also p. 180.

## THE AUBE

In medieval Germany, France, Provence, and Italy, hosts of *tagelieder* and aubes, both of the folksinger and of the courtly poet, celebrated the parting of lovers at dawn after a night passed together secretly. The conventions of the type are fairly definite. The songs vary, however, from simple forms in which the lovers, waked by the sun or the singing of birds, reluctantly part, to artificial forms in which a watcher on the walls, set to give warning, announces day, and the lovers enter into an elaborate complaint that the night is past or a debate as to whether the day is really at hand.<sup>64</sup>

The aube has left its impress on medieval English literature also, though apparently there was no such vogue of the type in England as on the Continent. Thus a short passage in the romance *King Alisaunder* not only refers to the parting at dawn but uses the imagery of nature met in great numbers of medieval aubes.<sup>65</sup>

Mury hit is in sonne-risyng!  
 The rose openith and unspryng;  
 Weyes faireth, the clayes clyng;  
 The maidens flourith, the foulis syng;  
 Damosele makith mornynge,  
 Whan hire leof makith pertyng!

Chaucer has several times made use of the aube situa-

<sup>64</sup> For the aube and its conventions see Schlaeger, *Studien über das Tagelied*; de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied*; Fränkel, *Shakespeare und das Tagelied*; Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, pp. 61-101, 141-45; Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1892, pp. 161-67; Bédier, *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1906, xxxi, 419-24; etc.

<sup>65</sup> See Weber, *Metrical Romances*, I, 122 (ll. 2901-6). This reference was given to me by Miss Emma F. Pope.

tion and conventions. In *Troilus and Criseyde* after the first night visit of Troilus, the dawn is thus described:

the cok, comune astrologer,  
Gan on his brest to bete, and after crowe,  
And Lucifer, the dayes messenger,  
Gan for to ryse, and out hir bemes throwe.

Then follows Criseyde's warning to Troilus, "tyme it is to ryse, and hennes go," and a long complaint by the lovers in turn, against the passing of the night and the coming of the day. On the second visit, which is more briefly treated, the lovers at the sign of approaching dawn rail against day,

Calling it traytour, envyous, and worse,  
And bitterly the dayes light they curse.<sup>66</sup>

In the "Compleynt of Mars," again, at dawn on St. Valentine's Day "a foul" is heard announcing day to lovers "that lye in any drede," and singing of the visit of Mars to Venus, of the coming of Phoebus, and of the elaborate complaint made by Mars. The "Compleynt of Mars" seems to me a more typical aube than the early French poem beginning "Un petit devant le jor."<sup>67</sup>

A vogue of the aube in medieval popular song, of Scotland at least, is reasonably to be inferred from a number of titles preserved. The tune "Joly lemman dawis it not day" is recorded in *Colkelbie Sow*,<sup>68</sup> probably written about the middle of the fifteenth century. This song can hardly have been other than an aube, and the interrogative form with the address to the lady suggests the conventional debate. Not a question but an announcement of dawn

<sup>66</sup> Book III, ll. 1415-1533 and 1695-1712. Pointed out by Padel-ford, *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 444.

<sup>67</sup> See Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen*, No. 38.

<sup>68</sup> Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, I, 193.

forms the title either of a single song variously recorded or of a number of closely related songs. In Dunbar's "Merchantis of Edinburgh" it is said,

Your commone menstrallis hes no tone,  
But "Now the day dawis" and "Into Joun,"

and Douglas' prologue to the thirteenth book of his translation of the *Aeneid* contains the line, "As menstralis playng, *The joly day now dawis.*" A refrain in an English manuscript of about 1500 seems to preserve a fragment of a popular aube: <sup>69</sup>

This day day dawes  
this gentill day day dawes  
this gentill day dawes  
& I must home gone.

Probably in the popular repertoire of Great Britain the aube was a favorite type, represented by many individual songs that varied but showed a close kinship.

In the case of "Now the day dawis" as of "Go from my window" our earliest clue to the form which the theme took in popular song is found in a Scotch moralization from the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*.<sup>70</sup> In the first stanza, which is distinguished from the rest by its more lyrical quality, there is clearly an effort to match the phraseology of the aube:

Hay now the day dallis,  
Now Christ on vs callis,  
Now welth on our wallis  
Apperis anone:  
Now the Word oi God Regnes:  
Quhilk is King of all Kingis,  
Now Christis flock singis,  
The nycht is neir gone.

<sup>69</sup> See Flügel, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, pp. 159-60, 444; from Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 5465.

<sup>70</sup> Ed. Mitchell, Scottish Text Society, pp. 192-95.

We have here the announcement of dawn, the chorus of birds as represented by "Christis flock," and the appearance of a watcher on the walls. This last is a courtly touch which so far as I know is found nowhere else in the literature of Great Briatin. We may be fairly certain, however, that in the lines "Now welth on our wallis Apperis anone" the moralizer was following a formula already established in popular song.

This moralization is the more interesting when set by the side of a later adaptation of the aube found in the opening stanza of one of Montgomery's poems: <sup>71</sup>

Hay! nou the day dauis;  
 The jolie Cok crauis;  
 Nou shroudis the shauis,  
 Throu Natur anone.  
 The thissell-cok cryis  
 On louers vha lyis.  
 Non skaillis the skyis:  
 The nicht is neir gone.

In spite of the very close correspondence of the two stanzas in form, they may have had different originals. Montgomery's aube in the absence of the watcher seems to belong to a simpler tradition.

There are in later literature a number of references to the tune "Now the day dawes" and some apparent echoes of the song. In many cases if the expression is a reflection of the aube the original meaning has faded out with the passage of time. "Now the day dawes" evidently developed into a hunt's-up or general morning song. <sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Poems of Montgomerie*, ed. Cranstoun, Scottish Text Society, pp. 193-94, 371-72.

<sup>72</sup> There may be an allusion to the song in the sixteenth century "Tayis Bank" (Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, I, 171):

Conversely, the hunt's-up, originally a hunting song, became in some of its forms a general serenade and was turned to a warning of lovers. The office of the human watcher seems to be reflected here. Ritson quotes the song:

The hunt is up,  
The hunt is up,  
And now it is almost day;  
And he that's in bed with another man's wife,  
It's time to get him away.<sup>73</sup>

Among the many Elizabethan references to hunt's-up as a serenade or morning song, several clearly show its use

The nythingall woik of hir nest  
Singing the day vpdawis.

The Strachlach ms. (1627) contains an air entitled "The day dawis." Adamson, *The Muses Threnodie* (1638), pp. 65, 67, refers four times to "Hey the day now dawnes," speaking of it as a celebrated song used by boatmen and others to awaken companions. "The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan" in Watson's *Collection of Scots Poems* (1706), p. 32, has the lines,

Now who shall play, the day it daws?  
Or hunt up, when the Cock he craws?

Burns wrote his "Scots wha hae" and "Landlady, count the lawin, The day is near the dawin" to the tune "Hey, tutti taitie, or Hey now the day dawes," and a tradition speaks of the tune as used at Bannockburn (see Dick, *Songs of Burns*, pp. 431, 448-51). "Bride-kirk's Hunting," printed by Gray in his edition of Carliell's *Deserving Favourite*, p. 174, has the refrain:

The Cock's at the crawling,  
The day's at the dawning,  
The Cock's at crawling,  
We're o'er long here.

<sup>73</sup> *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, ed. Hazlitt, p. lxxvii. Ritson does not indicate his source, but Chappell, *Old English Popular Music* (1893), I, 87, refers this version to the *New Academy of Complements*, 1649, and *Merry Drollery Complete*, 1661.

as a warning to lovers to part. Cotgrave, under *resveil*, makes hunt's-up synonymous with a morning song for a new married wife. In Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd* a maiden promises that each day at dawn "Siluanus Chappel-Clarkes" shall chant her love a lay and play him hunt's-up to rouse him in her bower. At the end of the aube embedded in *Romeo and Juliet* (III, 5) Juliet says of the lark's song,

arm from arm that voice doth us affray,  
Hunting thee hence with hunt's-up to the day."

Shakspeare's aube is too familiar to call for quotation or analysis. Like that of Montgomery, it is simple in its conventions. No appointed watcher warns the lovers, but the lark as "herald of the morn." Of Juliet's effort to

"See Chappell, I, 86-89, for these and other references to hunt's-up. Padelford, *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 444, connects with the aube tradition the little song from Harleian MS. 2252 beginning "Mornynge, mornynge." Coverdale's "Wake up, wake up, ye Christen men" is apparently based on a German moralization of the aube of the watcher type (Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany*, p. 15). A moral ballad "a Ryse and wake," which was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1557, is preserved in Ashmole MS. 48, ed. Wright, *Songs and Ballads* (Roxburghe Club), No. 52 (cf. Rollins, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIV, 346). Similar are Nos. 30 and 33 in the same collection—"Awake, all fethfull harttes, awake" and "Awake, ryche men, for shame, and here." Other early entries on the Register are "Awake awake o thow man mortall," Sept. 4, 1564, and "awake out of your slumbr," 1568-9 (*Transcript*, I, 74, 262, 382). See *Wyt and Science* (Shakespeare Society), pp. 89-92, and Collier, *Stationers' Register* (Shakespeare Society), I, 186-87, for a song of the type. In *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Clark, No. XLIV, there is a ballad entitled "Rise up, my darling," intended for the bridal morn, which introduces dawn, the crowing of the cock, and the singing of birds. It is sung to the tune of "The Bride's Goodmorrow," found in *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 62-64. The morning serenade is represented also in a moralized ballad (*Shirburn Ballads*, No. XLIII) sung to the tune "Awake, awake, O England."

delay the separation by declaring the song that of the nightingale instead of the lark, Gaston Paris has said: "C'est probablement dans quelque ballade imitée du français que Shakespeare aura trouvé ce motif, qu'il a immortalisé; la forme qu'il en offre paraît même plus ancienne et plus complète que celles que nous avons conservées: au lieu de donner simplement un démenti à l'alouette, Juliette essaye de se persuader que son chant matinal est le chant nocturne du rossignol, et tel doit bien avoir été le thème primitif."<sup>75</sup> The conventions of Shakspeare's dialogue were no doubt derived ultimately from the French,<sup>76</sup> for the medieval English lyric seems to have come chiefly from French sources. But Shakspeare probably found in English song all of the details that he used. The coming of dawn, the song of birds, the grief of the lovers we have already seen in English poetry. Romeo's

I'll say yon grey is not the morning's eye,  
'Tis but the pale reflex of Cynthia's brow

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<sup>75</sup> *Journal des Savants*, 1892, p. 163. Several writers had already called attention to the aube features of *Romeo and Juliet*. Victor Smith, *Romania*, VII, 57, says that Shakspeare's passage "avait un précédent dans une vieille chanson français où l'amant nocturne dit à son amie que vient de frapper le chant de l'alouette,

Il n'est mie jours,  
Saverouze au cors gent:  
Si ment, amours,  
L'alowette nos ment."

<sup>76</sup> To see how closely Shakspeare's conventions correspond to those of the French aube, it is necessary only to read Gaston Paris's analysis of the aube, *loc. cit.*, pp. 162-63. See also Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, pp. 68-69; and Raynaud, *Recueil de Motets*, II, 4-5, for the refrains "Est il jors?" and "L'aube c'apeirt au jor." De Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied*, pp. 28-29, calls attention to the use of allusions to dawn in the minnesingers; see pp. 57-59 and 101-2 for later songs. Fränkel in *Shakespeare und das Tagelied* tries to trace Shakspeare's details to German songs.

is paralleled <sup>77</sup> in the traditional English aube "The Grey Cock" (Child, No. 248),

The lassie thought it day when she sent her love away,  
And it was but a blink of the moon.

Although the theme of the lark and the nightingale as found in *Romeo and Juliet* cannot be traced in England, the nightingale was a favorite in the popular love lyric of England before Shakspeare's day, and medieval songs on the nightingale survive showing a poetic beauty and a delicacy of fancy which make it easy to believe that the English folk might also have possessed the original of Shakspeare's aube.<sup>78</sup> Again in the parting of the lovers in

<sup>77</sup> Jeanroy (p. 69, n. 2) cites the motive from so remote a quarter as an ancient Chinese source. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, II, 34, gives a traveler's account (about 1830) of a wedding in Ireland at which a marriage song was sung by a chorus—literally translated:

It is not day, nor yet day,  
It is not day, nor yet morning;  
It is not day, nor yet day,  
For the moon is shining brightly.

<sup>78</sup> See Furnivall, *Laneham's Letter*, pp. cxxviii, cxxxi (and also *Anglia*, XII, 262-65) for two songs from Royal Ms. Appendix 58, "The lytyll prety nyghtyne gale" and "By a bancke as I lay." Both are mentioned by Moros of *The Longer thou Livest* in his medley of popular songs. "By a bancke as I lay" is included in Laneham's list of Captain Cox's popular songs, and is said to have been a favorite earlier with Henry VIII (Furnivall, cxxxi-cxxxii).

Among the popular tunes to which the Bishop of Ossory adapted religious songs in the middle of the fourteenth century (see *I N. and Q.*, II, 385) one which was used twice is

Do. Do. nightyngale syng ful myrie  
Shal y nevre for zyn love lengre karie.

(See also in the same list "Hey how ze chevaldours woke al nyght.") See Marsh, "The Flower and the Leaf," *Modern Philology*, IV, 40-43, for the prevalence of the nightingale in love poetry.

*Troilus and Cressida* (iv, 2) Shakspeare has echoed the conventions of the aube. The "busy day" is "wak'd by the lark," and the lovers cry out on the swiftness of the night. The motive is not developed, however.

In a lyric "Break of Day," apparently written by Donne but popular in the song books of the early seventeenth century, the aube conventions form the point of departure for a characteristic development of courtly wit:<sup>79</sup>

Stay, O sweet, and do not rise;  
 The light that shines comes from thine eyes;  
 The day breaks not, it is my heart,  
 Because that you and I must part.  
     Stay, or else my joys will die  
     And perish in their infancy.

The conceits of the metaphysical poet overshadow the conventions of the type.

#### THE TRADITIONAL ENGLISH AUBE

Only one English aube has come down in tradition. It survives in several versions and has been confused with other motives in a number of traditional ballads, but the nucleus shows little variation. A girl commands the cock to crow at daybreak, and promises him a reward. But the cock crows too soon, so that the lover is sent away

<sup>79</sup> *Muses Library*, i, 22. In 1612 the lyric appeared in Gibbons' *First Set of Madrigals* and in Dowland's *Pilgrim's Solace*, in the last with an additional stanza. It was used as the opening of some versions of Donne's related lyric, "'Tis true 'tis day. What though it be?" See Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, pp. 99, 263, 395, 443, 616-17. A parting song without the conventional features of the aube except in the refrain "For now the morning draweth near" or "now day is near," is found in the opening song of Attey's *First Book of Airs*, 1622. "Open the door, who's there within" in Peerson's *Private Music*, 1620, is a song of the lover's plea for

before dawn.<sup>80</sup> This song I believe to be as old at least as the middle of the fifteenth century, for one of the dances mentioned in *Colkelbie Sow*<sup>81</sup> has the title "Cok craw thou quhill day." There is no reason to doubt that this line represents the girl's command to the cock to warn the lover in time but not to disturb him too soon. The corresponding line in modern versions is "And craw whan it is day,"<sup>82</sup> "But crow not until it be day,"<sup>83</sup> "Don't you crow till 'tis almost day,"<sup>84</sup> etc. Perhaps another early echo of the song is found in a manuscript medley written in a song book of 1530, beginning, "Behold & see how byrds dothe fly coke crow mydey pype mery,"<sup>85</sup> etc.

At any rate from the end of the eighteenth century on, several versions of songs and ballads have been collected in folk-lore of which the following is the basis:

Fly up, fly up, my bonny bonny cock,  
But crow not until it be day;  
And your breast shall be made of the burnish'd gold,  
And your wings of the silver grey.

---

entrance, sophisticated like Donne's lyric, but with the conventional phrase of the opening repeated in "I dare not ope the door," and with a closing line "Therefore depart, you shall not kiss me." Campion's treatment of the motive, "Shall I come, sweet love, to thee, When the evening beams are set?" closes with a reference to the lover's freezing without but has even less of the conventional phraseology. See Fellowes, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 305, 357.

<sup>80</sup> In one of Meleager's "Epigrams" of the aube type the cock is the watcher and wakes the lovers too soon (Fränkel, *Shakespeare und das Tagelied*, p. 44, n. 4). See de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied*, p. 143 and note, for a Slavic poem in which the lover gives the cock wheat that it may not crow too soon, and for a reference to a similar Hungarian folk song.

<sup>81</sup> Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, I, 193.

<sup>82</sup> Herd'a. See Child, No. 248.

<sup>83</sup> 1 *N. and Q.*, XII, 227.

<sup>84</sup> Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, p. 128.

<sup>85</sup> See *Anglia*, XII, 596, n. 3.

But the cock he proved false, and very very false,  
 For he crow'd full an hour too soon;  
 The lassie thought it day,  
 And she sent her love away,  
 When 'twas only the glimpse of the moon.

This version, contributed to *Notes and Queries*<sup>86</sup> in 1852 by a correspondent who remembered it from about 1787, I should regard as the purest form left, largely on account of the perfection of its language. In lilt and in logic it is superior to all the other versions.

This aube is best known in the form printed by Herd in *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs* as "The Grey Cock."<sup>87</sup> In the edition of 1769 the song consisted of four stanzas:

"O saw ye my father? or saw ye my mother?  
 Or saw ye my true-love John?"  
 "I saw not your father, I saw not your mother,  
 But I saw your true-love John."

Up Johny rose, and to the door he goes,  
 And gently tirl'd the pin;

<sup>86</sup> First Series, vi, 227. See also Sixth Series, xii, 224.

<sup>87</sup> See Child, No. 248. Child discusses English variants of the song and refers to related foreign songs. I have had to quote the stanzas on the authority of Child and from the second form of Herd as given by Child. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, p. 731, gives a variant of Herd's early form in five stanzas from the second edition of *Vocal Music or the Songster's Companion*, II, 36 (first edition in 1770, second in 1772), and refers to various contemporaneous appearances of the words and the air in London. Unaware of the 1769 edition of Herd, Chappell considered the tune and words English. The air was published in Edinburgh in Stewart's *Collection of Scots Songs*, 1772 (Glen, *Early Scottish Melodies*, pp. 54-55). Child, quoting Chappell in part, does not take up the problem of the relation of the various versions and airs in the earliest collections. Possibly the song appeared in some printed form earlier than any so far noted, but the other versions cited here make it clear that it was an old traditional song not greatly modified.

The lassie taking tent unto the door she went,  
And she open'd and let him in.

"Flee, flee up, my bonny grey cock,  
And crawl whan it is day;  
Your neck shall be like the bonny beaten gold,  
And your wings of the silver grey."

The cock prov'd false, and untrue he was,  
For he crew an hour oer soon;  
The lassie thought it day when she sent her love away,  
And it was but a blink of the moon.

In the edition of 1776 Herd enlarged this version by three stanzas. Two of them are in keeping with the rest. The "surly auld carl" of the third may have crept in from some related ballad on the night visit; he is at least not sufficiently explained as the ballad stands.

In 1916 Mr. Cecil Sharp collected at Hot Springs, North Carolina, a version of "The Grey Cock" <sup>88</sup> that is extremely corrupt but clearly corresponds in part to Herd's first version. After a garbled *chanson d'aventure* opening <sup>89</sup> and a reference to the father and mother, Johnny "dingles at the ring" and is admitted:

She says: O you feathered fowls, you pretty feathered fowls,  
Don't you crow till 'tis almost day,

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<sup>88</sup> *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, pp. 128-29.

<sup>89</sup> All on one summer's evening when the fever were a-dawning  
I heard a fair maid make a mourn.

Such an opening was used by old singers with almost any theme of song or ballad, but that a long standing tradition is represented in its use with "The Grey Cock" is indicated by the fact that "Willie's Fatal Visit" (Child, No. 255) opens with stanzas from a form of "The Grey Cock" which begins,

'Twas on an evening fair I went to take the air,  
I heard a maid making her moan.

There is at least no possibility of borrowing in this case.

And your comb it shall be of the pure ivory  
And your wings of the bright silverree (*or* silver grey).  
But him a-being young, he crowed very soon,  
He crowed two long hours before day;  
And she sent her love away, for she thought 'twas almost day,  
And 'twas all by the light of the moon.

Two stanzas are added in which the girl asks her lover when he will return and receives the reply,

When the seventh moon is done and passed and shines on  
yonder lea,  
And you know that will never be.

Then she laments her trust in one who has proved false.

The opening pair of stanzas in "The Grey Cock" follow, corruptly, the conventions of the "Open the door" type of song. There are references to the father and mother; the lover comes and seeks admittance; the girl lets him in. The next pair of stanzas depict the warning of the cock and the lover's departure. If the close of the North Carolina version is a genuine relic of antiquity, as the formula of impossibilities suggests, the song may have contained two final stanzas giving the girl's complaint in some form.

In a ballad printed by Joseph Robertson in 1830 (Child, No. 43) showing a confusion of the aube with the motive of "Broomfield Hill," the complaint is added to the stanzas of "The Grey Cock" which tell of the command to the cock and of his betrayal of the trust:

If I had him but agen, she says,  
O if I but had him agen  
The best grey cock that ever crew at morn  
Should never bereave me o's charm.

The impossibility of the lover's return in Sharp's version may be reminiscent of the ghostly or the supernatural lover. A confusion of ballads on the ghostly visitant with

a ballad developed out of the aube tradition would be very natural, especially since the crowing of the cock was the signal of departure for ghosts as well as lovers. In a ballad printed by Joyce<sup>90</sup> it is the lady who has returned from the grave and, wishing to remain with her lover as long as possible, uses substantially the stanza of address to the cock found in "The Grey Cock." She promises him a comb of gold and wings of silver if he will not crow before day. The phraseology in the early part of "Sweet William's Ghost" (Child, No. 77) shows again a confusion of the night visit in "The Grey Cock" with the motive of the ghostly lover. There is no command to the cock, but his crowing warns the ghost. In Motherwell's version:

"The cocks they are crowing, Marjory," he says,  
 "The cocks they are crawling again;  
 It's time the deid should part the quick,  
 Marjorie, I must be gane."<sup>91</sup>

The fondness of the ballad singer for the supernatural may have made him cast the theme of the lover's secret visit in the mold of his ghost ballad after the custom of the night visit had lost its meaning.

The utmost confusion of these motives is found in "Willie's Fatal Visit" (Child, No. 255). The first half of it, says Child, is a medley of "Sweet William's Ghost," "Clerk Saunders," and "The Grey Cock," and he proceeds to parcel it out to these ballads, adding that stanza 13 comes from "Clyde's Water" and that 15-17, "wherever they came from, are too good for the setting." But

<sup>90</sup> *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* (1909), p. 219.

<sup>91</sup> See also No. 77 A, stanza 14; F, 7; G, 3. The first and last mention two cocks of different colors. See Cromek, *Nithsdale and Galloway Songs*, p. 94, for a refrain "O dinna leave me, lad, till our twa cocks crawl" introduced into "The Bridal Sark."

"Sweet William's Ghost" had been contaminated by "Clerk Saunders" (No. 77, B and F), and it is not surprising to find them both confused with "The Grey Cock" in this ballad. The motive of the lover's night visit and of the ghost's visit are crudely neglected, however, in "Willie's Fatal Visit," and the modern balladist, to explain the tragedy of the cock's waking the lovers while the moon was still shining, has attached an ending drawn from some ballad or superstition of the type that motivated "Tam o' Shanter." Without doubt the combination is relatively modern, and Buchan, who is our sole authority for the ballad, may have tampered with it, but the result is probably in the main the product of the folk singer.

Jeanroy argues, very naturally, that the more primitive type of aube is that in which the matins of birds incidentally wake the lovers.<sup>92</sup> Of this type are the English aubes, as I have said, with the exception of the moralized form in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. In *Troilus and Criseyde* the cock is the herald of day; in Montgomery's poem, the cock and the thrush; in *Romeo and Juliet*, the lark.

"Methinks I hear the thresel-cock,  
Methinks I hear the jaye,"

<sup>92</sup> *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, pp. 66-70. See also Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1892, pp. 161-64, and for German songs using birds incidentally, de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied*, pp. 29, 30, 102-3. Jeanroy and Gaston Paris (pp. 165-167) see a natural development from the watcher independent of the lovers, who simply wakes them when in the pursuit of his duty he sounds his "reveille," to one who is their accomplice, and finally to a faithful companion of the lover who takes the rôle of watcher. It is a question, I think, whether this faithful companion may not belong to an older and more primitive tradition than the watcher on the walls of the feudal castle, and represent the lover's friend and accomplice in the folk custom of the night visit.

says the lover of "Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard" (Child, No. 81), where an aube situation occurs. But the cock that crows too soon in the folk aube of England is not incidental. He is an appointed watcher, and apparently belongs to the lady's chamber.

The conception of a household bird that is a watcher in one form or another, whether as ally of the lovers or as guardian of the family honor, is at least as old in England as *Gesta Romanorum* and is found running through a large number of traditional ballads. In *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>93</sup> the story is told of the three cocks belonging to the household of a knight whose wife one night admits a lover in her husband's absence. The first cock crows in a way which the maid servant interprets to the mistress as meaning, "thow dost thin husbonde wronge"—and his neck is wrung. The second, equally hardy, meets the same fate. The third learns wisdom and is saved. The rhyming English lines which interpret the "songs" of the cocks in this tale may be ascribed with little hesitation to popular song or ballad.

In the traditional ballad the idea of a bird as an appointed watcher comes out in Buchan's version of "Willie and Lady Maisry" (Child, No. 70), where the father, roused from his sleep by the coming of the lover, asks why his house cock has not crowed. Later the house cock is made the equivalent of the son. There is some confusion here, and possibly a reflection of an older ballad or another form. In "The Bonny Birdy" (Child, No. 82) the bird of the lady's chamber reveals to the husband the night visit of a lover. Ramsay has printed in *Tea Table Miscellany*<sup>94</sup> a pure dialogue between a husband and

<sup>93</sup> Ed. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., pp. 174-77.

<sup>94</sup> II, 50-51.

a parrot in which the parrot betrays the presence of a lover with the wife. In "Young Hunting" (No. 68) a lady during a night visit kills a lover who is about to desert her. She attempts in vain to bribe her bird to come down to her hand—in different versions a parrot, magpie, popinjay, or simply a "bonny bird"—and is betrayed. The motive of bribing a parrot is added to several versions of "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight" (No. 4 C, D, E, F). The conception of the parrot as the watcher seems to be merely a modern attempt to explain the supernatural bird with the power of speech, just as the promise of a golden cage in a number of these ballads is an effort to rationalize the promise of splendid plumage in "The Grey Cock." In "The Gay Goshawk" the bird is messenger and ally of the lovers.<sup>95</sup>

The cock is the "bonny bird" of the lady's chamber in a lyric from a manuscript<sup>96</sup> of about 1450:

I haue a gentil cook  
 crowyt me day,  
 He doth me rysyn erly  
 my matyins for to say.  
 . . . . .  
 & euery nyzt he perchit hym  
 in myn ladyis chaumbyr.

The elegance of this cock, with his comb of coral, his tail of jet, his legs of azure, his spurs of silver white, is like that of Chaucer's "gentil cok" Chauntecleer.<sup>97</sup> To the same tradition belong the breast of burnished gold and the

<sup>95</sup>Child, No. 96. See Child's remarks on birds as posts in ballads, and Napier, "Old Ballad Folk-Lore," *Folk-Lore Record*, II, 107-9, for other instances.

<sup>96</sup>Sloane 2593. See *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 444-45. Padel-ford conjectures from its form that this song is of considerable antiquity.

<sup>97</sup>"Nonne Preestes Tale," ll. 39-44.

wings of silver gray promised the Grey Cock as a reward for faithfulness to the lovers.<sup>98</sup>

### GENERAL PROBLEMS

Many questions of a general character naturally arise in regard to this whole body of song, but an attempt to answer them leads into conclusions highly conjectural. I can only offer a few suggestions.

Originally the custom which allowed a youth secret access to his lady by night was probably, as I have already said, celebrated in many distinct songs of various forms. The most widespread or popular of these might be expected to live on after similar pieces had largely died out through the decadence of the custom, and to be preserved partly through their absorption into forms with a narrative or dramatic appeal. One of the interesting prob-

<sup>98</sup> A volume could be written on the cock in religion and especially in connection with the household. The ancient comos dressed at times as cocks (Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, p. 38). Cock dances are represented on Greek vases (Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, pp. 237 ff.), and traces of similar customs are found in modern mummers' plays (*Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, xi, 33) and children's games (Gomme, *Traditional Games*, i, 72-74). The cock was indispensable at Shrovetide and figured in other festivals (*Studies in Philology*, xvii, 39; *Folk-Lore*, xiv, 186; 4 *N. and Q.*, xii, 464-65). He represented the corn spirit (Frazer, *Spirits of Corn*, ii, 276-78). In both ancient and modern times he was sacrificed for health (4 *N. and Q.*, ii, 505-6; *Folk-Lore*, xiii, 56) and omens were taken from him (4 *N. and Q.*, iii, 130-31, 432. See index to *The Golden Bough*). In general his function was protective (1 *N. and Q.*, iii, 404; *Folk-Lore*, x, 262-63; 10 *N. and Q.*, ix, 486). He was significant in marriage (Blakeborough, *Yorkshire Wit*, p. 93; *Romania*, ix, 554). Apparently he was the guardian of the home and at a later period of its morality (3 *N. and Q.*, xiii, 478; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. Stallybrass, pp. 670-71, 1485). To extend these references see *Folk-Lore* or *Revue des traditions populaires*, *passim*.

lems connected with the surviving English songs of the night visit is the probable nature of the medieval songs from which they were derived.

The most consistent element in the group of songs and ballads in which the "Open the door" motive appears is a dialogue of two stanzas, the first containing the lover's plea to be admitted and his complaint of the weather, the second containing the girl's warning of the presence of her parents and her conventional refusal to let him in. I judge that these stanzas represent an early lyric nucleus which with slight modification has found its way into various types of song where the appropriate situation occurs. That the germinal song developed early is indicated by the use of the dialogue, with almost the same form and wording, among the folk in remote parts of France and Great Britain, at different periods and in different types of literature. In the same way the popular English aube, of the cock that proved false, seems to have developed around a lyric core of two stanzas, one giving the command to the cock, the other telling of his betrayal of the trust. Both these hypothetical lyrics belong to a type of song prevalent in the middle ages, and in keeping with the lyric expression of folk emotion and experience to be found in countries like Italy and Ireland, where ballads have had only a secondary vogue.

Possibly both these songs were dance carols. They might well have been sung by a foresinger and chorus, or better by two choruses of dancers. The one on the coming of the lover is a wooing dialogue appropriate to dance, and its use as a favorite dance carol would readily explain its spread over France and England and the persistence of its kernel in so many settings. Dramatic in form, it would easily find its way into the dramatic games of the folk at

a time when such songs flourished at folk weddings, and song dramas represented the play of youths and maidens—before folk games weathered into singing games of children. This suggestion of an origin in dance carols accords with the results of most students of folk song, who have been led to the conclusion that among primitive folk the great number of popular songs are connected with the dance.

A further problem is that of the development of the ballads using the conventional formula of the night visit. Coincidences of language in the modern forms of traditional ballads are evidently due in most cases to an extensive borrowing from each other and to the singer's tendency in picturing similar situations to drop into the same formulas of expression. Such modification is clear enough in the tragic ballads cited from Child. In the case of "Clerk Saunders" the "Open the door" convention does not appear in our earliest form, but has apparently crept in later under the influence of other songs. On the other hand, the song "Let me in this ae night" collected by Herd is an example of what seem to me forms little leveled down by tradition. In both France and England ballads on the night visit which use the conventional lines have a variety of openings and endings. Some, moreover, show only the slightest narrative element added to the kernel; others represent a considerable expansion. Possibly the process has not been altogether one of the survival of the fittest by which the favored lines came to supplant all rivals in ballads picturing the night visit. Perhaps at a period when the practice furnished a stock theme for popular song, the folk minstrel frequently chose the familiar lyric as a point of departure for the weavings of his fancy.

Only in the vaguest way is it possible to suggest the period at which the ballads of the lover's secret visit originated. The custom belongs undoubtedly to a social life essentially tribal. The lyric which I have regarded as representing the original nucleus of the "Open the door" motive in English song probably arose while the custom was in full swing but not in its most primitive stage. The home, mother and father, doors, windows appear freely in the picture. On the other hand, the group of songs and ballads studied here, taken together, seem clearly to illustrate aspects of medieval social life in a transitional stage—aspects of which society was becoming at least very conscious. In "Glasgerion" the custom of the night visit is apparently taken for granted even in the court,<sup>99</sup> but a more formal organization of society is suggested by the disgrace of the lady because she is visited by a churl's son who passes himself off as the highborn lover at the clandestine meeting. "Clerk Saunders," "Willie and Lady Maisry," and "The Bent sae Brown" show the tradition of the young lover's freedom to visit his lady by night as coming into sharp conflict with a conception of family honor which represents a newer social ideal. The traditional ballads seem to me to reflect the final stages of the custom of the night visit among the upper classes.

Nothing that has been said contributes definitely towards solving the general problems of the origin and relation of the forms of medieval song. Even if it were proved that the similar English songs with the lover's plea "Open the door" went back to a single brief medieval

<sup>99</sup> See Wright, *History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, pp. 261-62, 273-75, for passages from medieval romances and fabliaux which show that men had access to the bed-chambers of ladies, where they conducted themselves with easy familiarity.

lyric used as a dance carol, there would still be no evidence here against an extensive parallel development of narrative songs on the night visit or against the use of these ballads as an accompaniment to the dance. Yet to my mind we have in the group of diverse but closely related modern songs studied suggestions of a more tangible sort than are usually found as to the origin and transmission of folk song. A fairly constant factor in them, lyric rather than narrative in emphasis, suggests origin in a lyric, probably a carol, describing a phase of primitive wooing. But there is no evidence that a popular song could be a static thing in tradition or survive for centuries in an essentially primitive form. In the course of transmission modification must have been constant, and the emphasis seems to have shifted to the narrative side in a variety of ways. Indications are that by expansion ballads freely grew out of a lyric nucleus. Moreover, during the modern period of several centuries—though this may be discounted as a period of decay—wherever there was an appropriate occasion for using the epic formulas of the night visit, the folk singer has clearly carried lines or even stanzas from one song or set of songs to another. It has already been pointed out that the coloring and phraseology of the night visit have been preserved even when the motive was used merely as the basis of an intrigue ballad. "Willie's Fatal Visit" illustrates the case of a modern ballad composer or compiler's giving the situation of the night visit an entirely new motivation while retaining what may have been the lines of a medieval lyric celebrating an aspect of primitive social life.

CHARLES READ BASKERVILL.

## XXVIII.—THE STORY OF GEBIR

Walter Savage Landor's professions, found everywhere in his letters, that he is writing for the few, and his rather studied contempt of the *aura popularis*<sup>1</sup> are best illustrated by his epic poem, *Gebir*, first published in 1798. For this extraordinary poem the guests are, indeed, few and select. Southey's admiration for the epic was unbounded; Lamb refers to its creator as "*Gebir* Landor";<sup>2</sup> and Shelley read and re-read the poem.<sup>3</sup> Yet so unknown was *Gebir* to the general reader that De Quincey remarked that *Gebir* had "the sublime distinction, for some time, of having enjoyed only two readers, Southey and myself."<sup>4</sup> And Miss Seward wrote Todd, the editor of Spenser and Milton, that *Gebir* was "the most unintelligible fustian that ever bore the name of an epic poem."<sup>5</sup>

This unpopularity was due primarily to Landor's obscure manner, but partly also to the story of *Gebir*, which was not familiar through popular legend, and which sprang from hidden sources. Landor was a man of great and capricious learning. The sources of his narrative poetry are often from the minor—very minor—writers of an-

<sup>1</sup> Besides Landor's lines, *On His Seventy-fifth Birthday*, and frequent allusions to his own unpopularity, another passage has interest: "He who is within two paces of his ninetieth year may sit down and make no excuses; he must be unpopular; he never tried to be much otherwise; he never contended with a contemporary, but walked alone on the far eastern uplands, meditating and remembering." See *Heroic Idylls with Additional Poems*, Preface.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, VIII, 924.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Hogg, *An Anecdote Biography of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *The Works of Thomas De Quincey*, VIII, 289.

<sup>5</sup> *The Letters of Anna Seward*, VI, 29. Miss Seward to the Rev. J. H. Todd, June 11, 1802.

tiquity, or from forgotten dictionaries of erudition. The legend of the king, Gebir, or Gebirus, the invader of Egypt, became through Landor the theme of a nineteenth century epic.<sup>6</sup> What is the history of this story?

Gebir was from Iberia; the legend is concerned with adventures in Egypt; and the most ancient version of the tale is from Arabia. But records of Iberia, of Egypt, or of Arabia offer no evidence of the historicity of Gebir. The name, as far as I can discover, does not exist in such histories except in the case of Arabia, and in this record the Gebir mentioned is clearly not the warrior in question. Thus *La Grande Encyclopédie*, for example, speaks of: "Geber [*sic*] (Abou-Mousa-Djaber ben Hayyan Ec Coufy) célèbre chimiste arabe, qui a vécu vers le viii<sup>e</sup> ou ix<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère."<sup>7</sup> And, again: "Geber . nom sous lequel on désignait, au moyen âge (en le considérant à tort comme ayant donné son nom à l'algèbre), le mathématicien arabe Abou-Mohammed Djabir ibn Aflah, de Séville, qui vivait dans la seconde moitié du xi<sup>e</sup> siècle."<sup>8</sup> Nor does the literature of these countries indicate that King Gebir was a character either of legend or of fiction.

In fact the story of Gebir is connected not with literature of the Christian era, but is linked in a shadowy fashion with stories of Biblical antiquity. Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe in her *History of Joseph* refers to the legend as antecedent to Joseph's adventures in Egypt. The nurse of Sabrina, to comfort her mistress in her passion for Joseph, tells her the story of the "rich Gebirus," who wooed Charoba.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Forster says that the name, Gibralter, was derived from the word, Gebir. See John Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> XVIII, 683.

<sup>8</sup> *La Grande Encyclopédie*, XVIII, 682.

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, *The History of Joseph*, Book VI, p. 47.

Likewise the first part of William Sotheby's Saul is reminiscent, at least in manner and incident, of the story of Gebir.

This story, however, is not found in the Bible. It is probably of little significance, but it is interesting that the name or word, Gebir, rare, if found at all elsewhere, does occur in the Bible, both alone and in compound. Thus the Israelites encamp in Eziongaber:<sup>10</sup> "The king, Solomon, made a navy of ships in Eziongaber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom."<sup>11</sup> "Jehosaphat made ships of Tharsish to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not; for the ships were broken at Eziongaber."<sup>12</sup> Later: "Went Solomon to Eziongaber, and to Eloth, at the seaside in the land of Edom."<sup>13</sup> But besides the place the person is mentioned: "The son of Geber, in Ramothgilead; to him pertained the towns of Jair the son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead; to him also pertained the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, three score great cities with walls and brasen bars."<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that the word Geber means "a valiant man." He was one of Solomon's purveyors and had sole jurisdiction over Gilead.<sup>15</sup> Yet there is no evidence to connect this Geber and the Gebir (or Gebirus) who was the invader of Egypt and the lover of Charoba.

Apparently the first version of the story of Gebir in its entirety was that found by M. Pierre Vattier, Arabic Professor to King Louis XIV. This was a manuscript,

<sup>10</sup> *Numbers*, xxxiii, 35, 36.

<sup>11</sup> *I Kings*, ix, 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xxii, 48.

<sup>13</sup> *II Chronicles*, viii, 17.

<sup>14</sup> *I Kings*, iv, 13.

<sup>15</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, iii, 760.

written in Arabic, in the Mazarin Library. Its full title was: *The History of Ancient Egypt, according to the Traditions of the Arabians.—Written in Arabic, by the Reverend Doctor Murtadi, the Son of Gapiphus, the Son of Chatem, the Son of Molsem the Macdesian.*<sup>16</sup> This manuscript M. Vattier translated into French as *L’Egypte où il est traité des Pyramides, etc.* In his preface M. Vattier praises the legend, and notes resemblances in certain points to classical literature: “Were there nothing in this story worthy of our notice but the Fable of Gebirus and Charoba, with the Adventures of the Shepherd, and the Sea-nymph, I should not repent of my trouble in this Translation.—I little thought to find in an Arabian writer, a story so nearly resembling the fables of the Greek and Latin poets.—While I was writing, it frequently reminded me of the 4th book of the Odyssey, and of several parts of *Ovid’s Metamorphoses.*”<sup>17</sup>

The *Bibliotheca Britannica*<sup>18</sup> records the translation into English of M. Vattier’s version by John Davies in 1672. Miss Reeve says nothing of this translation, but it has always seemed possible that she may have consulted it. I have been able to compare Davies’ translation with Miss Reeve’s version. It is evident that Miss Reeve depended in no way upon Davies’ translation. Her tale is clearly a very free rendering of the French, with noticeable omis-

<sup>16</sup> See *The Egyptian History of the Pyramids, The Inundation of the Nile, etc.* Faithfully done into English by J. Davies of Kidwelly, 1672; and see Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, Preface, pp. XIII-XIV; and *Poems, Dialogues in Verse, and Epigrams by Walter Savage Landor*, edited by Charles G. Crump, II, 369-70.

<sup>17</sup> Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, Preface, p. XIV. Mr. Crump doubts the fidelity of M. Vattier as a translator of this manuscript. See *Poems, Dialogues in Verse, and Epigrams by Walter Savage Landor*, II, 370.

<sup>18</sup> See *Davies and Egypt*.

sions. In Davies' book Gebir has a brother Gebirim; there is no such person in Miss Reeve's story. In addition, there are numerous differences of detail such as the number of the Gaddites, the effect of the nurse's message upon Gebir, and the name of the nymph. But, more than this, long episodes occurring in the French and in the English translation are left out. A digression<sup>19</sup> dealing with charms employed by Gebir is unused; the account of the seven tombs visited by Gebir is much compressed; and the method of murdering Gebir is altered. There is never a chance echo of the phraseology of Davies. In all likelihood Miss Reeve has translated the French, and has used the story to suit her fancy.<sup>20</sup>

Such is the history of the story of Gebir up to the time that it was read and utilized by Landor. It is highly

<sup>19</sup> One of the several episodes found in Davies but omitted by Miss Reeve is the following:

"Know, great Prince, that the Land of Egypt is a Land of Enchanters, and that the Sea there is full of Spirits and Demons, which assist them to carry on their affairs, and that they are those who take away your Buildings. But what means is there to prevent it? said the King. To do that (said she) you shall make great Vessels of Transparent glass, with covers thereto, which may keep the water from entering in; and you shall put into them Men skill'd in Painting, and with them Meat and Drink, for a week and Cloths and Pencils, and whatever is necessary for Painting. Then you shall stop the Vessels well, after you have fastened them at the top with strong Cords, and ty'd them to the Ships, and then you shall let them go into the Sea like anchors, and you shall put at the top of the cords little Bells, which the Painters shall ring; and then I will tell you what it is requisite that you should do." In the story Gebir obeys directions. The painters ring the bells, and are taken out the water with the "Draughts" they have made. Then comes the extraordinary climax: Statues are made like the "draughts", and the beasts of the sea, imagining that these are other demons, flee! See John Davies, *The Egyptian History of the Pyramids, etc.*, pp. 126-128.

<sup>20</sup> Miss Reeve was acquainted with the passage on Gebir in Mrs.

improbable that Landor was familiar with or had, indeed, heard of any version of the legend except Clara Reeve's. Forster says that Landor often related to him the incident which led to the composition of *Gebir*. While staying at Swansea, one of the ladies of the family of Lord Aylmer lent him a book from the Swansea Circulating Library. This book was *The Progress of Romance. Through Times, Countries, and Manners; with Remarks on the Good and Bad Effects of It, On Them Respectively; In a Course of Evening Conversations*. The author of the book was Clara Reeve. Landor, says Forster, "found it to be a history of romance, having no kind of interest for him until he came at its close to the description of an Arabian tale. This arrested his fancy, and yielded him the germ of *Gebir*."<sup>21</sup> The story was called by Miss Reeve *The History of Charoba, Queen of Egypt. Taken from a History of Ancient Egypt, According to the Traditions of the Arabians*.

Landor's great indebtedness to this story has been understated both by the biographer, Forster, and by the poet himself. Landor was lead into exaggerated statements about his own originality in the poem by the following remark which appeared in the *Monthly Review*: "The poem is nothing more than the version of an Arabic tale."<sup>22</sup>

Rowe's *History of Joseph*, quoting it in her Preface, p. xv. This passage runs in part:

"When Totis by his death, the sole command  
Of Misraim left to fair Charoba's hand;  
The rich Gebirus from Chaldea came  
With foreign pomp to seek the royal dame.  
Chemis adorn'd his train, whose beauteous face  
Allur'd a goddess of the watery race;  
On Nilus' banks the young Chaldean stood,  
When lo Marina rising from the flood,—"

<sup>21</sup> John Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 47.

<sup>22</sup> The *Monthly Review*, February, 1800.

This was grossly untrue, but Landor is hardly more truthful in his reply, a *Prose Postscript to Gebir*, suppressed, but partially available in Forster's *Life of Landor*.<sup>23</sup> In this Forster quotes Landor as saying in effect: "There is not a single sentence in the poem nor a single sentiment in common with the Arabian tale. Some characters were drawn more at large, some were brought out more prominently, and several were added. He has not changed the scene, which would have distorted the piece; but every line of appropriate description, and every shade of peculiar manners, were originally and entirely his own."<sup>24</sup> I shall compare first the general outlines of the two stories of Gebir, Clara Reeve's and Landor's; secondly, in some detail, the parallelisms and divergences in the two stories, point by point, endeavoring to demonstrate two facts: First, that the statement of the *Monthly Review* was unjust. Landor's *Gebir* is certainly much more than "the version of an Arabic tale"; he has altered and created, and the essence and spirit of the nineteenth century poem is his. Secondly, that Landor, too, is unjust when he says that "there is not a single sentiment in common with the Arabic tale"; in some respects Landor has followed his source closely.

The first eight pages of Miss Reeve's romance describe the visit of Abraham and Sara to Egypt. There Charoba, the daughter of Totis,<sup>25</sup> the King of Egypt, receives Sara in friendship, bestowing many gifts upon her, among them Hagar, later the mother of Ishmael. When Abraham leaves Egypt, Charoba causes her people to guide him, and Abraham prays for Egypt, and blesses the Nile. Later Abraham and Sara find among their possessions treasures which Charoba has secretly placed there. They bless

<sup>23</sup> P. 77.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>25</sup> Totis is the legend's name for Pharaoh.

Charoba, and use the money for sacred purposes. When Hagar is delivered of a son, she sends word to Charoba. Totis conveys provisions to her through a channel made from the Nile in the eastern part of Egypt. Thus friendship is established between the Arabians and the Egyptians. Totis becomes unjust, is poisoned, possibly with the connivance of Charoba, and, after some dissension, Charoba is selected in his place.

Gebir, a giant and king of a giant race, resolves to marry Charoba, and invades Egypt. If Charoba refuses his request, he means to dam up the Nile with stones which he has brought with him for this purpose, and so starve the Egyptians. In alarm Charoba asks counsel of her nurse, who, flattering Gebir,<sup>26</sup> begs him, with his stones, to build a city. Gebir consents, but demons tear down the city as he builds.

In the midst of Gebir's distress one of his shepherds meets the "young lady of the sea".<sup>27</sup> Accepting a challenge to wrestle, the shepherd is worsted and loses, besides the best beast of his flock on the wager, his heart to the nymph. The shepherd confides in Gebir who conceives the idea of changing garments with his servant. He meets and subdues the nymph and learns from her how to make statues which will frighten away the demons. Yet Gebir's city is still unfinished from want of money. The nymph again counsels him, this time to offer various sacrifices of bulls' galls. Her orders are followed implicitly by Gebir, and his city is miraculously completed. Charoba now fears that she must marry Gebir, but the nurse plots against him. She induces Gebir to send his friends to her in three parties, successively, and she poisons in turn

<sup>26</sup> In Miss Reeve's tale the name is always Gebirus.

<sup>27</sup> Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, p. 122.

each group. The nurse then kills Gebir with a poisoned robe. Gebir dies, cursing Charoba, and ordering it to be inscribed upon his tombstone that he has met death through the guile of a woman. He prophesies Charoba's death which, three years later, is accomplished. Dalica, a kinswoman of Charoba, becomes queen.

Landor's story begins with the invasion of Egypt by Gebir and his race of giants. Charoba confides in her nurse, called by Landor Dalica. Dalica persuades Charoba to seek out Gebir, and to urge him to build a city in Egypt. At the first meeting Gebir falls in love with Charoba, but, unwilling to indulge in the softness of love, he leaves her, and goes to Tamar, his younger brother, who is in charge of the royal flocks. Gebir means to divulge his passion to Tamar, but Tamar anticipates him by confession of love for a nymph, whom he met near the sea, and who challenged him at wrestling. The nymph had defeated him, and had won his love. Gebir reveals his love for Charoba.

As Gebir begins to build his city, it is continually destroyed by an unknown force. Gebir disguises himself as Tamar, meets the nymph and overcomes her. She, to win Tamar whom she now loves, reveals to Gebir certain rites. Having sacrificed before the city, Gebir sees an abyss open beneath him. He enters and visits the regions of the dead, beholding his own ancestors, and various great figures of the past.

When Gebir returns, fear and love contend for mastery in Charoba. Meanwhile, her people have learned to respect Gebir, and desire a marriage between him and Charoba. But Dalica, to whom Charoba has not confessed her love, plans treachery against Gebir. She visits her enchantress sister Merthyr, at Masar, and receives from her a poisoned robe which she means to throw about Gebir.

Landor then digresses to relate the happiness of Tamar with the nymph, who shows to her lover the glories of the ocean. There follow pictures of the warriors at their games, and of Charoba at her bath. Yet amid all the exultation Gebir is inexplicably uneasy. He plans, however, to make his declaration to Charoba. At this dramatic moment Dalica wraps the poisoned robe about Gebir. The king's death anguish is great, and Charoba's grief is hardly less. Dalica, with wild invocation, exonerates Charoba of complicity. Gebir rouses to take leave of Charoba, and then dies.

Landor omits all the ancient story prior to the invasion of Gebir. His poem commences with Gebir's coming, because of "meditating on primeval wrongs,"<sup>28</sup> and not merely, as in the source, because he hears of Charoba's fame. Both stories dwell on the fact of Gebir's giant race. The phrases are very like: in the first "men of great stature and strength";<sup>29</sup> in the second "men of gigantic force, gigantic arms."<sup>30</sup> The detail of the stones on the heads is used by Landor, with fidelity to the original, though he turns it into vivid verse. Miss Reeve says: "Every one carried a large stone upon his head, and was completely armed."<sup>31</sup> Landor writes:

". . . nor sword sufficed,  
Nor shield immense nor coat of massive mail,  
. . . . . upon their towering heads they bore  
Each a huge stone, refulgent as the stars."<sup>32</sup>

In Miss Reeve's story Gebir asks Charoba where he may enter Egypt, threatening, if she refuses, to dam the Nile

<sup>28</sup> *Gebir*, l. 6.

<sup>29</sup> Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> *Gebir*, l. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, p. 116.

<sup>32</sup> *Gebir*, lls. 15-17.

and starve the Egyptians. Charoba confides in her woman servant, "an artful, subtle, contriving woman, and a great Enchantress,"<sup>33</sup> who counsels strategy. Most of this Lander omits. Charoba asks advice of the nurse, who urges Charoba herself to persuade Gebir to build a city. Lander makes much of the meeting of Charoba and Gebir. At this point in both stories occurs the shepherd episode. Each version is substantially the same, but Lander has expanded the incident into a closely packed narrative concerned with the beauty of the nymph and the passion of Tamar, who is here also the brother of Gebir. Now occurs the most famous passage in *Gebir*, the description of the sea-shell:

" . . I have sinuous shells of pearly hue,  
Within, and they that lustre have imbibed  
In the sun's palace-porch, where when unyoked  
His chariot-wheel stands midway in the wave:  
Shake one and it awakens, then apply  
Its polish'd lips to your attentive ear,  
And it remembers its august abodes,  
And murmurs as the ocean murmurs there."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, p. 117.

<sup>34</sup> This passage, like others in *Gebir*, was first composed in Latin. It read:

At mihi caeruleae sinuosa conchae  
Obvolvunt, lucemque intus de sole biberunt,  
Nam crevere locis ubi porticus ipsa palati  
Et qua purpurea medius stat currus in unda,  
Tu quate, somnus abit."

Wordsworth imitated the passage on the shell in *The Excursion*:

" . . . I have seen  
A curious child, applying to his ear,  
The convolutions of a smooth-lipp'd shell,  
To which, in silence hush'd, his very soul  
Listen'd intensely, and his countenance soon  
Brighten'd with joy; for murmuring from within  
Were heard sonorous cadences.

See Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, Book IV.

Landor's story ends differently, for Tamar is in love with the lady, and Gebir confesses to him his passion for Charoba. Landor drops the incident for a time, but Miss Reeve adds the sequel at once. Gebir changes garments with the shepherd, defeats her, and learns from her charms with which to frighten away the demons. With her help Gebir finishes his city. Some of these details Landor uses, but not until later. Yet, though Landor's treatment of the source is often free, his account of the first conversation between the lady and the shepherd is almost paraphrase.

Landor next describes in great detail the building of the city, and its destruction by unknown forces. The people attempt to propitiate the gods, but in vain. It is then that Landor introduces the sequel of the shepherd episode, following the source closely. In Clara Reeve's tale we read: "Thou shalt sacrifice a fat bull to every one of those

Byron also uses the figure in *The Island*, Canto II, Stanza 17:

"The Ocean scarce spoke louder with his swell  
Than breathes his mimic murmurs in the shell,  
As, far divided from his parent deep,  
The sea-born infant cries, and will not sleep,  
Raising his little plaint in vain to rave  
For the broad bosom of his nursing wave."

A critic once rebuked Byron for taking these lines from Wordsworth, though Byron, unlike Wordsworth, had acknowledged the source. Landor knew of this plagiarism, and commented on it in the *Imaginary Conversations*. In the dialogue called *Southey and Landor* Landor says: "I do not look very sharply after the poachers on my property. One of your neighbors has broken down a shell in my grotto." See *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, edited by Charles G. Crump, iv, 283. In *Archdeacon Hare and Walter Landor* Landor remarks: "My *Sea-Shell* which Wordsworth clapped into his pouch. There it became incrustured with a compost of mucus and shingle; there it lost its "pearly hue within", and its memory of where it had abided." An interesting modern version of Landor's idea may be found in Eugene Lee-Hamilton's *Sea-Shell Murmurs*.

statues, and cause the pillar under it to be rubb'd with the blood of the bull; then perfume it with the hair of his tail, and shavings of his horns and hoofs." <sup>35</sup> And later: "Rub the door with remainder of the bulls' galls, and perfume it with the shavings of the horns and hoofs, and the hair of the tails, and then the door shall open." <sup>36</sup> Landor writes:

"And at each pillar sacrifice thou one.

Around each base rub thrice the blackening blood,  
And burn the curling shavings of the hoof,

The yellow galls, with equal care preserv'd

Pour at the seventh statue from the north." <sup>37</sup>

From this point Landor's story departs far from the original. Gebir descends into subterranean regions of pure Landroesque invention. The third book of the poem opens with an apostrophe to Shakespeare. Gebir beholds the spirit of Aroar, who fought under his forefathers, and witnesses the torment of the lost souls that live by the "weary river." Beyond, separated by a flaming arch, he sees the abodes of the blest. Before him pass the spirits of famous Kings, among them George III, Louis XVI, and William the Deliverer. <sup>38</sup> Gebir meets also the spirit of his own father.

Similarly, the fourth book owes nothing to the source. The story proceeds as related up to the time of the plot to kill Gebir. Here, as noted, Dalica, the nurse, secretly

<sup>35</sup> Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, p. 126.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>37</sup> *Gebir*, Book II, lls. 219-224.

<sup>38</sup> In printing *Gebir* Landor condensed the poem by reducing it nearly one-half. In the last edition about one hundred and fifty lines were eliminated from Books III and VI, most of these allusive to contemporary events. The line in the original, describing Napoleon as "a mortal man above all mortal praise," was qualified by a note.

secures charms from her sister. Landon describes the horror of Dalica as she watches her sister prepare the poison.<sup>39</sup> But in Miss Reeve's story there is a detailed account of the joint plans of the nurse and Charoba to get rid of the King's party before he himself is attacked. All this Landon omits, and besides these omissions and changes in the fifth book of his poem, his sixth book bears no relation to the source. It describes the love affair of Tamar and the nymph. This part of the poem is enlarged by some one hundred and fifty lines of political allusion, among them the striking reference to Napoleon. The picture of the games is Landon's invention. But the great difference between the poem and the source at the end is in the dénouement. In Miss Reeve's poem Charoba hates Gebir; in Landon's poem she loves him. In the source she has achieved her end and is happy; in the poem she is bereaved. Landon depends upon the tragic death scene at the end. Miss Reeve, however, goes on to relate briefly further fortunes of Charoba, together with her death, and the succession to the throne of Dalica. Yet in both Gebir rouses, seemingly dead, to address Charoba; in both the poisoned garment is the means of Gebir's death; and in both is the employment of the servant or nurse as the instrument of Gebir's death.

Such a comparison indicates the untruthfulness of the reviews in saying that the poem, *Gebir*, was merely a version of an Arabian tale. It is evident that Books III, IV, and VI, and most of Book V are Landon's invention. He omits the first episode of the old story, and the last episode in the history of Charoba. The story is basically altered

<sup>39</sup> Landon stated that he took these lines from a passage in the pages of the traveler, Bruce. It is very possible that the precise origin was the chapter on *Cerastes*, or *Horned Viper*. See James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, VII, 292ff.

for the poet's own purposes. He develops and relates to the main story the love affair of the shepherd. The poem is filled with contemporary allusions. Above all Landor has enriched and expanded the legend into an epic poem of seven books and two thousand lines. *Gebir* is remarkable for compact thought, luminous image, and dignified emotion.<sup>40</sup> The passage on the sea-shell is itself remarkable.

On the other hand, Landor's indebtedness to Miss Reeve cannot be gainsaid. He has clung to fundamental facts and incidents: the character of Gebir; the building of the city; and the aid of the nymph; the poisoning of Gebir. It is perfectly possible to prove that a number of passages in *Gebir* are taken almost *verbatim* from the source. *Gebir* is neither a "version" nor is it "originally and entirely his own."

Landor's poem has not made the legend of Gebir immortal. *Gebir* is not a great epic. It was written before Landor was twenty-one years old; it exhibits many of the faults of youth, and some which belong to pedantry. Perhaps the *Quarterly Review* was right when it said that *Gebir* was a poem it did any man credit to understand.<sup>41</sup> But it should be recalled that Landor did not write for the *Quarterly Review*, or for its readers; of such he was frankly contemptuous. Landor was unique in being honest when he declared he wished only the approval of his peers.

<sup>40</sup>Much of the lofty mood of *Gebir* is traceable to Landor's reading during the year 1797. He was under the spell of Pindar. "When I began to write *Gebir*," he wrote Forster in 1850, "I had just read Pindar a second time and understood him. What I admired was what nobody else had noticed,—his proud complacency and scornful strength. If I could resemble him in nothing else, I was resolved to be as compendious and exclusive." See John Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 46.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 49.

With respect to *Gebir* he said he would be satisfied, if he secured ten thoughtful readers. In this he succeeded. *Gebir* is important for the student because it made a profound impression upon a few great men of letters. These were, chiefly: Coleridge, DeQuincey, Southey, Lamb, Scott, and Shelley,<sup>42</sup> though there might be numbered among the admirers of *Gebir* the lesser names of the Hebers, Charles Wynne, Frere, Canning, Humphrey Davy, and Bobus Smith. William Sotheby was appreciably influenced by *Gebir* in his poem, *Saul*, and Sergeant Ronge became the author of a tragedy, *The Conspiracy of Gowrie*, in direct imitation of *Gebir*.

Coleridge was fond of quoting from *Gebir*,<sup>43</sup> and, though De Quincey alludes whimsically to himself as "a Mono-Gebirist",<sup>44</sup> asserting that only he and Southey had read the poem, his admiration for the epic was profound. Southey declared that *Gebir* possessed "some of the most exquisite poetry in the language,"<sup>45</sup> and just before going to Lisbon he wrote Coleridge: "I take with me for the voyage your poems, the Lyrics, the Lyrical Ballads, and *Gebir*,—these make all my library."<sup>46</sup> In the *Critical*

<sup>42</sup> In April, 1808, Southey wrote a friend of Landor: "I have often said before we met that I would walk forty miles to see him; and, having seen him, I would gladly walk four-score to see him again." It was Southey's praise in the *Critical Review* for September, 1798, which first drew thoughtful attention to *Gebir*. Lamb, too, who, tipsy or sober, was always quoting *Rose Aylmer*, praises *Gebir*, admiring especially the passage describing the ocean in Book V. Sir Walter Scott thought highly of *Gebir*. See John Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 50, note.

<sup>43</sup> Coleridge found *Gebir* like a piece of dark ground filled with bright eminences.

<sup>44</sup> The history of the manuscript is related by Landor in a short poem written about the epic, *Gebir*. See *Lines on Gebir*.

<sup>45</sup> John Forster, *Walter Savage Landor*, p. 66.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

*Review* for September, 1798, may be found Southey's sincere but apparently extravagant tribute to *Gebir*. Though Southey was most eloquent on the subject, the poet most deeply influenced by *Gebir* was Shelley. James Hogg writes: "I often found Shelley reading 'Gebir.' There was something in that poem which caught his fancy. He would read it aloud, or to himself sometimes, with a tire-some pertinacity. One morning I went to his rooms to tell him something of importance, but he would attend to nothing but 'Gebir.'" <sup>47</sup> Hogg threw the book out of the window, yet Shelley returned to it again. Browning was wont to declare that he owed more to Landor than to any living poet, and there is ample evidence to prove that this youthful epic of Landor's affected definitely the poetry of the period.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

<sup>47</sup> *Anecdote Biography of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, p. 64. Shelley's favourite passages were the description of the ocean and that of Merthyr preparing her charms, both in Book V.

## XXIX.—BOWDLERIZED VERSIONS OF HARDY

### I.

"Tess of the D'Urbervilles" was greeted with a storm of criticism, which did not abate on the appearance, four years later, of "Jude the Obscure." Mr. Hardy seems rightly to have anticipated, in the preface to "Tess," the feelings of the "too genteel reader who cannot endure to have said what everybody nowadays thinks and feels." And it is true that he does exhibit in these novels a frankness of tone on all that pertains to sex somewhat unusual in England in the early nineties. But Hardy was by no means the kind of writer to disregard the predilections of his public on this or any other point of taste. There are but too many evidences of his willingness to meet them half way. And there is nothing which shows more strikingly his respect for the public taste, especially in the earlier stories, than his great delicacy, according to present standards—not to say his conventionality—in regard to matters of sex.

This shows itself, for example, in the avoidance, throughout his earlier work, of the irregular relation. Never once, in a series of nine novels, did he take such a relationship for his principal theme, nor in any case represent it in any other light than as simply criminal. In "Far from the Madding Crowd," the seducer of Fanny may be regarded as the villain of the story,—a man justly despised by everyone who knows his character. He was himself the son of such an irregular union falling before the opening of the story—the son of a nobleman, in fact, to carry out the convention—and the reader may look for nothing better from a man with such antecedents. In two other novels

("Desperate Remedies" and "A Laodicean"), an illegitimate son is the villain of the story, and in all points the traditional melodramatic villain.

In the earlier novels, such improper relationships are relegated to the remote background, and do not form part of the action proper. In the later novels Hardy often admits them into the actual narrative. But in such cases, in the later novels, he made special provision for the sensibilities of the magazine reader. In no less than two novels which involve themes of this sort ("The Mayor of Casterbridge" and "The Well-Beloved") the reading was altered in the serial version so as to substitute a regular marriage for the illicit love affair which the story calls for. Thus in "The Mayor of Casterbridge," Michael Henchard is represented as having been actually married to Lucetta in the Island of Jersey. The alteration was made at a great expense of plausibility and art. Apparently the editor of the *London Graphic* felt he could not put before his readers a love affair not sanctioned by a marriage ceremony—though he had no objection to bigamy and the sale of a wife for money.

In "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" Hardy finds another way to meet the supposed requirements of the magazine public. It is a device familiar to the "movies," and before the day of the "movies," to those ten-cent novels advertised as "clean and wholesome" and to be "admitted to the family circle without the slightest hesitation." Whatever may be permitted to the writer of books, the writer of serials was not to take for his heroine a woman who was not technically, as well as virtually, "pure." And so, in place of the seduction of Tess by Alec, the magazine reader was informed of a "fake" marriage by which the innocent girl was entrapped. Here again the practical euphemism, as we might

call it, was perpetrated at a terrible sacrifice of art. But everybody was satisfied that nobody's morals were put in jeopardy.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

That was in the later period, when the improper relationship was brought within the compass of the story proper. In the earlier period, the story teller was not always permitted to allude in plain terms to such a relationship, even when it antedated the story, and even when he was addressing the staid reader of three volumes. In "The Return of the Native," the present reader knows that when Eustacia takes up with Clym Yeobright, she has already had some kind of intimacy with Wildeve, the sentimental inn-keeper. He probably represents that intimacy to himself as being more than Platonic; and for his interpretation he has grounds which the reader of 1878 did not have. *He* simply knew that they had been lovers of some sort. The mystery of their relation was never absolutely cleared up; and he had his choice of agreeing with Thomasin that it was "nothing but a mere flirtation," or giving credence to Mrs. Yeobright, who asserted more than once that Eustacia was not a "good girl," though unfortunately she had no "proofs" against her.<sup>2</sup> I have no doubt that the majority of readers

<sup>1</sup> For information concerning the changes made for the magazines in "The Mayor of Casterbridge," "The Well-Beloved," and "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," I am indebted to the studies of one of my advanced students. I am in hopes that eventually the whole investigation may see the light in the form of a Doctor's thesis.

<sup>2</sup> P. 250. Cf. pp. 136, 219, 236, 263, 432, 435. The story first appeared in *Belgravia* from January to December, 1878; the first edition in book form was published presumably late in the same year, three volumes bearing the imprint of Smith, Elder & Co. Page references in this article are all to the present standard editions, Harper's in America, Macmillan in England, which are identical in pagination.

were inclined to pass over this question lightly, grateful to the author for not insisting on his heroine's being a bad woman. There are many passages, even in the earlier version, which can have had but one meaning to the author himself;<sup>3</sup> and I am persuaded that, from the beginning, he conceived of this love affair as no mere matter of sentiment. But he had always been a modest, not to say reticent, writer, and every provision was made in 1878 to spare the sensibilities of the magazine reader. Even towards the end of the story, when the despairing heroine agrees to accept the assistance of Wildevé in getting away from Egdon Heath, there is no suggestion of a criminal elopement. Wildevé does not propose anything of the sort to Eustacia; and when he leaves home that dark night to accompany her to Budmouth, he even has the thought of telling the whole innocent story to his wife. Eustacia is in despair when she realizes that she has no money, but not because that means she must give herself to Wildevé. It is simply her pride that cannot swallow the thought of asking him for pecuniary aid.

It is hardly necessary to point out how much difference it makes to this story whether Eustacia had been the mistress of Wildevé before she married Clym, and whether she contemplated becoming so after the marriage of both Wildevé and herself. For one thing, how different a light is thrown, according to the decision in this matter, on Clym's controversy with his mother on the subject of

These seem both to represent the revision made by Mr. Hardy in about 1895 when issuing his collected works, first under the imprint of Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. The Macmillan issue I have consulted bears the date 1902. The more recent edition de luxe (the "Wessex Edition," 1912 for this novel) has a different paging; but the passages quoted are identical with those in the earlier Macmillan edition.

<sup>3</sup> For example, passages on pp. 73, 75, 98, 99, 100, 353, 425.

Eustacia's character! What a different sound is given to Clym's words in the great scene of remorse and jealous suspicion after his mother's death: "How bewitched I was! How could there be any good in a woman that everybody spoke ill of?"<sup>4</sup> We must bear in mind that Eustacia never made any confession to Clym of the nature of her attachment to Wildeve; and we do not forget that it was just such a confession which provoked the tragedy of Tess of the D'Urbervilles, not to speak of the similar motive in "A Pair of Blue Eyes." Hardy clearly did not wish to complicate the drama of Clym Yeobright by laying too much stress upon the earlier history of Eustacia. But it will also be clear that he was not content to leave the matter in the tame light of Thomasin's interpretation.

Already in 1878 he began to show his dissatisfaction with such a gingerly treatment of his theme; and when the three volumes of the book came out, there was one notable change in evidence. It appears in connection with Mrs. Yeobright's visit to her son and his wife to inquire if they had received the money sent by Christian Cantle, which had actually by an accident been delivered to the wrong person. This misunderstanding is the starting-point of a dispute between Eustacia and Mrs. Yeobright which further alienates these women already so unfriendly. In the earlier version of this scene, however, when Eustacia has sarcastically denied their reception of any sum of money, there is nothing left to add heat to their hostile feeling. But when the story came out in book form, the dramatic character of the scene had been increased tenfold by the injection of a new issue. Mrs. Yeobright has been falsely informed—it now appears—that the money has all been delivered into the hands of Wildeve; and she at

<sup>4</sup> P. 410.

once conceives the suspicion that he has passed on the money intended for Clym to Clym's wife "because she had been his sweetheart, and might be so still."<sup>5</sup> It is in the spirit of this suspicion that she approaches Eustacia. Naturally Eustacia, with her pride and her guilty conscience in reference to the past, resents the imputation of receiving "dishonorable presents"<sup>6</sup> now; and the reader will realize how this new element raises the whole scene to a much higher level of excitement and dramatic impressiveness.

And there the whole matter rested until 1895, when Hardy undertook a slight revision of the novel for his collected works. It was then that he made the alteration in the latter part of the story by which Wildeve is actually made to propose, and Eustacia to consider, an elopement. And it was then that he made certain additions which for the first time leave absolutely no doubt as to Hardy's interpretation of the earlier relations of the two lovers. The changes are very slight; they do not in the least affect the style or the action. But they are perhaps all the more significant. It is significant that he should have taken the pains to make alterations so minute. Two examples out of half a dozen will indicate their nature. In the conversation of Wildeve and Eustacia by her bonfire of the fifth of November, she remarks: "I have had no word with you since you—you chose her, and walked about with her, and deserted me entirely, as if I had never been yours." It is so in all the versions. But in the present version five words have been added, and what she says is now, "as if I had never been yours *body and soul so irretrievably*."<sup>7</sup> A little further along she says, on his proposal to renew their nocturnal meetings: "You may come again to Rain-

<sup>5</sup> P. 298.<sup>6</sup> P. 300.<sup>7</sup> P. 72.

barrow if you like, but you won't see me; and you may call, but I shall not listen; and you may tempt me, but I won't encourage you any more." The present form of her final declaration reads, "and you may tempt me, but *I won't give myself to you any more.*"<sup>8</sup>

Surely the author in 1878 made very considerable concessions to Victorian taste when he consented to leave in doubt a circumstance so important in its bearing upon the story. But there are certain passages strongly suggesting that the present version may be in some points the original one, and that the reading of 1878 represents the emasculating stroke of the editorial blue pencil. It is in connection with the proposed elopement that one feels most impelled to this hypothesis. Decidedly insufficient, in the earlier version, is the motivation of Eustacia's suicide. It is hard to believe that she would have drowned herself rather than borrow money from Wildeve. But when it is a question of giving herself in payment for his services, we can readily understand her being driven to despair. Her reluctance to renew their relation is quite in accord with her pride, her moral dignity, and her romantic imagination—all traits which have been exhibited and dwelt upon throughout the story. "'Can I go, can I go?' she moaned. 'He's not great enough for me to give myself to—he does not suffice for my desire! . . . If he had been a Saul or a Bonaparte—ah! But to break my marriage vow for him—it is too poor a luxury! . . . And I have no money to go alone.'" . . .<sup>9</sup> So we read her words today. But in 1878—"I can't go. I can't go. . . No money; I can't go!" How inadequate a preparation

<sup>8</sup> P. 74. Other slight but significant changes, in the same sense, are to be found on pp. 250, 425, 427.

<sup>9</sup> P. 442.

for the black pool and the drowned bodies! And what a sacrifice of truth and dramatic point to English prudery!

That I am not making too much of this consideration of public prudery is strongly suggested by still another textual variation. This is a variation between the novel as published now by Harper in New York and by Macmillan in London. The texts are in general identical, and there is every evidence of their having been printed from the same plates. The only variation of any importance is the substitution on page 72 of one word of four letters for another of the same length. "As if I had never been yours body and soul so irretrievably" is Harper's reading of Eustacia's words. But in Macmillan, in place of "body and soul" we have "*life* and soul."<sup>10</sup>

Is it not remarkable that in the year of grace 1902, in reprinting for sale in England the text of this novel as formerly published by Harper's, reprinting it page for page and line for line, with no external evidence of its being a different edition in anything but publisher's name, the English house should have gone to the expense of altering one word on page 72? Was it the author of "Jude the Obscure" or was it the publishers who in the year 1902 could not bear the indelicacy of the word *body* in such a connection, and who felt constrained to substitute the more inoffensive, but surely the less significant, word *life*?

Of course, it is the editorial discretion which is mainly to blame for the ineptitudes of 1878. But Hardy too was discreet. It was years before he was to publish "The Mayor of Casterbridge"; still more years before "Tess" and "Jude". But in 1895 he had published "Tess" and was publishing "Jude". He was no longer required to weaken and stultify his drama by an old-fashioned ret-

<sup>10</sup> The same reading will be found on p. 69 of the edition de luxe.

icence. He could afford to restore to their original key any passages which he had been admonished in 1878 to tone down for the benefit of the magazine reader.

### III.

It was some years earlier that the tide had turned. In "The Mayor of Casterbridge" and "The Woodlanders" Hardy had given serious treatment to situations involving marital infidelity. In 1890 he contributed an article to a Symposium on "Candour in English Fiction" in the *New Review*, the other writers being Sir Walter Besant and Mrs. E. Lynn Lynton. Hardy's contribution is a vigorous protest against the emasculating of English fiction for the supposed benefit of the young people who make up to such an extent the clientele of the Circulating Library. He is especially passionate in his complaint against the literary compromises required for periodical publication. He would like to have established a special magazine for adults, in which "the position of man and woman in nature, and the position of belief in the minds of man and woman—things which everybody is thinking but nobody is saying—might be taken up and treated frankly."

The growing boldness of Hardy may be attributed to his increasing independence of Victorian taste. He was now a novelist of some popularity and established reputation, whom one might ask to collaborate with Mrs. Lynton and Sir Walter Besant in public discussion of their art! He could afford to be more independent.

That is doubtless a part of the truth. But an even larger part is probably the change in public taste which was coming about precisely in these years between 1880 and 1895. Ibsen was being introduced and fought over. In the later 80's Jones and Pinero were beginning to pro-

duce their serious problem-plays. And we have also, in the novel, some of the earlier work of George Moore and Oscar Wilde's "Picture of Dorian Gray", not to mention the more normal and British Meredith, who, in his later novels, was treating, with a cool assurance far from puritan, situations very far from "proper". In 1895 or in 1890 this sort of thing required far less daring than in 1878. In the Symposium on "Candour in English Fiction", while Sir Walter professed himself well satisfied with the rulings of Average Opinion in these matters, Mrs. Lynton, on the other hand, raised a voice much sharper than Mr. Hardy's on the subject of "English hypocrisy". The somewhat sentimental and indiscriminate character of her protest even suggests that such an attitude was coming to be *the thing*. So that perhaps, in his drift towards greater frankness and bolder realism, Hardy was still keeping within hailing distance of Public Opinion.

And when he took up the theme of "Tess of the D'Urbervilles", was he not really taking up the sort of theme which had become shopworn in the great mart of ten-cent novels? Was he not—consciously or unconsciously—moving in that current of sentiment which makes the popularity of woman novelists whose names do not often appear in the bluebooks of Literature, but who make the fortunes of the publishers of Seaside (or Bertha Clay) Libraries—the "Duchesses" and Charlotte M. Braemes, who were names to conjure with long before Mr. Hardy became the subject of literary study! The pure woman, the innocent country girl, cheated or forced into a false position; the secret to be told or to be kept silent, and in any case sure to be the source of trouble and misery; a world which will not give fair trial or a second chance to a woman with a past—are not these the very stock in trade of the paper-covered novel, which still finds its passionate

readers in so many kitchens and hall-bedrooms? It is true that these stories seldom come out tragically, like that of Tess. It is true that the heroine is seldom permitted to be even technically in the wrong, like her. But we have seen that, with the magazine public, Hardy allowed his heroine to pass for absolutely impeccable. Even in the book, she appears sufficiently in the light of a victim to make **sure** appeal to the Saxon chivalrous instinct. And with due allowance for the insipidity called for in a paper-covered novel, one recognizes in these machine-made tales the essential elements of Hardy's great work of art. "The Wife's Secret", "Beyond Pardon", "A Woman's Error", "One False Step", "The Shadow of a Sin": such are a few of the suggestive titles out of hundreds credited to the sole pen of one Charlotte M. Braeme, author of "Dora Thorne", and for sale at twenty-five cents each in the year 1884.<sup>11</sup>

There is no absolute divorce between "literature" proper and the literature of the dime novel. Themes which receive their crudely sentimental and melodramatic treatment in the one are sure to appear above the surface, somewhat refined, it may be, but recognizable. And "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" came at a time when, in serious literature, especially in plays, a great deal of attention was being paid to the subject of the *déclassée*—the woman who would come back, the woman who lives "under the shadow of a sin", the woman who has to pay for "one false step." Across the channel, "*Le Demimonde*" was an old story. In England the more immediate currency of the theme was shown in the early nineties by the great success of "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" and other plays of Pinero and Wilde. So that Hardy's subject was timely

<sup>11</sup> These novels are now listed under the name of "Bertha M. Clay."

from the point of view of the "high-brow" as well as popular in the original sense of the word. And the novel of Hardy's which is most satisfying to the critic for the beauty and seriousness of its art is at the same time the one to make, from the time of its first appearance, an appeal to the widest circle of readers. If it was a venture to bring the story of *Tess* before a public which had been shocked by "*Two on a Tower*" and anxiously spared in "*The Return of the Native*", it was a venture which proved a very safe one. It may even be that the public who were so much shocked a few years later by "*Jude the Obscure*", were not merely used to being shocked, but had positively come to like it, and expect it!

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH.

### XXX.—WERE THE "GOTHIC NOVELS" GOTHIC?

The hardest thing to do with a child, sometimes, is to name it. The same is often true of a type of literature. To find a name which shall adequately express the tendencies and purposes of certain literary work is a difficult and perplexing task. It often happens, too, that a name is given carelessly, because of some application either incidental or actually mistaken, and remains fixed, although its appropriateness is only superficial.

So it has been, I think, with the novels which came toward the end of the eighteenth century, and to which we have loosely applied the term "Gothic." Walpole, with *The Castle of Otranto*, started the fashion of a tale which rested its appeal wholly upon the romantic and the supernatural. Clara Reeve, Mrs. Radcliffe, and "Monk" Lewis followed his lead; and after them, or along with them, came a flood of minor productions, which exhausted the resources of darksome dungeons, ghostly manifestations, and unnatural tyrants.

Of these writers, now relegated to a retired corner of the library shelf and appealing only to the student bent on literary research, Mrs. Radcliffe was, admittedly, the most popular and the most deserving of serious literary consideration. Let us take Mrs. Radcliffe, then, as representative of the novelists who held the public favor during the last part of the eighteenth century, and see whether her novels suit the term which is ordinarily applied to them, or whether they contain some other elements not usually associated with them.

The first question, necessarily, is, What do we mean by "Gothic" as applied to literature? We all know at least

a little about a Gothic cathedral, but when we find the term given to a novel we are all, I believe, a trifle vague.

Even among eighteenth century writers considerable difference of opinion appears as to the exact meaning of the term. Hurd compares *The Faerie Queene* to Gothic architecture and says that, in spite of its apparent irregularity, it has a unity of its own.

The Faery Queen then, as a Gothic poem, derives its Method, as well as the other characters of its composition, from the established modes and ideas of chivalry.

Addison writes:

I look upon these writers as Goths in poetry, who, like those in architecture, not being able to come up to the beautiful simplicity of the old Greeks and Romans, have endeavored to supply its place with all the extravagances of an irregular fancy.

Charles Gildon, in his *Complete Art of Poetry*, has a similar interpretation.

In all the Fine Arts indeed, there has a Grotesque and Gothique Taste prevail'd, which relishes everything that is not natural.

If, in accordance with these definitions, we take the word Gothic as implying excess of ornament, divergence from a prevailing style, the inclusion of certain abnormal and even grotesque aspects of life, then we may, perhaps, reasonably apply it to Mrs. Radcliffe's work. If, on the other hand, we consider Gothicism as a genuine expression of the life of the Middle Ages, the term is most obviously misapplied. There is nothing truly mediæval in Mrs. Radcliffe's stories, except her Gothic abbeys and subterranean dungeons and the Gothic windows through which her heroines gaze at the moonlight. And even here her architectural conception is not very definite; she gives only a general impression of massive walls and arched windows and frowning towers.

Where, then, did she get her inspiration? The answer

to this question was first suggested to me by a casual remark in Vernon Lee's *Euphorion*.

Such is the Italy of the Renaissance as we see it in the works of our tragic playwrights: a country of mysterious horror, the sinister reputation of which lasted two hundred years; lasted triumphantly throughout the light and finikin eighteenth century, and found its latest expression in the grim and ghastly romances of the school of Ann Radcliffe, romances which are the last puny and grotesque descendants of the great stock of Italian tragedies, born of the first terror-stricken meeting of the England of Elizabeth with the Italy of the late Renaissance.

This suggestion leads the way to a theory which at once arouses interest. The novels of Mrs. Radcliffe and her followers, according to this theory, are not an expression of the life and spirit of the Middle Ages, if this is what the term Gothic means. They are, rather, an expression of the life and spirit of the Renaissance, as Elizabethan England had interpreted the Renaissance. Examination of Mrs. Radcliffe's work, and of the general conditions of the period in which she lived, tends, I believe, to confirm this theory.

In the first place, the rise of the Gothic novel coincides, roughly, with a distinct revival of interest in Elizabethan drama. Both in published collections and on the stage, during the last half of the eighteenth century, the public had an opportunity to become acquainted with plays which had been little known for many years.

Interest in Shakespeare, it is true, had never died out. Between 1709 and 1765 eight editions of his works appeared. But Shakespeare seems to have been taken as an isolated figure of genius, rather than as in any sense representative of his age; and his contemporaries did not share in his popularity. An edition of Massinger, which was published in 1761, was prefixed by *Critical Reflections on the Old English Dramatic Writers*, addressed to Garrick.

In this preface the author, George Colman, makes an eloquent plea to Garrick to rescue the minor Elizabethan playwrights from a neglect which he feels is undeserved.

Colman's plea does not seem to have succeeded in persuading Garrick to revive Massinger's plays, but that the publication of the plays attracted some attention and interest seems likely from the fact that another edition appeared in 1779. This was the third complete edition of Massinger's works, an earlier one having been brought out in 1759. Even before the revival of Massinger, opportunity had been given to read the old plays in several collections. In 1744, Dodsley published twelve volumes of Old Plays. Isaac Reed, in 1780, reprinted these Old Plays, omitting some of them and inserting others. In 1773 another collection was published, in three volumes, prepared by Hawkins, of Magdalen College, Oxford. An edition of Beaumont and Fletcher was brought out in 1778. Within this period also one may note the printing of individual plays: *The Witch*, by Middleton, first published in 1778, and *The Atheist's Tragedy* of Tourneur, reprinted in 1792.

From this résumé we can see that readers in the latter half of the eighteenth century had a much better chance than those of preceding generations to become acquainted with the old dramatic writers.

Not only were the plays made accessible in printed form, however, but a revival of interest in them was evident upon the stage, as will be seen by referring to Professor Thorndike's list of old plays revived—most of them for the first time in many years—during the decade 1778-1788.<sup>1</sup> At first sight, it is true, these plays may not seem very favorable antecedents for the Gothic Romance. Most of them are by Massinger or Fletcher, and Massinger and Fletcher are not taken, usually, as representative of the darker spirit of the Renaissance.

Some of the individual plays, however, show what we may call the "later Elizabethan" qualities. *A King and No King* has a situation strongly suggestive of Ford, except that a final twist of the plot makes the king's love innocent instead of guilty, and the play ends happily. *The Pilgrim* furnishes one character—Roderigo, the outlaw captain—who would fit most comfortably into a Gothic novel. *The Knight of Malta* bears some resemblance to *Romeo and Juliet*, and shows the tendency to dwell upon thoughts of death which is characteristic of many Elizabethan plays. *The Duke of Milan* is an example both of the Revenge Tragedy and the Tragedy of Blood.

It may be seen, then, that these plays, although they do not all show the lurid violence and the skill in depicting crime which we find in the work of Webster, Tourneur, and Ford, make use, to some degree, of similar material. Moreover, in structure they offer even more reasonable models for such romances as those of Mrs. Radcliffe. In most of them, although the hero and heroine are carried through many alarming disasters and trials, we leave them safe and happy in the end.

But although most of the plays which won renewed appreciation on the stage were of the milder type, at least so far as the ending was concerned, in the published collections others were available. In Dodsley's volumes we find such well-known producers of terror as *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The White Devil*, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*. *The Atheist's Tragedy*, as I said before, was reprinted in 1792. *The Duchess of Malfi* had been made over by Theobald, and as *The Fatal Secret* was performed at Covent Garden in 1733 and published in 1735.

If one raises the question whether it is likely that Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Thorndike, *Tragedy*, Chap. IX.

Radcliffe was familiar with any of these plays, it must be admitted at once that this is for the most part a matter of likelihood, rather than of direct proof. So far as Shakespeare forms a part of the Elizabethan influence, it is true, we are on sure ground. We know that Mrs. Radcliffe was his ardent admirer; this is one of the few personal facts which we gain from the scanty biographies of her. She quotes him more frequently than any other author, and several scenes are directly traceable to his influence. But Vernon Lee, in speaking of "our tragic playwrights," was thinking, evidently, of the minor men who pictured with such singular horror the sinister side of Italian life. Although I think Mrs. Radcliffe is hardly as unwholesome as Vernon Lee's comparison would lead one to believe, still her distinguishing power lies, as Scott says, in "appealing to those powerful and general sources of interest, a latent sense of supernatural awe, and curiosity concerning whatever is hidden and mysterious," and her methods of inspiring awe and exciting curiosity often seem to have more in common with some of the later Elizabethans than with Shakespeare. It is of interest, then, to see whether there is any probability of direct influence.

The decade during which there was such a decided revival of Elizabethan performances immediately preceded Mrs. Radcliffe's own productive period as a writer. Her first novel appeared in 1789, two years after her marriage. Although she has left us journals describing some of her travels, she has given no information regarding her life at home, and we have no means of knowing how often she attended the theatre. In the memoir prefixed to her posthumous works we are told that she was very fond of music.

At the Opera she was a frequent visitor, and on her return home would sit singing over the airs she had heard, which her quickness of ear enabled her to catch, until a late hour. . . . She sometimes,

though more rarely, accompanied Mr. Radcliffe to the theatres; and was a warm admirer of Mrs. Siddons, whom she recollected at Bath, when herself was young. . . . When she visited the theatre, Mrs. Radcliffe generally sat in the pit, partly because her health required warm clothing, and partly because, in that situation, she felt more withdrawn from the observation she disliked.

This would seem, however, to refer more directly to her later years, when her reputation was already made, and her theatre-going could have had no influence upon her work.

Several passages in her writings indicate that she was familiar with the stage. One of these passages, in her *Journey Through Holland*, reveals her acquaintance with the London theatres. In describing the theatre at Franckfort, she says that it is "larger than the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and, in form, resembles that of Covent Garden, except that six or seven of the central boxes, in each tier, encroach upon the oval figure by a projection over the pit."

So far as Mrs. Radcliffe's reading of plays is concerned, the likelihood is, perhaps, even greater. Mr. Radcliffe was an editor, a graduate of Oxford, a man evidently interested in literary work, for he is said to have encouraged his wife's writing. That he should have possessed and been interested in some of the new editions of old plays seems likely. On general grounds of probability, therefore, Mrs. Radcliffe would seem to have been favorably situated, in time and circumstance, to gain a knowledge of these revived plays. The probability will be strengthened if we can find in her work any internal evidence of an interest in Elizabethan literature.

First of all, one can hardly fail to notice Mrs. Radcliffe's fondness for Italian settings. It is true that the action of her first book takes place in Scotland—at least, so we are told. In point of fact, there is nothing of Scotland in it

except the occasional use of the word *clan*, and one or two of the proper names. It is also true that in her last book she returns to England, though it is interesting to note in passing that as a background she uses the country of Shakespeare. These two books are, however, the weakest and least characteristic of her works. Her imagination was at its best in Italian, or at least in continental scenes. The title of *A Sicilian Romance* speaks for itself. *The Romance of the Forest* takes us to France and Switzerland. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* shows both southern France and Italy, but the most striking part of the action takes place in the gloomy castle in the Apennines. The action of *The Italian* is confined entirely to Italy.

The fact that Mrs. Radcliffe's Italy is not really Italy only makes the parallel more consistent. The clever essay of Vernon Lee, from which I have quoted before, puts most of its effort into showing how completely the Elizabethan playwrights misunderstood the Italy of the Renaissance. The reaction to crime, in their plays, was, on the whole, the reaction of Englishmen; it was, to quote again, the "terror-stricken meeting of the England of Elizabeth with the Italy of the late Renaissance."

So Mrs. Radcliffe is, on the whole, unmistakably English. She may specify the date, 1658 or 1584; she may let her fancy play over frowning castles, Arcadian peasants, and the rigid life of Italian cloisters; but her heroine is always a young lady of eighteenth century England, irreproachable in manners, unrelenting in propriety, able to draw a little, sing a little, play a little, though as a concession to time she is given a lute instead of a piano. The only character that has any real foreign quality is the villain, and even there we feel that she is drawing from the Italy of the Elizabethan dramatists rather than from the Italy of history. Schedoni, and Montoni, and the Marquis in *The*

*Romance of the Forest*, are all direct descendants of the Elizabethan villain,—of D'Amville in *The Atheist's Tragedy*, of Francisco in *The Duke of Milan*, of the Cardinal in *The Duchess of Malfi*. They even recall in their domination of all around them, in their relentless bending of everything to their own selfish aims, the type of "villain-hero" which Marlowe created.

In one phase of her character-drawing Mrs. Radcliffe borrowed from Walpole; namely, in the attempt to make use of her lower class characters for humorous effect. Even here, however, we do not wholly lose sight of our Elizabethan heritage, for Walpole, in his preface to the second edition of *The Castle of Otranto*, apologizing for the coarse pleasantries of his domestics, claims Shakespeare as his model.

Two characteristics of the Elizabethan drama which may be considered together, since they are so often found in combination, are the tendency toward violent and bloody scenes, and the use of the revenge motive.

The first of these is certainly found in Mrs. Radcliffe, although she frequently stops short of actual bloodshed, giving us merely the threatening preparations for it. The kidnapping of ladies, of course, is frequent, and it is often accompanied by fighting. Her heroes make miraculous escapes from overpowering odds, which she does not always trouble to explain. In *The Romance of the Forest*, the Marquis and Theodore fight a duel, in which the former is severely wounded. Theodore has only just recovered from a former wound, received in resisting the king's men. "The blood gushed furiously from the wound; Theodore, staggering to a chair, sunk into it, just as the remainder of the party entered the room, and Adeline unclosed her eyes to see him, ghastly, pale, and covered with blood."

*The Mysteries of Udolpho* has one scene which would

certainly not have been out of place on the Elizabethan stage. Emily and her aunt have been locked into a room by Montoni. Outside, they hear the clashing of swords. Annette knocks upon the door, imploring them to let her in.

'Dear Madam, let me come in, I have a great deal to say,' said the poor girl.

'The door is locked,' answered her lady.

'Yes, ma'am, but do pray open it.'

'The Signor has the key,' said Madame Montoni.

'O blessed Virgin! what will become of us?' exclaimed Annette.

'Assist us to escape,' said her mistress. 'Where is Ludovico?'

'Below in the hall, ma'am, amongst them all, fighting with the best of them.'

'Fighting! Who are fighting?' cried Madame Montoni.

'Why the Signor, ma'am, and all the Signors, and a great many more.'

'Is any person much hurt?' said Emily, in a tremulous voice.

'Hurt! Yes, ma'amselle,—there they lie bleeding, and the swords are clashing, and—O holy saints! Do let me in, ma'am, they are coming this way—I shall be murdered!'

'Fly!' cried Emily, 'fly! we cannot open the door.'

Annette repeated, that they were coming, and in the same moment fled.

'They are coming!' cried Madame Montoni—'I hear their steps—they are at the door!'

Emily turned her languid eyes to the door, but terror deprived her of utterance. The key sounded in the lock; the door opened, and Montoni appeared, followed by three ruffian-like men. 'Execute your orders,' said he, turning to them, and pointing to his wife, who shrieked, but was immediately carried from the room; while Emily sunk, senseless, on a couch. . . .

It is impossible not to feel this as a scene in the theatre; it reads like stage dialogue and stage directions.

Another passage of a different type is found later in the book, where Agnes, the nun, is dying in remorse and madness.

'What! there again!' said she, endeavoring to raise herself, while her starting eyes seemed to follow some object round the room—'Come from the grave! What! Blood—blood, too! There was no

blood—thou canst not say it !—Nay, do not smile,—do not smile so piteously !’

Besides the haunting thought of blood here, the passage is related to the Elizabethan plays in two other respects,—its depiction of madness, and its reminiscence of *Macbeth*.

*The Italian* has several scenes of violence. Vivaldi’s finding the heap of bloody garments in the depths of the old fort is a suggestion of violence which has already taken place. The two abductions of Ellena—in the first, leaving her servant tied to a pillar, in the second tearing away Vivaldi by the supposed power of the Inquisition—are examples of violence, though not of bloodshed. The whole account of Ellena’s experience in the lonely house by the shore, the refusal of the servant to murder her because he believes he has seen the supernatural warning of a bloody hand, Schedoni’s entrance into Ellena’s room, dagger in hand, ready to kill her—all this shows excellently Mrs. Radcliffe’s method of keeping us in expectation of a criminal deed. The end of the book shows the expectation satisfied with a terrible reality, Schedoni’s poisoning of Nicola and himself.

It may be well, here, to discuss a little more fully the part which poisoning plays in Mrs. Radcliffe’s novels. Poisoning was, of course, a characteristic crime of the Renaissance, and was emphasized in the plays which attempted to represent the period. One of the plays which I mentioned among the eighteenth century revivals—*The Duke of Milan*—shows a characteristic treatment of the theme, where the Duke draws poison from the painted lips of his dead Duchess. The use of poison is frequent in Mrs. Radcliffe’s romances, and is not always confined to the chief criminal.

At the end of *A Sicilian Romance*, the marquis, who has kept his wife hidden for years so that he may make

another marriage, resolves to put her out of the way. He is accustomed to carry her food, so that no one will know his secret, and he puts poison in it. She, however, luckily for her, chooses that night to make her escape and leaves the poisoned food behind. Meanwhile, his present wife, knowing that her faithlessness is discovered, stabs herself, leaving a letter which tells the marquis she has poisoned him. The marquis dies in agony, confessing in his torments his guilty treatment of his first wife.

In *The Romance of the Forest* the marquis, finding that his crimes are to be revealed, poisons himself. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, we learn that Sister Agnes, who was formerly Laurentini di Udolpho, had persuaded the Marquis de Villeroi of his wife's infidelity and led him on to poison her. A scene even more characteristic of Renaissance methods is the one at the table.

Montoni was lifting his goblet to his lips to drink this toast, when suddenly the wine hissed, rose to the brim, and as he held the glass from him, it burst into a thousand pieces. To him, who constantly used that sort of Venetian glass, which had the quality of breaking, upon receiving poisoned liquor, a suspicion, that some of his guests had endeavored to betray him, instantly occurred. . . .

The revenge motive appears in the first of Mrs. Radcliffe's romances, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*. There we are told that the Earl of Athlin had been slain by a neighboring chief, and that "when Osbert learned the story of his father's death, his young heart glowed to avenge the deed." In *The Italian*, Nicola, the former friend of Schedoni, works to expose his crimes in the spirit of revenge. The last story, *Gaston de Blondville*, has a typically Elizabethan plot: the kinsman of a murdered man accusing his murderer, and the murdered man himself appearing to support the charge and execute vengeance on the guilty one and his accomplice.

I have touched upon the matter of violent death, especially death by poison. There is, however, in addition, the tendency to dwell upon morbid thoughts of death, or upon the accompaniments and trappings of death, which we find in the later Elizabethans. For instance, in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, we have the gruesome scene of the Duke kissing the poisoned lips of the skull which has been presented in the dark to cheat his passion.

Mrs. Radcliffe shows considerable inclination toward this sort of thing, though she does not carry it to such a disgusting extreme as we sometimes find in the plays. In *A Sicilian Romance* we have a rather mild example, when Hippolitus and Julia are escaping from the ruin where he has found her in the power of banditti.

On looking round they beheld a large vault; and it is not easy to imagine their horror on discovering they were in a receptacle for the murdered bodies of the unfortunate people who had fallen into the hands of the banditti.

*The Romance of the Forest* has several incidents of the kind. One is the discovery which La Motte makes in exploring the lower rooms of the ruined abbey.

Upon the ground within it, stood a large chest, which he went forward to examine, and, lifting the lid, he saw the remains of a human skeleton. Horror struck upon his heart, and he involuntarily stepped back. During a pause of some moments, his first emotions subsided. That thrilling curiosity, which objects of terror often excite in the human mind, impelled him to take a second view of this dismal spectacle.

Adeline's dream, too, which is supposed to be inspired, we discover later on, by the fact that she is sleeping so near the place where her father was murdered, is full of funereal detail. She

saw a man enter the passage, habited in a long black cloak, like those usually worn by attendants at funerals, and bearing a torch.

He

. . . led her on, till she found herself in the same chamber she remembered to have seen in her former dream: a coffin, covered with a pall, stood at the farther end of the room; some lights, and several persons surrounded it, who appeared to be in great distress.

The most striking instance in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* is the description of the waxen image behind the black curtain, when we finally get it.

. . . A human figure of ghastly paleness, stretched at its length, and dressed in the habiliments of the grave. What added to the horror of the spectacle, was; that the face appeared partly decayed and disfigured by worms, which were visible on the features and hands.

Another passage, almost as gruesome, is the description of the body which Emily mistakes for that of her aunt.

Beyond, appeared a corpse, stretched on a kind of low couch, which was crimsoned with human blood, as was the floor beneath. The features, deformed by death, were ghastly and horrible, and more than one livid wound appeared in the face.

When the treacherous Barnardine pretends to be conducting Emily to her aunt, in reality meaning to give her up to the Count, he leads her

. . . through a passage, adjoining the vaults, the walls of which were dropping with unwholesome dews, and the vapours, that crept along the ground, made the torch burn so dimly, that Emily expected every moment to see it extinguished, . . . Emily saw, by uncertain flashes of light, the vaults beyond, and near her, heaps of earth, that seemed to surround an open grave.

In *The Italian* Vivaldi's reflections as he looks upon the dead body of Ellena's aunt show the same tendency to brood over the details of death.

As the light glared upon the livid face of the corpse, Vivaldi gazed with melancholy surprise, and an effort of reason was necessary to convince him that this was the same countenance which only one evening preceding was animated like his own.

The consideration of Mrs. Radcliffe's treatment of death leads us naturally to a kindred subject—her treatment of the supernatural. This point has received more attention, probably, than any other characteristic of her art. It is generally acknowledged that she is most successful in suggesting the supernatural, and that her deliberate principle of explaining everything, afterward, is a blemish. Only once—in *Gaston de Blondville*—does she introduce an authentic ghost, and he is rather obvious and unimpressive. Perhaps the reason that her other method is more successful is, that we all have times when we have a half-superstitious fear of something, we do not quite know what, while the appearance of an actual, embodied ghost is almost too far out of our philosophy. It takes a Shakespeare to handle a situation so delicate and dangerous; even Scott could not do it. Mrs. Radcliffe certainly had not the ability to transport herself into the past sufficiently to represent the attitude of naive credulity necessary to make a ghost story seem reasonable. If she were to stage *Macbeth*, her favorite tragedy, we feel that she would do it in the modern way, making the ghost and the dagger figments of Macbeth's guilty imagination, not in the Shakespearean fashion, which brought the ghost upon the stage in bloody horror.

It was the early Elizabethans who were most prolific in ghostly appearances. The later men, while their imaginations brooded unwholesomely over scenes of death, were not concerned so much with the supernatural. They were more sceptical, more materialistic. There is, of course, nothing in Mrs. Radcliffe of the materialist or the sceptic; she has a distinct piety of tone. But her constant explanation of the supernatural in terms of the material gives something of the same effect. This fact would seem to show that, in spite of her great admiration for Shakespeare, she deliberately took a suggestion from another source.

In regard to her handling of the supernatural, it may be observed further that, after all, not everything is explained. Though like the minor Elizabethans she may thrill us and chill us only to give finally a matter-of-fact dismissal to her horrors, she shared with her greater master the thought that

There are more things in heaven and earth, . . .  
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

Adeline, in her gloomy room in the old abbey, has a sense of some mysterious presence near her, and, although the actual sounds that she hears are accounted for by the efforts of the faithful servant to communicate with her, there is still a hint of the supernatural in her dream, inspired, it would seem, by the fact that she is on the spot of her father's murder and that his unburied skeleton is concealed in the room next hers. The awesome lifting of the black pall, in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, is given a rational explanation, but this cannot entirely destroy the effect which the chamber of the dead marchioness has upon us—the oppressive realization of the past which comes at the sight of trivial objects belonging to persons long dead. An element of fate appears in leading St. Aubert, apparently by chance, to the château in which his sister ended her unhappy history, and in bringing back Emily, wrecked at sea, to the same spot. The "explained supernatural" still leaves unexplained the tendency in the human mind to reach out beyond the tangible and the visible; and it is in depicting this mood of vague and half-defined emotion that Mrs. Radcliffe excels.

The introduction of madness, though, of course, common enough in the Elizabethan drama, is infrequent in Mrs. Radcliffe; her heroes and heroines manage to stay sane in situations which might well unsettle their minds. But

there are at least two rather striking examples. One of these has already been mentioned: the picture of the dying nun, crazed by guilt and remorse. Another is Emily's condition when she thinks she has seen the dead body of her aunt.

At the sound of his voice, Emily turned her eyes, and a gleam of recollection seemed to shoot athwart her mind, for she immediately rose from her seat, and moved slowly to another part of the room. He spoke to her in accents somewhat softened from their usual harshness, but she regarded him with a kind of half curious, half terrified look, and answered only 'yes,' to whatever he said. Her mind still seemed to retain no other impression, than that of fear.

When we come to special scenes or situations, we find in the first place situations which in general type recall the work of certain dramatists. For instance, in *The Romance of the Forest*, we have the marquis indulging a guilty love for Adeline and trying to get her into his power. When he sees the letter she has written, signed with her mother's seal, he suddenly changes, and orders La Motte to kill her. It seems evident, for a time, that the marquis is going to destroy her because he finds his guilty passion opposed by the fact that she is his own daughter—a situation quite in the tone of Ford. But when, later, we discover that she is the daughter of his murdered brother, and the heir to his property, the reversal is managed somewhat as in Fletcher's *A King and No King*, although with a very different purpose. The same reversal in the matter of relationship is found in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, when the mysterious connection between Emily's father and the marchioness is cleared up by the discovery that they were brother and sister; and again in *The Italian*, when Ellena turns out to be Schedoni's niece instead of his daughter.

In looking for Elizabethan traces in individual scenes, one is inclined to think first of the wax figure behind the

curtain—probably more familiar than anything else in Mrs. Radcliffe's books. This very possibly may have been suggested by the scene in *The Duchess of Malfi*, where the Duchess is shown the wax figures of her husband and children, to make her believe that they are dead. *The Duchess of Malfi*, as I said before, had been rewritten by Theobald and published earlier in the century. The book may easily have come into Mrs. Radcliffe's hands, and that particular incident, fitting so well into the style of her romance, would probably have been the one to strike her attention.

One of the plays revived in the period mentioned, between 1778 and 1788, was *The Pilgrim*, altered from Fletcher. Here, Roderigo, the outlaw captain, might have given some suggestions for a character like Montoni. In the play, Pedro, disguised as a pilgrim, visits the house of the woman he loves, and receives alms from her. In *The Italian* Vivaldi disguises himself as a pilgrim to visit the convent in search of Ellena. The play makes use of the mock-supernatural, when Almida, the heroine, and her maid appear as old women and foretell events to Pedro and Roderigo. The fact that the reader is in the secret, although the men are deceived, makes the situation not altogether unlike Mrs. Radcliffe's explained mysteries. There would have been a good chance for influence here, for the play was performed at Drury Lane in 1787, a time when Mrs. Radcliffe might very easily have seen it, as it was about the time of her marriage and her establishment in her new home just outside of London. Moreover, it had been given in Bath, in 1783, while she was still living there; so she had had two opportunities to become familiar with it.

However, when we look for individual scenes which show Elizabethan influence, far the most numerous are those based upon Shakespeare. The most striking passages are reminiscent of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, two plays which, al-

though they are among Shakespeare's finest productions, are most distinctly characteristic of their time, for *Macbeth* belongs in its essentials to the Tragedy of Blood, and *Hamlet* is an unmistakable Tragedy of Revenge.

One scene which shows resemblance to *Macbeth* has already been mentioned—the scene of the dying nun. "What! Blood—blood too! There was no blood—thou canst not say it! Nay, do not smile,—do not smile so piteously!"

Another strong resemblance to *Macbeth* appears in the dispute between Schedoni and the assassin Spalatro as to who shall murder Ellena, which is concluded by the Confessor with the words, "Give me the dagger, then, . . ." Again, the rising from the table in confusion, when Montoni's story of Laurentini's disappearance is interrupted by the mysterious voice, suggests the breaking-up of the banquet scene in *Macbeth*. And the sounding of the portal bell, as Emily enters the castle, might remind us of the "knell that summons thee to heaven or to hell," or again of the raven that "croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan" under the battlements.

The influence of *Hamlet* is plainly discernible in the whole circumstance of the mysterious figure which is seen on the terrace outside of Emily's window. The conversation, even, shows considerable resemblance.

'Why did not you seize it, then?' cried a soldier, who had scarcely spoken, till now.

'Aye, why did you not seize it?' said Roberto.

'You should have been there to have done that,' replied Sebastian. 'You would have been bold enough to have taken it by the throat, though it had been the devil himself.'

Emily's hesitation whether to speak to the figure is, again, suggestive of the scene in *Hamlet*. The whole of *Gaston de Blondville*, of course, is built on the *Hamlet*

theme, and in the Introduction we have a direct reference to it in the remark that Warwick Castle has towers "that would do honour to Hamlet." It is true that the story itself might show equally well the influence of some of the earlier Revenge plays.

In *The Italian*, when Vivaldi presents himself at Ellena's window, and again when he and his friend Bonarmo go to the garden to serenade her, there is a reminiscence of *Romeo and Juliet*, with Bonarmo representing Mercutio.

Two situations suggest somewhat *A Winter's Tale*. The more striking one, in *The Italian*, is Olivia's escaping from her husband and letting him think her dead. In *A Sicilian Romance* the restoration of the marchioness to her children, when for years they have believed her to be dead, is similar in theme, although in this case the husband has been responsible for her confinement. The story of Adeline, in *The Romance of the Forest*, has some resemblance to that of Perdita in *A Winter's Tale*; her death was ordered by her uncle, the marquis, but the man into whose charge she was given relented and gave her to La Motte instead. Like Perdita she came, in the end, to her rightful inheritance.

Not only do we find many scenes which remind us of Shakespeare, but Mrs. Radcliffe is always having her characters read him. When her heroines pick up a book to distract their troubled minds, it is usually Shakespeare or Milton, unless in an attempt at local color she gives them Tasso or Ariosto. Indeed, it is amusing to see the pains she takes to explain how a French or an Italian girl should have become acquainted with the English poets.

Adeline found that no species of writing had power so effectually to withdraw her mind from the contemplation of its own misery as the higher kinds of poetry, and in these her taste soon taught her to distinguish the superiority of the English over that of the French.

Again,

she touched the strings of the lute in softest harmony, her voice accompanying it with words which she had one day written, after having read that rich effusion of Shakespeare's genius, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream.'

Mrs. Radcliffe generally ends her stories by an emphasis on the moral which tends to injure the artistic effect. If we are still looking for Elizabethan comparisons, we may say that her moral is more like that of *The Atheist's Tragedy* than like that of the earlier plays—her characters seem to practice patient endurance of evil rather than active struggle against it, and vengeance is left to heaven. In *The Romance of the Forest* we have

When a retrospect is taken of the vicissitudes and dangers to which she had been exposed from her earliest infancy, it appears as if her preservation was the effect of something more than human policy, and affords a striking instance, that Justice, however long delayed, will overtake the guilty.

In *The Mysteries of Udolpho*:

O ! useful may it be to have shown, that, though the vicious can sometimes pour affliction upon the good, their power is transient and their punishment certain; and that innocence, though oppressed by injustice, shall, supported by patience, finally triumph over misfortune.

*The Italian* concludes with much the same sentiment.

"You see," said Paulo, when they had departed, and he came to himself again, "You see how people get through their misfortunes, if they have but a heart to bear up against them, and do nothing that can lie on their conscience afterwards; and how suddenly one comes to be happy, just, perhaps, when one is beginning to think one never is to be happy again !"

The close of *Gaston de Blondville*, while presenting the moral as usual, suggests by its phrasing the ending of *The Tempest*.

Thus quickly passed away this courtly vision from these woods of Ardenn. And so from before every eye departs the vision of this life . . . life is still a *fleeting vision*! As such it fades, whether in court or convent, nor leaves a gleam behind—save of the light of good works!

We may get some idea of Mrs. Radcliffe's literary tastes and the writers who influenced her from her habit of putting quotations at the head of her chapters, a practice copied by Scott and followed by many succeeding novelists. We find these quotations first in *The Romance of the Forest*. Here there are twenty-two in all; nine are from Shakespeare, five from Collins, and the rest are distributed among Walpole, Warton and Beattie. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* has fifty-seven: twenty-two from Shakespeare, nine from Thomson, six from Milton, six from Beattie, and the others scattered among Collins, Goldsmith, Sayer, Mason, Hannah More, Gray, Rogers, Pope's Homer. In *The Italian*, out of thirty-four quotations, twelve belong to Shakespeare, five to Milton, three to Mason, three to Walpole, and among others represented are Collins, Thomson, and Young.

This preponderance of quotations confirms what has already been said—that Mrs. Radcliffe's interest in Shakespeare was very strong. Anyone who is at all familiar with her work must agree that his influence upon her is unmistakable. So far as the more general influences are concerned, the case is not, of course, so clear. But one is justified in recognizing the Elizabethan influence upon Mrs. Radcliffe in her decidedly dramatic structure; in her general choice of theme, especially her attitude toward death and toward the supernatural; in many situations which distinctly recall situations in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries; and, perhaps most strikingly of all, in the one distinctive type of character which she developed—that of the "villain-hero."

In many ways, it is true, Mrs. Radcliffe is characteristic of her own century. Her sentimental heroines are the same that we find in Richardson and Fielding. Her people, although they live in deserted abbeys or wild castles, have the manners and customs of eighteenth century England. But, on the whole, Mrs. Radcliffe does not represent so accurately any actual period of the world's history as she does what we might call the artificial period constructed by Elizabethan dramatists out of Renaissance Italy. In spite of her devotion to nature, in spite of the fact that she has given many beautiful descriptions of neglected aspects of nature, and that she was one of the first eighteenth century writers to feel and express the beauty of the forest and the ocean, the atmosphere of her work as a whole suggests the judgment of Vernon Lee upon the later Elizabethans—Webster, Ford, Tourneur, and Marston.

The world of these great poets is not the open world with its light and its air, its purifying storms and lightnings; it is the darkened Italian palace, with its wrought iron bars preventing escape; its embroidered carpets muffling the footsteps; its hidden, suddenly yawning trap-doors; its arras-hangings concealing masked ruffians; its garlands of poisoned flowers; its long suites of untenanted darkened rooms, through which the wretch is pursued by the half-crazed murderer; while below, in the cloistered court, the clanking armour and stamping horses, and above, in the carved and gilded hall, the viols and lutes and cornets make a cheery triumphant concert, and drown the cries of the victim.

This is not meant, necessarily, as a plea for dropping the name *Gothic* as applied to the novels of Mrs. Radcliffe and her imitators. I have no better to suggest. *Romantic Novel* is too vague and comprehensive a term. *Elizabethan Novel* would be decidedly misleading. *Novel which reproduces the spirit of the Elizabethan Renaissance* is manifestly impossible. *Terror Novel*, I think, applies less accurately to Mrs. Radcliffe's work than to that of Lewis.

The prevailing emotion, with Mrs. Radcliffe, is not so much terror as a sort of superstitious dread or fear, what Scott called "a latent sense of supernatural awe." It matters little whether we continue to call the novels of Mrs. Radcliffe "Gothic", if we remember that the term is simply a convenience of designation, and that the mere externals of castles and trap-doors were really the least important part of her contribution.

CLARA F. MCINTYRE.



# APPENDIX

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH MEETING OF THE  
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA  
HELD ON THE INVITATION OF  
VASSAR COLLEGE AT POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK  
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1920

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MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION  
HELD AT  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1920

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MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST  
HELD AT  
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.  
NOVEMBER 26 AND 27, 1920



## THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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The thirty-seventh meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held under the auspices of Vassar College at Poughkeepsie, New York, December 28, 29, 30, 1920. All the sessions were held in the buildings of Vassar College.

### FIRST SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28

#### ASSEMBLY HALL

The Association was called to order by the President, Professor John Matthews Manly, at 3.05 p. m. It was welcomed to Poughkeepsie by President Henry Noble MacCracken of Vassar College.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Carleton Brown, presented as his report Vol. XXXV of the *Publications* of the Association, and the report was accepted.

The Secretary announced that the roll of the Association included 1,507 active members, a slightly larger number than in any previous year. At the same time he recalled the warning given by Secretary Howard at the Columbus meeting, that unless five hundred names were added to the membership list it would be necessary to increase the subscription price of the *Publications*, on account of the extraordinary increase in the cost of printing. In view of the existing situation the Executive Council had voted, in accordance with the authorization given by the Association at Columbus, to advance the annual subscription price of the *Publications* to four dollars beginning January 1, 1921. In order to bring about a proportional increase in the rate of Life Membership the Secretary offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the Association the fee for Life Membership should be, either a single payment of fifty dollars or payment of seventeen dollars and fifty cents per annum for three consecutive years: *provided*, that persons who for fifteen years or more have been active members in good and regular standing may become life members upon the single payment of thirty-two dollars and fifty cents.

The resolution was adopted.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor Carleton Brown, presented the following report:

#### A. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

##### RECEIPTS

|   |   |   |   |     |       |     |            |
|---|---|---|---|-----|-------|-----|------------|
| Balance on hand December 31, 1919,            | - | - | - | -   | \$    | 69  | 70         |
| From Members for 1916,                        | - | - | - | \$  | 3     | 00  |            |
| “ “ “ 1917,                                   | - | - | - |     | 6     | 00  |            |
| “ “ “ 1918,                                   | - | - | - |     | 66    | 00  |            |
| “ “ “ 1919,                                   | - | - | - |     | 249   | 30  |            |
| “ “ “ 1920,                                   | - | - | - |     | 3,653 | 69  |            |
| “ “ “ 1921,                                   | - | - | - |     | 106   | 00  |            |
| “ Life Memberships,                           | - | - | - |     | 150   | 00  |            |
|   |   |   |   |     |       |     | \$4,233 99 |
| From Libraries for XXXI,                      | - | - | - | \$  | 2     | 70  |            |
| “ “ “ XXXII,                                  | - | - | - |     | 5     | 40  |            |
| “ “ “ XXXIII,                                 | - | - | - |     | 8     | 10  |            |
| “ “ “ XXXIV,                                  | - | - | - |     | 30    | 60  |            |
| “ “ “ XXXV,                                   | - | - | - |     | 222   | 75  |            |
| “ “ “ XXXVI,                                  | - | - | - |     | 79    | 65  |            |
|   |   |   |   |     |       |     | 349 20     |
| For Reprints, XXXV,                           | - | - | - | -   | -     | 15  | 00         |
| From Sales of <i>Publications</i> ,           | - | - | - | -   | -     | 170 | 06         |
| “ Advertisers,                                | - | - | - | -   | -     | 130 | 00         |
| “ Sale of Index Volume,                       | - | - | - | -   | -     | 68  | 55         |
| “ Sale of Reports of the Committee of Twelve, | - | - | - | -   | -     | 1   | 62         |
| “ Membership fees for M. H. R. A.,            | - | - | - | -   | -     | 148 | 50         |
| “ Subscriptions to <i>Mod. Lang. Review</i> , | - | - | - | -   | -     | 41  | 25         |
| “ Interest on Current Funds,                  | - | - | - | -   | -     | 26  | 15         |
| “ Interest on Liberty Bonds,                  | - | - | - | \$  | 23    | 25  |            |
| “ Interest on Permanent Fund,                 | - | - | - | 304 | 02    |     |            |
|   |   |   |   |     |       |     | 327 27     |
|   |   |   |   |     |       |     | 5,511 59   |
|   |   |   |   |     |       |     | \$5,581 29 |

EXPENDITURES

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| To Secretary, for Salary, - - -   | \$ 750 00        |
| “ “ for Printing, - - -   | 34 35            |
| “ “ for Postage, - - -  | 92 37            |
| “ “ for Record Book, - - -  | 1 65             |
| “ “ for MS. envelopes, - - -  | 1 87             |
| “ “ for Expressage, - - -   | 12 21            |
| “ “ for Telegrams, - - -  | 7 39             |
| “ “ for Council Expenses, - - -   | 21 98            |
|   | <hr/> \$ 921 82  |
| To A. A. Dority, for Treasurer's Bond, - -  | 12 50            |
| To Secretary, Central Division, for Salary, -   | 100 00           |
| To W. A. Neilson, Managing Trustee, Life Memberships, - - - - -                         | 150 00           |
| For purchase of copies of <i>Publications</i> , - -                                     | 5 00             |
| For subscription returned, - - - -  | 2 70             |
| For refund of fees for 1920 to Life Members, -  | 6 00             |
| To Committee on Resolutions, for expenses, -  | 1 50             |
| For Exchange, - - - - -   | 2 27             |
| For collection charges on checks, - - -   | 2 98             |
| To J. H. Furst Co. for printing <i>Publications</i> ,                                   |                  |
| XXXV, 1 - - - -   | \$ 1,010 50      |
| XXXV, 2 - - - -   | 1,002 65         |
| XXXV, 3 - - - -   | 937 10           |
|   | <hr/> 2,950 25   |
| To Smith & Lamar, for Programs for Poughkeepsie and Chicago meetings, - - -             | 391 30           |
| To American Council of Learned Societies, dues, -                                       | 74 35            |
| To American Council on Education, dues, -   | 10 00            |
| To Hon. Treasurer, M. H. R. A., membership fees, -                                      | 114 03           |
| To Cambridge University Press, subscriptions to <i>Modern Language Review</i> , - - - - | 31 49            |
|   | <hr/> \$4,776 19 |
| Balance on hand December 24, 1920,* - - - -   | 805 10           |
|   | <hr/> \$5,581 29 |

\* The bill for printing XXXV, 4, of the *Publications*, which amounted to \$1,044.14, was not received until after the Treasurer's books were closed. Allowing for this, the year ended with an actual deficit in this account of \$239.04.

## B. INVESTED FUNDS

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| Bright Fund (Eutaw Savings Bank),           |                  |
| Principal, December 31, 1919, - - -         | \$ 1,577 51      |
| Interest, April 1, 1920, - - - -            | 55 13            |
|   | <hr/> \$1,632 64 |
| von Jagemann Fund (Cambridge Savings Bank), |                  |
| Principal, December 31, 1919, - - -         | \$ 1,452 40      |
| Interest, July 1, 1920, - - - -             | 69 16            |
|   | <hr/> 1,521 56   |
| Liberty Bonds, - - - - -                    | 600 00           |
| Total, December 24, 1920, - - - - -         | 3,754 20         |
| Total, December 31, 1919, - - - - -         | 3,629 91         |
|   | <hr/>            |
| Increase, - - - - -                         | \$ 124 29        |

## C. BALANCE SHEET, 1920

|                                     |            |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Increase, Current Funds, - - - - -  | \$ 735 40  |
| Increase, Invested Funds, - - - - - | 124 29     |
| Added to Permanent Fund, - - - - -  | 150 00     |
|                                     | <hr/>      |
| Total Increase,* - - - - -          | \$1,009 69 |

It was voted to refer the report of the Treasurer to the Auditing Committee.

President William Allan Neilson, Managing Trustee of the Permanent Fund, presented the following report:

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| Savings Bank Account, December 27, 1919, -    | \$ 7,210 00      |
| Six Life Memberships added in 1920 at \$25.00 |                  |
| each, - - - - -                               | 150 00           |
|   | <hr/> \$7,360 00 |
| Purchase of Liberty Bonds (11),               |                  |
| par value \$8,300, - - - - -                  | \$ 7,171 38      |
| Paid Carleton Brown, Treasurer, - - -         | 150 00           |
| Savings Bank Account, December 27, 1920, -    | 38 62            |
|   | <hr/> \$7,360 00 |

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\* Allowing for the unpaid bill for XXXV. 4, the net increase is reduced to \$35.25.

The secretary read a letter from Professor John William Cunliffe, Chairman of the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts, stating that owing to unfavorable conditions it had not been possible in the course of the year to bring out the facsimile edition of the "Caedmon MS." in which the Committee was mainly interested.

It was voted that the report be accepted and the Committee continued.

The following report of progress by Professor W. G. Hale, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, was read by Professor H. Carrington Lancaster:

The report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature is not yet in final form. During the war the work was impossible. Since then it has been delayed partly by the Chairman's retirement, which involved loss of time in setting up a new establishment, and partly by the continued silence of Professor Zeiger of Frankfort in the face of repeated letters asking him, with the greatest courtesy, for information promised by him about the movement for uniform terminology which was begun in Germany before the War, and in which he was the leading figure. A modicum of information has now been obtained from another source, and the work of preparing the final form of the Report has been set in motion.

It is of course understood that, for some time, changes must not be made in the terminology which has already been published, and which has passed into considerable use. The work contemplated, if a majority of the Committee approves, is: (1) to illustrate and explain some of the more difficult points more fully; (2) to furnish a brief history of the movement for uniformity, the importance of which is made evident by the fact that the demand for it has arisen in five different countries: England, France, Germany, Austria, and the United States; (3) to provide an index, which a good many correspondents have asked for. It is possible, too, that the Committee may decide to add material of a fourth kind, namely suggestions about the assignment of various parts of the terminology to various grades of study, with the especial idea that there should be little or no use of technical terms in the early years, and that, so far as possible, correct habits in speech and writing should be formed by what are called "corrective exercises" before the grammatical

terms corresponding to these correct habits are proposed to the student. Something like this is already urged in syllabuses prepared by certain State authorities to guide instruction in English. It would seem an especially opportune time for the presentation of some such points of view in the Report, since a determined attempt to banish the study of English grammar completely from the schools has recently been made (*North American Review* for July) by a Regent of the State of New York, and has been received with a good deal of sympathy by the daily press. The argument was based in large part on the supposed multiplicity and arbitrariness of grammatical terms and so-called rules, and their supposed unintelligibility for students of elementary or high-school age.

The Chairman of the Joint Committee took advantage of the discussion which the article in the *North American Review* brought about by contributing a letter to the *New York Times*, under the title of "Clarified Grammar," calling attention to the aims and propositions of the Report of the Joint Committee. The letter seems to have served its purpose; for the Secretary of the National Education Association, in whose hands the Committee have put the Report, wrote the Chairman as follows:

"Dear Dr. Hale: I am writing to tell you that we have received hundreds of requests for the pamphlet on Grammatical Nomenclature since your article appeared in the *New York Times*. Our supply of pamphlets was soon exhausted, but the requests for it continue to come in."

Another thousand, the ninth, has since been printed.

It may be added that another American grammar of English is expected to appear before long, and that the author, after years spent in preparation and deliberation, has determined to adhere completely to the terminology of the Report. To make sure of this aim, the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature has been asked to read the proof.

It will be seen from the above that the year has not been a wholly inactive one for the work entrusted to the Committee.

In England, the same cause has continued to make gains. In 1918, the Government Committee on Modern Language pronounced in favor of Uniform Grammatical Terminology, and commended the Report of the English Joint Committee. Further, an Oriental Advisory Committee, recently formed, has published a scheme, harmonious, as far as possible, with that of this Report, to be applied to the grammar of Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit origin.

It was *voted* that the report be accepted as a report of progress and that the representation of this Association on the Committee be continued.

The Chair announced the appointment of the following Committees:

To nominate officers: Professor Walter Morris Hart, Francis A. Waterhouse, Laura J. Wylie, Joel Hatheway, Robert H. Fife, Charles H. Handschin, and Robert K. Root.

To audit the report of the Treasurer: Professors William G. Howard, Chauncey B. Tinker, and Emilio Goggio.

On resolutions: Professors J. Douglas Bruce, Mary Vance Young, and Carl F. Schreiber.

The President asked Professor William G. Howard to take the Chair and the reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The Radicalism of the Later Southey." By Professor William Haller, of Columbia University.

2. "The Italian Journey of Henry James." By Professor Edward Everett Hale, of Union College.

3. "El Teatro de Cervantes." By Professor Rudolph Schevill, of the University of California.

4. "Pascal in English Periodic Literature." By Professor Isabelle Bronk, of Swarthmore College.

5. "Notes on the Tristram Legend" (illustrated by lantern slides). By Dr. Roger Sherman Loomis, of Columbia University.

At 8 o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, December 28, the President of the Association, Professor John M. Manly, of the University of Chicago, delivered in the Assembly Hall an address entitled: "New Bottles."

After this address an informal reception for the members and guests of the Association was given by Vassar College in the parlors on the second floor of Main Building.

### SECOND SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

The second session was called to order by the President at 10 o'clock.

Professor Carleton Brown, on behalf of the Committee on Coöperation with the Early English Text Society, gave a brief account of correspondence carried on with Sir Israel Gollancz, Director of the Early English Text Society, and announced the intention of the Committee to issue very shortly a circular appeal with a view to increasing the Society's membership in the United States.

Professor H. Carrington Lancaster of Johns Hopkins University brought up the question of the suggestions outlined in the Presidential Address looking toward the organization of special groups in connection with the annual meetings of the Association, and moved that the President appoint a committee of which he should be Chairman, to consider the feasibility of putting these proposals into effect; and that this committee be asked to report to the Association on Thursday morning.

Professor Raymond Alden moved to amend by referring the matter also to the Chairmen of the several section meetings, but the amendment was not seconded.

After some discussion Professor Lancaster's motion was put and carried. The President appointed as the other members of this Committee Professors Lancaster, Lowes, and Mensel.

Professor John L. Lowes proposed as one of the services to scholarship which the Association might appropriately undertake, the publication of an annual bibliography.

With the suspension of the bibliography in the American Year Book the need for this is greater than ever. On motion of Professor Lowes it was

*Voted:* that the Editorial Committee of the Association be instructed to consider whether the Bibliography hitherto published in the *American Year Book* might not be taken over as a regular department in the *P. M. L. A.*

On motion of Professor William G. Howard it was

*Voted:* that the Delegates of this Association to the American Council of Learned Societies be requested to raise in the aforesaid Council the question whether it may not be expedient for American Learned Societies to secure by coöperation a central establishment for the storage and shipment of back numbers of their publications.

The reading of papers was then resumed:

6. "*In Principio.*" By Professor Robert Adger Law, of the University of Texas.

7. "The First Visit of Erasmus to England." By Professor Howard J. Savage, of Bryn Mawr College.

8. "Æsopic Fable Incunabula in American Libraries." By Dr. George C. Keidel, of the Library of Congress (read by Professor Raymond D. Havens, of the University of Rochester).

9. "Questions of Literary Success and Influence." By Professor André Morize, of Harvard University.

10. "The Evolution of the Priest Genre in the French Novel of the Nineteenth Century." By Professor Ray P. Bowen, of Syracuse University.

11. "Doctor Johnson and the Occult." By Dr. Joseph Moorhead Beatty, Jr., of Goucher College.

12. "James Boswell on the Continent." By Professor Chauncey B. Tinker, of Yale University.

13. "The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt." By Professor A. J. Barnouw, Queen Wilhelmina Lecturer, Columbia University (read by Professor Harry Morgan Ayres, of Columbia University).

### THIRD SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

For the third session the Association met in three sections, devoted respectively to English, Romance, and German Philology.

#### ENGLISH SECTION

Room 22, Rockefeller Hall

Chairman, Professor Charles G. Osgood, of Princeton University. Secretary, Professor Clark S. Northrup, of Cornell University. The following papers were read:

14. "The Purport of Milton's *Allegro* and *Penseroso*." By Dr. Percy W. Long, of the Massachusetts Department of Education.

15. "The Influence of George Sandys in English Poetry of the Early Seventeenth Century." By Professor William H. Hulme, of Western Reserve University.

16. "The English *King Horn* and Its Continental Relations." By Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, of the University of California.

17. "The Punctuation of Shakespeare's Printers." By Professor Raymond M. Alden, of Stanford University. The paper was discussed by Professors Hulme, Manly, Bouton, and Law.

18. "A Neglected Notebook of Coleridge." By Professor John Livingston Lowes, of Harvard University.

## ROMANCE SECTION

## Room 32, Rockefeller Hall

Chairman: Professor Raymond Weeks, of Columbia University. Secretary: Professor Frederick Bliss Luquiens, of Yale University. The following papers were read:

19. "Some Mediæval Echoes of the *Vetus Latina* and their Significance." By Professor D. S. Blondheim, of Johns Hopkins University. The paper was discussed by Professors C. H. Grandgent, of Harvard University; Thatcher Clark, of Columbia University; E. C. Armstrong, of Princeton University, and the Chairman.

20. "The Source of an Old French Epic Prayer" was to have been read by Professor G. L. Hamilton, of Cornell University. In the absence of Professor Hamilton, Professor R. H. Keniston, of Cornell University, amplified the printed résumé of the paper, which was then discussed by the Chairman and Professor Blondheim.

21. "Manzoni and the Romantic Movement." By Professor Mary Vance Young, of Mount Holyoke College. The paper was discussed by the Chairman.

22. "Juan de Valdés as a Literary Critic." By Professor R. H. Keniston, of Cornell University.

23. "L'Exotisme psychologique dans l'Œuvre de Flaubert." By Professor Gilbert Chinard, of Johns Hopkins University. The paper was discussed by Professor Geoffroy Atkinson, of Amherst College.

The Chairman announced that the French scholars F. Baldensperger and Paul Hazard have recently founded a *Revue de Littérature comparée* (Champion, Editeur).

At the request of the Chairman, Professor Blondheim spoke of the need of new subscribers to *Romania*, the cost of which is now thirty-seven francs *per annum*.

The Chairman spoke of the need of new members for "La Société des anciens Textes français," to which the annual subscription is twenty-five francs, with an admission fee of twenty-five francs. Professor James Geddes, Jr., of Boston University, reminded the members of the Section that it is possible to obtain at reduced rates those publications of the Société which have not been exhausted.

Professor Albert Schinz, of Smith College, made an appeal for new members for the "Société des Textes modernes," and his remarks were supplemented by Mrs. Alice M. Dickam.

Professor Madison Stathers, of West Virginia University, moved "that this Section suggest to the Association that hereafter we have three of our four meetings in groups instead of in general meetings." Professor E. C. Armstrong, of Princeton University, proposed as an amendment: "That the whole question be referred to the Committee in charge." This amendment was accepted by the proposer and seconder of the original motion, and the motion as amended was carried.

The Chairman made an appeal for new members for the Dialect Society, after which the Section adjourned, at 5.45 p. m.

#### GERMANIC SECTION

Room 14, Rockefeller Hall

Chairman: Professor William Guild Howard, of Harvard University. Secretary: Professor Henry H. Stevens, of Wesleyan University.

On the motion of Professor Robert H. Fife, of Columbia University, the Chairman was requested to inform the

Secretary of the Association that it was the desire of the Germanic Section that section meetings should form a regular part of the program at the meetings of the Association.

The following papers were then read:

24. " ' Die drei losen Nymphen ' again." By Professor Carl F. Schreiber, of Yale University.

25. " The Structural Composition of G. Keller's *Sieben Legenden*." By Professor C. H. Handschin, of Miami University. The paper was discussed by Professor E. F. Hauch, of Rutgers College.

26. " Prototypes of the Scholz Family in Hauptmann's *Friedensfest*." By Professor Frederick W. J. Heuser, of Columbia University.

27. " The ' Lower Classes ' in the Dramas and Tales of Hauptmann." By Professor Camillo von Klenze, of the College of the City of New York. The paper was discussed by Professor R. H. Fife, of Columbia University, and Professor J. F. L. Raschen, of the University of Pittsburgh.

28. " A Method of Presenting the History of German Romantic Literature." By Professor Robert Herndon Fife, of Columbia University. The paper was discussed by Miss L. M. Kueffner, of New York City.

The Chairman then presented to the meeting a letter dated Freiburg, October 15, 1920, from Mr. Walter Silz, of Harvard University, expressing doubt of the authenticity of a MS. edited by Professor Paul Piper as Goethe's *Joseph*.

After a short recess the Section proceeded to consider subjects for coöperative enterprise, such as had been suggested in the Address of the President of the Association.

Professor Camillo von Klenze suggested that a collection of the ballads and lyric poetry written in the United States in the German language could not fail to be of great value. It was voted to transmit this suggestion to the committee of the Association as a matter of first importance.

Professor William Guild Howard suggested that the Association might properly undertake to publish as a series of monographs concurrently with the *Publications*, such fruits of research as were of a size or nature unsuitable for inclusion in the *Publications*. Professor R. H. Fife strongly supported Professor Howard's suggestion and on his motion it was voted to recommend to the Association that steps be taken to make the publication of such a series of monographs possible.

A suggestion made by Professor J. F. L. Raschen that the Association ought to make a thoroughgoing survey of the conditions of modern language instruction in the United States failed to win the support of the Section.

Professor Marian P. Whitney, of Vassar College, was elected Chairman of the next Section Meeting and was empowered to select a secretary and, in consultation with the Secretary of the Association, to prepare the program for the next meeting of the Section.

The meeting was then adjourned.

At 7 o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, December 29, the members of the Association were entertained at dinner by Vassar College in Underwood Hall, Main Building.

At 8.30 o'clock in the evening the members of the Association were invited to a smoker in the reception room of Main Building. A smoke talk was given by Mr. Ellwood Hendrick, of New York City.

## FOURTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

## ASSEMBLY HALL

The session was called to order at 9.40 a. m. Professor Frank Aydelotte, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, proposed for the consideration of the Association the following plan for procuring for the use of American scholars and graduate students, rotographic reproductions of manuscripts and rare printed books in European Libraries.

1. It is proposed that American University Libraries be asked to contribute \$25.00 each per year for a fund to be expended in making rotographs or other reproductions of manuscripts and rare printed books for the use of graduate students in our early history and literature. Institutions subscribing to the fund would be asked each year to suggest the material likely to be of most value to their students during the year following. This would, so far as possible, be reproduced, preference being given to material which was likely to be useful in more than one institution.

2. The reproductions would be deposited in the Congressional Library at Washington, D. C., the Manuscript Division having undertaken to house the material and to send the reproductions wherever they may be wanted, under such regulations as may be laid down by a committee in charge. The Congressional Library is also willing to attend to the executive work involved in securing a statement from institutions of their preference and in arranging for the making of the reproductions in England. The Congressional Library will prepare for sale in the usual manner catalogue cards describing reproductions as they are secured, thus enabling each University Library to maintain a complete catalogue of the material.

3. The collecting and paying out of funds and the determining of the regulations under which these reproductions should be used should be undertaken by a committee, preferably of the Modern Language Association, and this committee should make a yearly report to the Association of funds received and expended, of reproductions secured, and of the use made of them in this country. This report should be discussed at the annual meeting and should be printed in the *Publications* of the Society.

4. The type of reproduction contemplated is the rotograph for the reason that it is the least expensive at the present moment, the

aim being to secure single copies of as large a number of manuscripts and books as possible rather than duplicate copies which could be deposited in separate University Libraries. The nature of this material is such that not many copies would be needed at one time. Regulations should be made such as to limit the time that any one student could keep the material in his possession for study, thus securing as wide a circulation of it as is consistent with the best interest of graduate study. No attempt should be made to compete with societies engaged in reprinting manuscripts and books, or reproducing them in collotype.

5. We have received assurance that if such a collection is started in the Congressional Library, we shall have the gift of a number of rotographs of manuscripts which have been made for the purpose of printing. These would have great value for paleographical purposes, even after the manuscripts have been printed.

6. Even if the plan is begun with an assurance of not more than \$500.00 a year, it would be possible for this sum to reproduce something like 2,000 pages of manuscript yearly, since the Congressional Library has undertaken to bear the cost of what little executive work would be required. In a few years' time, even on this limited scale, we should have a fairly important collection, and it is to be hoped that we should soon be able to go more rapidly by securing a larger number of subscribing universities and also perhaps by securing aid from private gifts.

After some discussion it was:

*Voted:* That the plan proposed by Professor Aydelotte be referred to a Special Committee of five to work out the details, with power to act.

The Chair appointed the following persons to serve on this Committee: Professors Frank Aydelotte, George Lyman Kittredge, Colbert Searles, Alexander R. Hohlfeld, and Mr. Charles Moore of the Library of Congress.

Professor Charles H. Grandgent, of Harvard University, called attention to the fact that the year 1921 will be the 600th anniversary of the death of Dante and that it was proposed to celebrate this anniversary at Washington in October. On his motion it was

*Voted:* That the Chair appoint a committee to represent the Association at the proposed Dante celebration.

The Chair appointed Professor Grandgent as the Association's representative.

Professor J. Douglas Bruce, of the University of Tennessee, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following report:

*Resolved:* That the members of the Modern Language Association desire to express to the Trustees of Vassar College, to President MacCracken, to the members of the local committee and to the students of Vassar, their grateful appreciation of the charming hospitality and excellent arrangements for their comfort, convenience, and entertainment which have made the thirty-seventh meeting of the Association a memorable and delightful occasion.

The resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

Professor William G. Howard, chairman of the Auditing Committee, reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been found correct, whereupon it was

*Voted:* That the Treasurer's report be accepted.

Professor H. Carrington Lancaster, of Johns Hopkins University, was called to the chair. Professor John M. Manly presented the report of the Committee to consider the feasibility of organizing special groups in conjunction with the annual meetings of the Association.

The Committee recommended: That in making up the program for the next annual meeting the third session (*i. e.*, the afternoon of the second day) be devoted to group meetings for the consideration of special topics to be arranged by a Committee appointed for this purpose; that a tentative list of these special topics be drawn up by the Committee and announced in the March issue of the *Publications*, at the same time inviting members of the Association to suggest further topics which they would be interested in discussing; that all members who expect to attend the meeting be urged to indicate to the Committee as

promptly as possible which groups they prefer to join; that on the basis of this information, the Committee should complete the make-up of the organization of the groups and appoint a leader for each group, publishing the list in the June issue of the *Publications*. The Committee further recommended that one session of the program be devoted as heretofore, to meetings of the English, Romance and Germanic Sections; and that the remaining two sessions be devoted to general meetings.

After some discussion of the details of the Committee's proposals it was moved that the report be adopted and that a Special Committee, of which Professor Manly should be Chairman, be appointed to carry the plan into execution.

Professor E. C. Armstrong moved as a substitute that the report of the Committee be approved in principle and the matter referred to the Executive Council to work out the details of carrying it into effect.

The substitute motion failed to receive a second; the original motion was then seconded and carried.

The Committee as constituted consists of Professors John M. Manly (Chairman), H. Carrington Lancaster, and Ernst H. Mensel.

On behalf of the Committee on Nomination of Officers, the Chairman, Professor Walter Morris Hart, presented the following nominations:

For President: William Guild Howard, Harvard University.

For Vice-Presidents: Chauncey B. Tinker, Yale University; Gordon Hall Gerould, Princeton University; Raymond Weeks, Columbia University.

The Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the nominees and they were declared elected to their several offices.

Professor William H. Hulme, of Western Reserve University, was called to the Chair, and the reading of papers was then resumed.

29. "Victor Hugo's Operas." By Professor F. A. Waterhouse, of the University of Texas.

30. "Kipling's Revisions of his Published Work." By Professor J. DeLancey Ferguson, of Ohio Wesleyan University.

31. "The Textbook Dialogue." By Dr. Bartholomew Vincent Crawford, of The Rice Institute.

32. "Longfellow, the Italian Teacher and Scholar." By Professor Emilio Goggio, of the University of Toronto.

33. "Largesse, an Out-of-Date Virtue." By Professor Marian P. Whitney, of Vassar College (read by Dr. Cornelia C. Coulter).

At 12.30 p. m. the Association adjourned.

#### PAPERS READ BY TITLE

34. "Development of the *Entremes* before Lope de Rueda." By Mr. W. Shaffer Jack, of the *University of Pennsylvania*.

35. "A Critical Edition of the *Roman de Romans*." By Professor Irville C. LeCompte, of the *University of Minnesota*.

36. "The Thirteenth Century Legal Attitude toward Woman in Spain." By Professor Ruth Lansing, of *Simmons College*.

37. "Mistaken Ideas in the Folklore of Language." By Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, of the *State University of Iowa*.

38. "Ritson's Life of King Arthur." By Professor Annette B. Hopkins, of *Goucher College*.

39. "The Field of the Essay." By Dr. Charles E. Whitmore, of Northampton, Massachusetts.

40. "Is a New Source Needed for Chaucer's Legend of Cleopatra?" By Professor Edgar F. Shannon, of *Washington and Lee University*.

41. "The Chess Book and Chaucer." By Professor Frederick Tupper, of the *University of Vermont*.
42. "Documents Relating to the History of the English Drama, 1640-1660." By Professor Hyder E. Rollins, of *New York University*.
43. "Sources and Influences: Spenser and Milton." By Professor Elmer Edgar Stoll, of the *University of Minnesota*.
44. "The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies." By Professor James Holly Hanford, of the *University of North Carolina*.
45. "Shakespeare's Purpose in Dropping Christopher Sly." By Professor Ernest P. Kuhl, of *Goucher College*.
46. "Some English Observations on American Manners and Customs, 1785-1835." By Miss Jane Louise Mesick, of *Simmons College*.
47. "*King Lear* and *Pelleas and Ettarre*." By Professor Alfred Allan Kern, of *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*.
48. "Touch Images in the Poetry of Robert Browning." By Professor John Kester Bonnell, of *Goucher College*.
49. "The Internal Council, Continued." By Professor Olin H. Moore, of the *Ohio State University*.
50. "Estudio de 'Comedia Tidea.'" By Professor M. Romera-Navarro, of the *University of Pennsylvania*.
51. "Free Verse as a Form." By Professor Charles W. Cobb, of *Amherst College*.
52. "Montaigne Differentia." By Dr. Maud Elizabeth Temple, of Hartford, Connecticut.
53. "The Fable as Conceived by Stevenson." By Professor Alice D. Snyder, of *Vassar College*.
54. "O. Henry." By Professor C. Alphonso Smith, of the *United States Naval Academy*.
55. "The Traveling Players in the Restoration and After." By Professor Alwin Thaler, of the *University of California*.
56. "Post-Bellum Giants." By Professor Robert Withington, of *Smith College*.
57. "A Note on the Realism of Eugene Fromentin." By Professor Lewis Piaget Shanks, of *Western University, Ontario*.
59. "Molière's Recall to Paris by the Royal Family." By Professor Bert Edward Young, of *Vanderbilt University*.

## MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Chicago, under the auspices of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, December 28, 29, 30, 1920.

The Chairman of the Division, Professor Bert J. Vos, of Indiana University, presided over the sessions.

The attendance was large, in spite of bad weather. The register showed 145. The attendance at the luncheon at the University of Chicago was given as 154, at the smoker, 141, and at the luncheon given by Northwestern University, 121. An attempt was made to limit the hospitality to members. The following institutions were represented by three or more persons: Northwestern 17, Chicago 16, Wisconsin 16, Iowa 12, Illinois 7, Indiana 6, Minnesota 5, Ohio State 5, Michigan 4, Washington University 4, Vanderbilt 3.

The following local committees were in charge: University of Chicago, Professors T. P. Cross and G. T. Northup; Northwestern University, W. F. Bryan, Anfonso de Salvio, and Hans Kurath.

### FIRST SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28

The Division was called to order at 2.30 p. m. in the Florentine Room of the Congress Hotel by the Chairman, Professor Bert. J. Vos, of Indiana University.

The Secretary of the Division, Professor Bert E. Young, of Vanderbilt University, presented a brief report on the work of the year. In particular, he stressed the critical

financial situation of the general Association, due to the high costs of printing and supplies, and urged the coöperation of all members in increasing the membership and the available funds.

The Chair appointed the following committees:

To nominate new officers: Professor H. A. Smith, Wisconsin, Chairman; O. F. Emerson, Western Reserve, J. T. Hatfield, Northwestern, Guido Stempel, Indiana, Hardin Craig, State University of Iowa.

On time and place of next meeting: Professors Kenneth McKenzie, University of Illinois, Chairman; W. A. Nitze, University of Chicago, H. Almstedt, University of Missouri, Stephen Bush, State University of Iowa, Arthur C. L. Brown, Northwestern University.

On Resolutions: Professors Louise Pound, University of Nebraska, Chairman; C. M. Lotspeich, University of Cincinnati, Hugo Thieme, University of Michigan.

The reading of papers was then begun, as follows:

1. "Some Dialectical and Foreign Types in the Drama of the XVIth Century." By Professor W. S. Hendrix, Ohio State University.

This paper was discussed by Professor Hills, Indiana University.

2. "Shakspeare's Control over His Fools." By Professor M. C. Baudin, Miami University.

3. "Sainte-Beuve an Æsthetic Critic." By Professor Lander MacClintock, Indiana University.

4. "The Philosophy of William Blake." By Dr. Frederick B. Kaye, Northwestern University.

5. "The Psychological vs. the Logical Point of View in Semantics." By Dr. Hans Kurath, Northwestern University.

This paper was discussed by Professor Wood, University of Chicago.

6. "Queen Anne's Act: A Note on English Copy-right." By John W. Draper, University of Minnesota.

This paper was discussed by Professor van Roosbroeck, University of Minnesota.

7. "The Influence of Early Scientific Periodicals on English Book-Reviewing." By Professor Philip McCutcheon, Denison University.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, December 28, the members of the Central Division assembled in the Green Room of the Congress Hotel.

The members heard with pleasure the following addresses:

Address of welcome, President Walter Dill Scott, Northwestern University.

Address of the Chairman of the Central Division, Professor Bert J. Vos, Indiana University. Subject: "Beating the Bounds."

These addresses were followed by an informal reception.

## SECOND SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

The session of Wednesday forenoon, which convened at 9.30 a. m. was devoted to the following Departmental Meetings for the presentation of more technical papers.

### ENGLISH

Room 10, Classics Building, University of Chicago

*Chairman*—Professor Arthur C. L. Brown, Northwestern University.

8. "The Structure of the Ancient Irish Epic." By Professor Tom Peete Cross, University of Chicago.

9. "Chaucer's Anonymous Marchant." By Professor Thomas A. Knott, State University of Iowa.

10. "More About Chaucer's Wife of Bath." By Professor Walter Clyde Curry, Vanderbilt University.

11. "The Nibelungen Saga and the Great Irish Epic." By Professor John C. Hodges, Ohio Wesleyan University.

This was discussed by Professors Cross, Larsen, and Brown.

12. "Wudga: A Study in the Theodoric Legends." By Professor Henning Larsen, State University of Iowa.

13. "The Cause of Long Vowel Change in English." By Professor C. M. Lotspeich, University of Cincinnati.

This was discussed by Dr. H. Kurath and Professor Emerson.

14. "Milton and Nature." By Professor Robert S. Newdick, Miami University.

This was discussed by Professor Tolman, University of Chicago, and others.

#### GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Room 18, Classics Building, University of Chicago

*Chairman*—Professor George Oliver Curme, Northwestern University.

15. "Heinrich von Treitschke's Treatment of the German *Turner* and *Burschenschaft* in his *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*." By Professor Starr Willard Cutting, University of Chicago.

This paper was discussed by Professor Hatfield.

16. "Hoffman von Fallersleben's *Texanische Lieder*." By Professor Julius Goebel, University of Illinois.

17. "Goethe's Poem, '*Im ernsten Beinhaus war's*.'" By Professor James Taft Hatfield, Northwestern University.

18. "'The Penitence of St. John Chrysostom' in Two Fifteenth Century German Versions." By Professor Charles A. Williams, University of Illinois.

19. "Sealsfield's American Romances and 'Young Germany.'" By Dr. B. A. Uhlendorf, University of Illinois.

#### ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Room 17, Classics Building, University of Chicago

*Chairman*—Professor Casimir Zdanowicz, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

20. "The Suggestion of a New General Study on the *Chanson de Geste*." By Professor Hugh A. Smith, University of Wisconsin.

This paper was discussed by Professor Bush, University of Iowa.

21. "The University of Chicago Manuscript of the *Genealogia Deorum* of Boccaccio." By Professor Ernest H. Wilkins, University of Chicago.

This paper was discussed by Professors Nitze, University of Chicago, and Wagner, University of Michigan.

22. "The Tonic Vowel in Southern Italian and Sicilian." By Professor Herbert H. Vaughan, University of Nebraska.

This was discussed by Professors Jenkins and Wagner.

23. "Why Did Genelon Hate Roland?" By Professor Th. A. Jenkins, University of Chicago.

24. "The Dreams of Charlemagne in the *Chanson de Roland*." By Dr. A. H. Krappe, Indiana University.

25. "The Interest of the S Manuscript of *Godefroi de Bouillon*." By Mr. Alexander Green Fite, University of Wisconsin.

The time of this paper was exchanged with Paper 43.

26. "The Rhythm and Meter of the Calderonian Octosyllabic." By Professor F. O. Reed, University of Wisconsin.

The members of the Central Division were entertained at luncheon by the University of Chicago men at the Quadrangle Club at half-past twelve on Wednesday.

### THIRD SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

The session of Wednesday afternoon, which convened at 2.30 p. m., was devoted to three departmental meetings—English, Germanic, and Romance—for the discussion of problems of instruction.

#### ENGLISH

Room 10, Classics Building, University of Chicago

*Chairman*—Professor Emerson, Western Reserve University.

*Secretary*—Professor Curry, Vanderbilt University.

27. "Shall the Ph. D. Course Be Made More Humanistic?" First Speaker, Professor Frederick A. Manchester, University of Wisconsin, "Notes on the Ph. D.

Degree." Second Speaker, Professor Robert L. Ramsay, University of Missouri, "Denaturing the Ph. D. Degree."

In the absence of Professor Manchester his paper was read by Dr. Harry Glicksman, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in English should be made broader and more humanistic. The "literary thesis" is at present inferior to that produced in our graduate schools because it has not the organized force of the department behind it. In addition to a thorough revision in requirements, therefore, the whole tone of the university must be altered and its faculties won over to the humanities. The ultimate aim of any graduate school should be to train students in intelligent judgments of literature. Philology and minute research must no longer be made ends in themselves, as is now unfortunately the case, but carefully subordinated to and made to serve the ends of literary criticism.]

Professor Ramsay spoke in part as follows:

[English scholarship shows marked influences of the Teutonic idea of scientific investigation in philology, comparative literature, and in criticism. Some departments having overemphasized this element in graduate instruction, there is now need of a reform. Graduate students in English must not only have a reading knowledge of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, but they must recognize the classics and the Romance languages as well. In any science generalization is the ultimate aim of investigation, but generalizations which do not embrace facts are often erroneous. Philology has confined itself too much lately to the accumulation of facts—to analysis; the time has now come for new generalizations—syntheses—based upon a new body of facts. The newer criticism, uniting with philology and resting upon a basis of scientific principles, may now be admitted because it offers scholarly discipline. True humanists must recognize the fact that words are the incarnation of the human spirit and that the study of linguistics is necessary for the correct understanding of literature. Research work, however narrow and minute, must not be scorned; but to the virtues of thoroughness, accuracy, and honesty the scholar must now add catholicity of taste and broadness of view. The proper corrective for a too scientific scholarship is not antithesis but synthesis.]

28. "The Use and Abuse of the Contemporary in the Teaching of English." By Professor Louise Pound, University of Nebraska.

[In an effort to make literature "inspiring and interesting" there is a tendency among teachers of English to reject and condemn the older poets in favor of the modern. While modern literature may profitably be drawn upon for analogies and for collateral use, teachers must recognize that, in order to keep the torch of learning alive, students must concern themselves with the past as well as the present. The educated man is superior to others because he has more knowledge; he is able, by the process of putting himself outside of his time, to gain a truer perspective of his own age than the man who sees only the present—and that usually out of focus. Since literature is the record of human feeling, the storehouse of progress, it is imperative that one have reverence for man's accomplishments in the past.]

29. "A Workable Plan of Coöperation with High School Teachers." By Professor Edward Chauncey Baldwin, University of Illinois.

[The aim of an Association of College and High School Teachers, such as exists in Illinois, is to bring teachers of English into closer relations, to standardize high school courses, and to relate them to college courses.]

This paper was discussed by Professor Hardin Craig.

30. "What Shall We Do with Freshman Themes?" By Professor Allan H. Gilbert, University of Tennessee.

[Professors must not be too conscientious in correcting freshman themes, both because it is a useless labor on the instructor's part and because it may destroy the individuality of the student. Few corrections, occasional conferences, and the "laboratory method" of instruction usually result in themes that are at least individual if not always "correct." The use of books of "models" should give way to analyses in written form of short English poems.]

This paper was discussed by Dr. Lucius W. Elder, of Knox College.

The conference elected Professor Karl Young, University of Wisconsin, Chairman, and Professor George R. Coffman, Grinnell College, Secretary, and instructed them to prepare the programme for 1921.

#### GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Room 18, Classics Building, University of Chicago

*Chairman*—Professor Bayard Quincy Morgan, University of Wisconsin.

*Secretary*—Professor George Radford Mayfield, Vanderbilt University.

31. "Some Informal Remarks on Teaching German Literature." By Professor James Taft Hatfield, Northwestern University.

[Emphasis on *reading German aloud* as the supreme test of mastery of the lesson. Teacher and pupils should join in giving something of the dramatic and artistic touch in interpreting the thought of the author. Form work, construction, notes, and the like should be pre-supposed. Translating, parallel work, themes, and the like are commendable but nothing can take the place of reading aloud as the best means of interpreting the mind of the author.]

The paper was discussed by Professors Vos, Jente, Morgan, and Thurman. The use of this method by all teachers for all classes was seriously questioned, though it was felt that splendid results might be obtained.

32. "Introductory Courses to the Study of German Literature." By Professor Friedrich Bruns, University of Wisconsin.

[The author most referred to as offering a large choice of works in a series was Friedrich Hebbel. *Agnes Bernauer*, *Maria Magdalene*, *Gyges und Sein Ring*, *Genoveva*, and *Herodias and Mariamne* were suggested as the basis of an excellent course in German literature. The courses should be conducted in German as far as possible, but some classes are so backward that English is often better suited to their needs. Translating is also a necessary evil at times to test out the accuracy of the student's interpretation.]

Professor Curme in a characteristic talk confessed that he had never been able to follow any one method as the *sine qua non* of efficiency. His conviction was that a heart to heart talk in the language of the student often did more than a year's instruction by some pet method; that it was more the teacher after all than the method employed that brought results.

33. "Aims and Methods in the Teaching of First-Year College German." By Professor Edward Henry Lauer, State University of Iowa.

[The reader stated that the past three years had caused him to ponder deeply over the real aims one should have in the teaching of a modern foreign language, with special reference to German. His conclusion was that reading, wide reading, intelligent reading, was perhaps the best goal to be kept steadily in view. To this end he had covered much more ground in reading than he had ever done before. Cognates, derivation, vocabularies, grammar, memory work, and written sentences were not omitted, but much reading had brought the best results he had yet attained in getting students to a proper appreciation of the language and its message.]

This paper provoked much discussion by Professors Hohlfeld, Cutting, Purin, Bruns, and Curme. No one method was acceptable to all but it was agreed that true aims and methods in German instruction transcend all temporal circumstances, whether they be war, or race pre-

judice, or passing sentiment; also that the content of German literature, German science, and German civilization offered as large a field as ever for the activities of teacher and pupils.

The program was completed with the report made by Mr. Richard Jente, of the University of Minnesota, concerning the status of German instruction in the high schools and colleges of America.

[In response to the author's questionnaire he received sufficient figures to make a comprehensive report and draw some conclusions as to the steps to get German back, if not to a pre-war basis, at least to the place it rightly deserves in a liberal curriculum. His report showed that German has disappeared as a required subject in all high schools but is still optional in some of them, though the minimum number required for the organization of a class in German is usually greater than the number of students who would elect this subject. The drop in preparatory schools is not so marked as in high schools, since the minimum number for a class in the former is not so great as in the latter. In the colleges there has been a drop from 31,540 in 1913 to 11,178 in 1920. The number of full time instructors has fallen from 242 to 111 during the same time. Especially marked has been the decrease in the women's colleges of the United States, there being about 20 per cent. of the enrollment of 1913. The increase of students in beginners' courses in German has been considerable in most sections, but the decrease in students for advanced courses almost counterbalances this increase. Enrollment for scientific work is decidedly on the increase.].

For the ensuing year Professor Charles P. Goettsch was elected chairman, and Professor A. M. Charles, secretary. These officers will prepare the program of 1921.

#### ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Room 17, Classics Building, University of Chicago

*Chairman*—Professor Russell Parsons Jameson, Oberlin College.

*Secretary*—Mr. Alexander Green Fite, University of Wisconsin.

34. "The Function of the Teachers' Course in the Training of Modern Language Teachers." By Professor Charles Edmund Young, State University of Iowa.

[Suggestions for course: Discover the linguistic weaknesses of the class and remedy them. Arrange for observation and profiting by the mistakes of others. Practice-teaching and conducting class. Class-room technique. Both theoretical and practical application of phonetics. Discussion and demonstration of methods. Discussion of proper texts, reference books, maps, etc.]

The strong discussion by Professors Zdanowicz, Smith, and Carnahan brought out: 1. The ever-increasing interest in such courses. 2. The necessity for clinics. 3. The necessity for greater preparation and time to give such courses. 4. The necessity for careful delimitation of these courses.

35. "How to Secure the Presence of Men Students in Advanced Courses." By Professor H. P. Thieme, University of Michigan.

[Suggestions: A congenial atmosphere. The attraction of personality. Impart the conviction that deeper knowledge of a foreign literature is valuable in itself and that the cultural background is a very real asset. Arouse interest in the country itself. Allow time for discussion and make students feel that they are co-workers. Maintain respect for the profession even under the present meager rewards for teaching.]

The discussion by Professors De Salvio and Havens took opposing turns: 1. Pessimistic. If compulsion were removed, one professor might suffice in some universities for all the modern language students; men students won't take interest in purely idealistic things; pre-medical, pre-law, and other specializations are destroying the humanities. 2. Optimistic. Men will go into higher courses when they are made more vital, interesting, and stimulating; a compromise must be made between the linguistic and the humanistic.

36. "Methods in Advanced Literary Courses." By Professor Henri David, University of Chicago.

[Methods are as numerous as subjects. "Scientific treatment" is well if the proportions are regarded. Avoidance of too fixed a system. Stimulation of taste and judgment. Combating the present wave of materialism with the grandeur and idealism of the past.]

The discussion by Professors Coleman, Wagner, Buvée of University of Chicago High School, Cardon of Wisconsin, brought out two opposing views: 1. That such courses should be conducted largely in French. 2. That they are far more profitable conducted in English.

37. "New Opportunities for Graduate Study in France." By Professor S. H. Bush, State University of Iowa.

[The greatest men in France are now devoting themselves to such work. The fine courses in French literature, history, art and geography. Universities especially attractive to Americans: Paris, Grenoble, Lyon, Bordeaux, Strasbourg, and the courses at Tours. The student would do well to begin at a provincial university. Necessity of advanced work before going over.]

Professor Wagner, leading the discussion, insisted that graduate committees should allow more credit for such work *in absentia*.

Professor B. E. Young, "in order to get an expression of opinion," offered the following resolution:

*Resolved:* That all candidates for the doctorate in Romance Languages in our universities should be required to spend at least two semesters in foreign study.

After discussion by Professor Thieme, action on this resolution was deferred until 1921, when it will be taken up as an order of the day.

On motion of Professor Smith, the Chair appointed the following committee to advise with the officers in regard to the programme of 1921, and to determine the advisability of dividing the Section into French, Italian, and Spanish groups: Professors Wilkins, MacKenzie, and Owen. The committee reported later to the general session against any such division.

The following officers of the Section for 1921 were elected: Chairman, Professor E. C. Hills; Secretary, Professor Patty Gurd, of Wilson College. These officers will prepare the program of 1921.

At 8 p. m. of Wednesday a smoker was given by the two faculties in the Florentine Room of the Congress Hotel.

The smoke-talk was given by Professor James Weber Linn, University of Chicago, in his own humorous fashion.

The Division then proceeded to commemorate its TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY with a reminiscient address by Professor George Oliver Curme of Northwestern University, one of the early members.

The initiative in this movement was taken in February, 1895, by W. H. Carruth of the University of Kansas, Laurence Fossler of the University of Nebraska, and Charles Bundy Wilson of the State University of Iowa (see *Publications*, 1896, vol. iv, new series, p. lviii.) A committee on organization was selected as follows: G. Hempl, C. B. Wilson, W. M. Baskervill, L. Fossler, G. E. Karsten, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg. A preliminary meeting was held in Chicago, June 1895, which was attended by C. B. Wilson, W. H. Carruth, G. E. Karsten, L. Fossler, F. A. Blackburn, J. T. Hatfield, C. W. Pearson and H. Schmidt-Wartenberg. W. H. Carruth was chosen chairman and H. Schmidt-Wartenberg was chosen secretary (*Publications*, vol. iv, n. s., pp. lix-lxii.) "Central Modern Language Conference" was selected as a name. C. B. Wilson was made chairman of a committee on constitution; G. E. Karsten chairman on program; and H. Schmidt-Wartenberg chairman on arrangements.

The first annual meeting was held in Chicago, December 30 and 31, 1895 and January 1, 1896.

In accordance with action taken by a joint committee of the Modern Language Association of America and of the Central Modern Language Conference consisting of Professors G. L. Kittredge, J. M. Hart, J. W. Bright and A. H. Tolman, the latter society became in 1896 the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America (see *Pub.*, vol. iv, pp. v and vi, xx, xxi, lx-lxiii, lxxiii-lxxiv; vol. v, pp. v-vii).

#### FOURTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

Northwestern University Building, Chicago

Booth Hall, Room 401

The Fourth Session, which was called to order at 9.30 a. m., afforded opportunity for the transaction of the business of the Division.

A presentation of the work and plans of the American Dialect Society was given by Professor Cross. This was discussed further by Professor Emerson.

Professor Wilkins made a report on the work of the Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature. On motion, it was voted to continue the representation of the Association on this Committee for another year.

The Committee on Nomination of New Officers, Professor Smith, Chairman, made the following nominations: For chairman, Professor Arthur C. L. Brown; for secretary, Professor B. E. Young; member of the executive committee until 1923, Professor T. P. Cross.

On motion of Professor MacKenzie, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Division for these officers and they were declared elected.

The Committee on Time and Place of Next Meeting made the following recommendations:

1. To accept the invitation of the State University of Iowa for the meeting of 1921.
2. To fix the date of the next meeting at about April 1, 1922 (change the time of meeting to the spring.)
3. To meet in Chicago as often as every second year.
4. To continue meeting as the Central Division (i. e., not to have *one* annual meeting for the whole Association, as had been proposed.)

This report brought out an active discussion, in which participated Professors Smith, Albert A. Faurot of Rose Polytechnic Institute, Bush, Cross, Nitze, Bryan, Brown, Lotspeich, M. A. Shaw of Michigan, Wilkins and Craig.

On motion, the report of the Committee was adopted with the amendment of the second recommendation to retain the present custom of meeting in the Christmas recess.

The Committee on Resolutions, Professor Pound, Chairman, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That we express our sincere appreciation of the hospitality repeatedly extended to us, as members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association, by Chicago and Northwestern universities; that we thank the presidents and the faculties of these universities and the members of the local committee

(Messrs. Tom Peete Cross, George T. Northrup, W. F. Bryan, A. de Salvio, Hans Kurath) for the cordial welcome and the generous treatment accorded us at the twenty-fifth meeting of the Central Division.

Professor Craig offered the following resolution:

*Resolved:* That the Executive Committee of the Central Division be directed to consider the possibility and means of increasing the facilities for the publication of learned articles in the modern language fields.

This resolution was passed with an amendment by Professor Emerson, urging that the members of the Central Division make special individual effort to make a large increase in the membership of the Association. He set five thousand members as the goal.

The Secretary gave official notification to the Division of the increase in the annual dues to four dollars per annum, and offered the following resolution:

*Resolved:* That Article III, paragraph 4, of the Constitution of the Modern Language Association of America, as of March 31, 1920, be amended to read as follows: "Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life member by a single payment of fifty dollars, or by the payment of seventeen dollars and fifty cents a year for three successive years. Persons who for fifteen years or more have been active members in good and regular standing may become life members upon the single payment of thirty-two dollars and fifty cents."

Upon motion of Professor Craig, the resolution was adopted, the fractions being left to the discretion of the General Secretary of the Association.

Upon motion, the elections of officers in the various sections were confirmed by the Division.

Professor MacKenzie reported that the committee appointed by the Romance Section to consider a redivision of the Section into French, Italian and Spanish groups desired to report against such redivision.

Professor H. A. Smith, of the University of Wisconsin, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Whereas,* The salary paid at present to the Secretary of the Central Division affords him little margin over the expense of attending the annual meetings, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we recommend to the Executive Council that the Secretary's vouchers for annual necessary expenses in attending the meetings and for clerical assistant in carrying on the work of the Division be allowed, to an amount not exceeding \$100 additional to his present salary.

The reading of papers was then resumed:

38. "Silvio Pellico One Hundred Years After." By Professor Kenneth MacKenzie, University of Illinois.

This was discussed by Professor Rudolph Altrocchi.

39. "Dryden's *Lucian*." By Professor Hardin Craig, State University of Iowa.

This was discussed by Professors Nitze and Cross.

40. "The Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*." By Professor George R. Havens, Ohio State University.

This was discussed by Professor Nitze.

41. "*The Passionate Shepherd* of Marlowe; Its Imitations and Analogues." By Professor R. S. Forsythe, Northwestern University.

42. "The Turning Point in Wordsworth's Religious Faith." By Professor S. F. Gingerich, University of Michigan.

43. "Spanish 'Arte Mayor' Verse." By Professor E. C. Hills, Indiana University.

The time of this paper was exchanged with No. 25.

At 1 p. m. the members of the Division were entertained at luncheon by the Northwestern University men at the La Salle Hotel.

#### FIFTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

Northwestern University Building

Booth Hall, Room 401

The Fifth Session was called to order at 2.30 p. m. The reading of papers was resumed.

44. "The King in *Hamlet*." By Professor Howard M. Jones, University of Texas.

Owing to the illness of Professor Jones, this was omitted.

45. "The Figurative Quality in Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying*." By Dr. Harry Glicksman, University of Wisconsin.

46. "Flaubert's Methods as Applied to the Descriptions in *Madame Bovary*." By Professor Arthur Hamilton, University of Illinois.

This was discussed by Professors van Steenderen and Coleman.

47. "*Hamlet* in France in 1660." By Professor Gust. L. von Roosbroeck, University of Minnesota.

This was discussed by Professors Havens and Craig.

48. "The 'Poésie intime' in Sainte-Beuve and in Lamartine (*Jocelyn*): A Contrast." By Maxwell Smith, University of Wisconsin.

49. "Matthew Arnold and Goethe." By Miss Helen C. White, University of Wisconsin.

#### PAPERS READ BY TITLE

The following papers were read by title only:

50. "English Songs on the Night Visit." By Professor Charles Read Baskervill, University of Chicago.

51. "Les Noms Propres dans l'Œuvre de Victor Hugo." By Professor André Béziat, Vanderbilt University.

52. "The Case of Chaucer's Summoner." By Professor Walter Clyde Curry, Vanderbilt University.

53. "Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro." By Professor John E. Gillet, University of Minnesota.

54. "Gottfried Keller, Leben und Werke." By Professor C. H. Handschin, Miami University.

55. "The Name of the Green Knight." By Professor J. R. Hulbert, University of Chicago.

56. "Further Light on Spenser's Virtue of Holiness." By Professor H. S. V. Jones, University of Illinois.

57. "English Precursors of Goethe's *Werther*." By Professor Cecil A. Moore, University of Minnesota.

58. "Rôle of Time in Line Rhythm." By Professor A. R. Morris, Parsons College.

59. "Rhythm and Rime before the Norman Conquest." By Professor J. W. Rankin, University of Missouri.

60. "Corneille's *Cinna* and the 'Conspiracy des Dames.'" By Professor Gust. L. von Roosbroeck, University of Minnesota.

61. "Nationalism in the Drama of the *Siglo de Oro*." By Professor J. Warshaw, University of Nebraska.

62. "Browning's Redistribution of the Early Minor Poems." By Professor James Blanton Wharey, University of Texas.

63. "The Philosophy of William Blake." By Miss Helen C. White, University of Wisconsin.

64. "German and English Names of Animals in Folk Etymology." By Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, State University of Iowa.

65. "The Idealism of Rostand and His Place in Recent Drama." By Professor Charles E. Young, State University of Iowa.

66. "A Series of Latin Hymns, *De Tempore*, with Paraphrases in Middle English." By Mr. Morris Roberts, University of Wisconsin.

67. "An English Novel of the Eighteenth Century in Spanish America." By Professor Pedro Henriquez-Ureña, University of Minnesota.

68. "Léon Daudet as Imaginative Satirist." By Professor William H. Scheifely, Indiana University.

69. "The 'Chorus' in the Novels of Meredith." By Dr. L. L. Click, University of Texas.

## MEETING OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held in San Francisco, November 26 and 27, 1920, the morning and afternoon sessions at the Hotel Plaza, and the evening session at the University Club, immediately after the annual dinner. On account of illness, the President, Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University, was unable to attend any of the sessions. In his absence, Professor W. A. Cooper, of the Leland Stanford Junior University, presided at the first and third sessions, and Professor M. E. Deutsch, of the University of California, at the second and fourth. The following items of business were transacted:

The Treasurer submitted the following report for 1919-1920:

### RECEIPTS

|   |   |   |   |       |    |
|---|---|---|---|-------|----|
| Balance on hand, November 28, 1919,       | - | - | - | \$243 | 36 |
| Dues,                                     | - | - | - | 428   | 50 |
| Interest,                                 | - | - | - | 8     | 65 |
| Refunds from Modern Language Association, | - |   |   | 5     | 50 |
|   |   |   |   | \$686 | 01 |

### EXPENDITURES

|  |   |   |       |    |
|--|---|---|-------|----|
| Dues to American Philological Association,             | - | - | \$160 | 00 |
| Dues to Modern Language Association,                   | - | - | 180   | 00 |
| Printing, postage, stationery, etc.,                   | - | - | 64    | 47 |
| St. Francis Hotel (rooms for 1919 meeting),            | - |   | 10    | 00 |
| Waiters' gratuity (1919 meeting),                      | - | - | 5     | 00 |
| B. F. White (stereopticon and services, 1919 meeting), |   |   | 4     | 00 |
| Balance on hand, November 26, 1920,                    | - | - | 262   | 54 |
|  |   |   | \$686 | 01 |

On motion the report was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee.

Vice-President Cooper appointed the following committees:

*Nominating*: Professors Johnston, Linforth, Elmore.

*Auditing*: Professors Paschall, C. G. Allen, Mr. Schwartz.

*Social*: Professors J. T. Allen, Fairclough, Noyes.

The Secretary gave the statistics of membership for the past year, and announced that the Modern Language Association of America, at its March meeting, had voted to ratify the agreement already provisionally in force with the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast.

On behalf of the Executive Committee, the Secretary proposed an amendment to the Constitution, namely, that Article IV ("Members") be amended by adding a new section, to read as follows:

"SECTION 3. If at any future time either the American Philological Association or the Modern Language Association of America shall, for sufficient reasons, increase or diminish the sum of Two Dollars and Fifty Cents (\$2.50) now required from the Treasurer of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast to pay for an annual membership in the national organization in question, the Executive Committee shall be empowered, at its discretion, to increase or diminish the annual dues of those members whose membership includes membership in the national organization in question."

As the foregoing amendment could not be immediately adopted, the Secretary reported a recommendation of the Executive Committee, to the effect that, pending the adoption of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, the Executive Committee be empowered, for the year 1921, to increase the dues of those members whose membership includes membership in the Modern Language Association of America, by the amount necessary to meet the increased demands which may be made upon our Treasurer by the Modern Language Association.

On motion the report of the Secretary was accepted and the recommendation of the Executive Committee adopted.

The Nominating Committee proposed the following officers for the ensuing year:

*President:* W. A. Cooper.

*Vice-Presidents:* M. E. Deutsch, C. G. Allen.

*Secretary:* P. B. Fay, during such time as he may be in residence, to be succeeded by S. G. Morley.

*Executive Committee:* The above-named officers and B. O. Foster, A. P. McKinlay, R. Schevill, E. A. Wicher.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted and these officers were declared elected.

On motion it was voted that the Association express to Professor Tatlock its sympathy and its regret at his inability to be present, and thank him for his very interesting address.

The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer were correct and in order.

On motion, a vote of thanks for hospitality was extended to the Manager of the Hotel Plaza and to the Directors of the University Club, and the Treasurer was instructed to contribute from the funds of the Association the sum of five dollars to the "Christmas Box" for the waiters at the University Club.

The attendance at the four sessions numbered 43, 52, 28, and 36, respectively.

Thirty-one new members were elected.

PERCIVAL B. FAY, *Secretary.*

## PROGRAM

First Session, Friday, November 26, 10 a. m.

1. "The First Canto of Dante's *Divine Comedy*." By Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

2. "The Art of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiæ*." By Professor Arthur P. McKinlay, of the Southern Branch of the University of California.

3. "The Contemporary Biographers of William Blake." By Professor Harold L. Bruce, of the University of California.

4. "Goethe's Interest in Practical Politics and Diplomacy, 1777-87." By Dr. Frank H. Reinsch, of the Paso Robles Union High School.

5. "Box-Office and Repertory in Shakespeare's Theatre." By Professor Alwin Thaler, of the University of California.

Second Session, Friday, November 26, 2 p. m.

6. "The Influence of 'Japonisme' upon Modern French Literature." By Mr. William L. Schwartz, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

7. "Ballad Imitations." By Professor Robert W. Gordon, of the University of California.

8. "Montenegro Under the Romans." By Professor Henry R. Fairclough, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

9. "What Shall We Say About Slang?" By Professor Robert P. Utter, of the University of California.

10. "The Punishment of Homicide in Ancient

Greece." By Professor George M. Calhoun, of the University of California.

11. "The Call of the Blood in the Medieval German Epic." By Dr. Clair Hadyn Bell, of the University of California.

Third Session, Friday, November 26, 8 p. m.

At the University Club.

12. Annual Address of the President of the Association, Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University: "Medieval Romanticism and Rationalism" (*read by Professor W. D. Briggs in the absence of Professor Tatlock*).

13. "The Prehistoric Wanderings of the Hittite Greeks." By Professor George Hempl, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Fourth Session, Saturday, November 27, 9.45 a. m.

14. "The Literary Analysis of the Book of *Acts*." By Dr. William J. Wilson, of the Hitchcock Military Academy.

15. "Androcles and the Lion." By Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, of the University of California.

16. "Bécquer's *Rimas* and Heine's *Lieder*." By Dr. Franklin Schneider, of the University of California.

17. "*Partis Secanto* in the XII Tables." By Professor Max Radin, of the University of California.

18. "The Influence of Carlyle's Theory of the Hero upon Carlyle's Writings." By Professor Benjamin H. Lehman, of the University of California.

19. "The Date of *1 Henry VI*." By Professor Allison Gaw, of the University of Southern California.

## THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1920, AT POUGH-  
KEEPSIE, NEW YORK, AT THE THIRTY-SEVENTH  
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BY JOHN M. MANLY

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NEW BOTTLES

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[After some introductory remarks, the speaker proceeded as follows:]

Let us first recall very briefly certain well known facts in the history of the Association. The Association was founded thirty-seven years ago for the advancement of the study of the modern languages and their literatures. Looking back upon its career and accomplishments, the critical historian must pronounce that a very large measure of success has attended it. There has been a steady and gratifying growth. The membership is now more than sixteen hundred and includes probably a majority of the scholars in the United States actively engaged in the advanced teaching of the modern languages or literatures. The publications from an annual volume of nearly one thousand pages—an expansion which has not been accomplished by any lowering of the standard of quality. Scarcely an important publication on any subject within our field appears in any part of the world that does not acknowledge some measure of indebtedness to the *P. M. L. A.* The Association has, indeed, not only been the principal agency

in the United States in promoting research in subjects belonging to its wide field, but has recently had the honor of citation among the causes which have led to the organization of the new Research Association in England. Moreover it has done notable work both directly and indirectly in establishing good methods and high standards for the teaching of French and German in the United States and in keeping instructors in touch with one another and with the progress of scholarship.

With this fine record of achievement, it may seem presumptuous to suggest that the Association ought carefully and thoroughly to consider whether its aims cannot be better fulfilled by the adoption of some entirely new methods and of some changes in the old ones. But it is just because I have been a member of the Association for more than thirty years and am proud of what it has accomplished that I wish to provoke this inquiry. In the effort to avoid qualifications and conditional statements I shall undoubtedly tend to become too positive or dogmatic, but I beg you to believe that I have no wish to impose upon the Association any particular system of ideas, but only to suggest as strongly as I can the desirability of an enlargement of its aims and methods and to give definiteness to the suggestions by proposing some definite plans for consideration. If the Association shall decide that these plans are unwise or impracticable, I shall bow to its decision—especially if other and better means of accomplishing the purpose of the Association shall be proposed by others. My contention is only that—much as the Association has accomplished—the time has apparently arrived when it can profitably attempt to do more.

In the field of research we see that everything has been left to the individual members. Not only has there been no attempt to direct the investigations, there has been

equally no attempt to bring together in any special way or for any special purpose members who were working on subjects closely related or capable of being made of mutual service. This was natural in view of the highly individualistic character of the period when the Association was organized and was perhaps the only method of bringing together what was originally a comparatively small body of persons interested in very diverse branches of the same general subjects. But the result has been that although the *Publications* contain hundreds of valuable and some very notable contributions to many subjects, there are no great outstanding accomplishments in the field of scholarship that can be placed to the credit of the Association. No one great author or period has been fully studied; no great text or body of related texts has been edited; no problem of literary history or criticism has been made the object of concentrated and consistent study. In saying these things I do not forget that some of the best work of our generation on Chaucer and Shakspeare and Milton and others has appeared in the *Publications*, or that useful texts have been published, or that there have been many thoughtful critical papers and discussions of the principles of criticism and of literary history. The point I am trying to make is that the general impression produced by a survey of our work is that it has been individual, casual, scrappy, scattering; that if we needed financial support for some important undertaking and were asked to justify our appeal by reference to what we have done, we could not point to large, unified achievements, we should be obliged to rely upon a multitude of minor contributions, and we should find our work unified only under the subject headings in the valuable Index to the *Publications* recently issued.

Perhaps it is necessary or desirable to continue to

operate in this unorganized way. But this age is increasingly one of specialization and of organization for the accomplishment of purposes too large for a single investigator. No doubt there are fewer problems in our fields of study that can be profitably attacked by organized coöperation than there are in chemistry or physics or botany or astronomy. But there are some such, they are important, and there is little doubt that if we once begin to consider the possibilities of properly organized coöperation, we shall soon find plenty of problems—some perhaps which could not be solved in any other way.

In order to be specific and to make a beginning I will suggest a few. Others of equal or perhaps greater importance and interest will doubtless suggest themselves to you as I speak.

First let us consider the problem of American speech. This is no doubt properly the special concern of the American Dialect Society, but the relations of that society to the Modern Language Association justify us in considering its problem as one of our own. It has long been recognized that a linguistic survey of the United States is a problem too vast for any one investigator, and the Dialect Society was organized for this very reason. Among the members of the Society are all the leading experts in American dialects and many competent observers. But although the Dialect Society has existed for some twenty years and has published many interesting contributions to our knowledge of the subject, it has scarcely made a beginning toward a complete and satisfactory survey. The reasons for this are clear. The work has been too casual, has lacked intensity and continuity of effort. The officers, for all their skill in organization and all their labor—and I can testify that they have labored faithfully and intelligently—have never been able to secure the intensive and

prolonged coöperation which alone could bring success. The fault has not lain in the officers of the Society, but in my opinion solely and simply in the fact that they were not able to hold out to their fellow-workers any prospect of large and immediate results, and few of the laborers were able to retain their enthusiasm for a long struggle toward an indefinitely distant end. If the Society had had the membership and the money which would have justified them in saying, "We can and will make and publish in ten years a practically complete survey of American English, including dialects local and vocational, colloquialisms, foreign influences, together with a study of foreign speech islands and their effects upon the nation," I believe that a host of willing observers and critics could have been drafted for the work and kept in it and abundance of financial support could have been secured from practical business men and others who appreciate the importance of the problems of our common speech. It is not yet too late for such a program. Indeed now more than ever—since the war has made clear to the Government and to every public spirited citizen the fundamental importance to our institutions and our civilization of the English language—it ought to be comparatively easy to secure adequate financial support for a study of American speech, provided the plan is sufficiently comprehensive and thorough and its promoters can promise results in a reasonable time.

Another task—or rather set of tasks—which ought to be undertaken by competent organizations of scholars, and which must be undertaken soon if it is ever to be done at all, is the recording of the languages all over the world which are vanishing before the advance of modern civilization. Scientists and missionaries and travelers have of course made studies of many of these languages. In India,

under the auspices of the Government, Mr. Grierson and his associates have made a marvelously complete and accurate survey of the multitudinous dialects spoken in the Indian Empire. But there are still many important languages in all parts of the world of which our records are woefully incomplete or inaccurate; and the time will soon come when they can no longer be studied in their uncontaminated forms, if at all. To make a careful and scientific study of even the simplest language is no doubt a long and difficult task for even a properly trained observer, but it would seem that it would not be a difficult or enormously expensive task to obtain phonographic records of traditional tales and songs and common forms of the most important of these languages by the aid of teachers and missionaries coöperating with a comparatively small number of experts who could give them training in making the records. Even in our own country—and therefore of special interest to us—it seems likely that unless special effort is made, the picturesque and musical dialects of the negroes of South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, and the Creole dialect of the whites of certain districts of Louisiana will soon be known only by imperfect phonetic transcriptions or even by the misleading representations of them in dialect stories.

Of course I am aware that neither the Dialect Society nor the Modern Language Association has at present the organization or the means to undertake such extensive and expensive projects, but some of them are of vital interest to both organizations; and it seems probable that if we could make a beginning—if we could point to definite achievements of these kinds—we could obtain the financial support we should require. For language is a subject of universal interest. Everyone discusses its phenomena at

some time and in some form, everyone theorizes about them, everyone wonders how language originated and why we speak as we do. And many of the problems of language—genetic and psychological—will never be solved until we have a larger collection of specimens and have devoted to them a broader and more intensive study.

The cynical among you are still objecting that such undertakings cost money and that while money is being poured out in large sums for research in physics and chemistry and metallurgy and botany and every other branch of the physical sciences, this support of research is due to the fact that business men see immediate practical returns from the development of these subjects. That it is easier to obtain money for subjects of this kind is true, but it is very far from being true that men and women of large wealth are interested only in subjects that pay in money. They are interested in any subject that awakens their imaginations by its significance for the large problems of human history and destiny. Astronomy has for many years obtained large sums for the equipment and support of the most subtle and recondite researches. No doubt astronomy has many practical uses, but it is not these which have enabled it to obtain the funds it needed; it has won by its appeal to the imagination of men. We of the humanities have been too reticent, too lacking in human fellowship. We too have stars in our firmament, systems as mysterious and fascinating as comets or double suns, but we have too seldom invited the public to look through our telescopes and share our visions of the strange and interesting processes by which the chaotic chatter of anthropoid apes has been organized in the wonderful fabric of human speech or their formless outbursts of emotion have after many centuries issued in lyric and drama.

But there are other tasks, less ambitious but of great importance, which we may well undertake while we are perfecting our plans and obtaining the funds for these.

In the first place, instead of working as isolated individuals—scattering our efforts as did the monks of the middle ages—we can organize groups for working coöperatively on special topics. The organization of these groups and the bringing of them together for the formulation of plans and the discussion of methods and results might well be one of the most important functions of the Modern Language Association.

Of recent years many persons in various parts of the world have been studying the problems of versification, the basis of rhythm, the perception of time relations, the rhythm of prose, and other related topics. Much excellent work has been done, some of which has been published by this Association. There is little doubt that some of the investigators have devised right methods of attack and created valuable instruments of investigation. But the problems are many; some of them are difficult; some of them require the work of many hands and many minds. There can be little doubt that if all the members of the Association interested in these subjects should come together for the exchange of ideas and the planning of coöperative work, very much more could be accomplished than by working singly—some things perhaps which could be done only in this way. And surely it would be both more profitable and more interesting for them to meet for such planning and discussion than to listen to papers on a dozen other subjects, of which they have little special knowledge.

There are many other topics which would profit by intensive coöperative treatment. Perhaps in this way we

might hope to work out an annotated text of Chaucer or a critical text of Shakspeare. Certainly in this way we could learn more than we now know of the culture of the Middle Ages, of the psychology of composition, of the conditions of literary productivity in different countries and ages; we might even reach some sound and well-based knowledge of the extent to which literature really is a function of the spiritual life of a nation; or at least we might for the first time in the history of the world formulate accurate conceptions and clear definitions of the critical terms which are used daily by writers of all classes with such lordly carelessness.

If I may express my idea without reservation, I shall add that I think provision should be made both in these special groups and in our public meetings for those members of the Association and of the public who are not interested in research but none the less care for literature in a large and intelligent way. There are many such, and among them are some of our ablest and best scholars and teachers. Scholarship does not consist entirely in what is commonly called research. The man who has done only enough research to know its methods, its difficulties, the kinds of results which may be accepted with confidence and the kinds which however probable must always remain speculative, will, if he keeps abreast of important discoveries, if he has a sound knowledge of what other men have done and are doing, and if he brings to this knowledge taste, good judgment, insight, and philosophic breadth, be a better scholar as well as a more interesting human being than any research worker, however industrious and ingenious, who lacks these prime qualities.

Let us then find a place, a place of honor, in our organization for all those who study literature in any large and

sincere and intelligent way. And let us, when in our own research we have discovered anything, not carry it off and hide it to play with, but bring it out into the public square and talk with our fellow-men about its meaning, if it has any.

To carry out such plans would involve some modifications of the programs of our meetings, but the changes would not be hard to make and would probably result in a renewal of interest in the meetings and greater vitality in the papers and the discussions. Our programs are now, I take it, largely the result of accident. A certain number of members offer to read papers on certain investigations brief enough to come within the conventional limits of fifteen or twenty minutes. If not enough papers are offered, the Secretary utters a cry of distress that is heard from one coast to the other and the devoted members cudgel their brains to think of some topic insignificant enough to be adequately treated in the allotted time or some larger topic that can be presented in outline. When the offerings are all in, the Secretary prepares his lists of sheep and goats—of papers to be read and papers to be read by title. The papers for each session are—no doubt purposely—entirely heterogeneous, giving every listener some topic of which he knows something, to repay him for sitting through the three or four others of which he knows little or nothing. Discussion is rare, and usually brief and perfunctory—almost never vigorous and profitable.

If in a dozen or more rooms we had small groups of members actively devoting a whole session—or even all the sessions of the meeting—to different phases or parts of some topic in which all of them were keenly interested, we might make the meetings of the Association even more influential than they have been in the promotion of

research. And if the leaders in various lines of research would aid in organizing and planning problems and methods of solution, there is a possibility that attendance upon the meetings would be greatly increased. Such group meetings could easily provide for discussions more thorough, more technical, and if necessary more informal than is now permissible. Provision could equally be made for discussions of a more popular and discursive character—discussions of critical theory and practice, reports on notable additions to our knowledge or on other matters of interest to us as teachers rather than as investigators. Publication might be made by summary report, by outline, or by complete text, as the case might require.

For some subjects of permanent interest there would doubtless be more or less permanent groups holding sessions at every meeting of the Association. For less important topics or topics of transient interest groups could be organized upon application to the Secretary. The arrangement of the program would be a complicated task, but it would be well within the powers of the Secretary.

There are other ways in which it seems that the Association could promote research if it cares to organize itself for this purpose. Many scholars are deterred from undertaking researches or are hampered in completing those they have undertaken by the difficulty of procuring necessary materials—books that must be consulted, copies of manuscripts that must be used. Thanks to the liberal administration of university, public, and private libraries, it is now possible for a scholar to procure through his home library the loan of almost any book that is accessible in this country—though there are some scholars who do not know this. But the problem of procuring exact copies of manuscripts or rare books in libraries abroad is puzzling

to many of those who have not studied abroad or do not maintain correspondence with foreign scholars. It might be well to consider whether, alone or in coöperation with foreign societies, the Association could not arrange to supply this service to its members.

Perhaps the greatest handicap under which American scholars labor is the impossibility of completing certain investigations without spending some time in foreign libraries. Not a few important contributions to literary history are, after many years of labor, still incomplete, because their authors have not been able to spend enough time abroad. Most of these authors have spent considerable sums in these undertakings; some of them could, with the aid of a comparatively small subvention, complete their work promptly, instead of letting it drag on for years. Unfortunately the Association has no funds to aid in research or in the publication of research. But there is plenty of money in the world for the endowment of research if we can only get at it, and it would come to the Association if it were commonly known that the Association needed funds for such purposes and could guarantee that the expenditures would be wisely and properly made.

The individual scholar—even if he has the temperament which allows him to urge his own claims—is rarely able to secure financial aid for prosecuting a research or photographing important manuscripts or publishing important texts. Patrons who are not experts in philology and literary history have no means of judging the relative values of plans proposed by individuals; many of them know by bitter experience that expenditures for what seemed to the lay mind—under the spell of professional eloquence—undertakings of the highest merit, have been scornfully criticized by experts as wasted on unworthy

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subjects or objects; some of them know that even letters of recommendation from prominent scholars are not a complete guarantee of the worth of a proposed undertaking. The Modern Language Association, acting through a more or less permanent committee of experts, sensible of its responsibility to the Association and to the public for choosing not merely worthy objects but the most worthy, could soon establish in the minds of patrons of learning confidence in its recommendations and assurance that no funds entrusted to it would be unworthily or carelessly applied.

The main reason why the Association has never formed plans for large undertakings is that its officers are, in theory if not in practice, not perennials but annuals. Appointed for a single brief term they feel no responsibility for the remote future and limit their thoughts to plans for the term only. Probably the president and vice-presidents, as useless and purely ornamental figures, should be appointed for terms of one year only, but the real control of policies should lie in the hands of a body of greater permanence. The executive committee should consist of members elected for long terms and not more than one-third of them should go out of office at one time. The Secretary too should be in theory, as he has been in fact, a permanent officer and should perhaps be *ex officio* chairman of the executive committee. Only by a permanent administration that feels its responsibility for the development of the Association will large and far-reaching plans be devised; only by a permanent administration that has shown its vision, its soundness of judgment, and its sense of responsibility will the confidence and coöperation of generous patrons be secured.

There is, as I have repeatedly remarked, plenty of

money in the world, and the men and women who control it are ready to give it freely for visions—visions of all kinds—visions of food for starving peoples, visions of wider opportunities for cramped lives, visions of astronomical discoveries, or of excavations of long-buried civilizations, visions of dead poets and painters and lawgivers, visions of man in every stage of his long climb up from his feeble and brutish beginnings. Of course the rich need some one to help them see these visions. But there are many men who can so help them; there are some such in our own Association and it is our business to find them. Most of us can do but little, because our eyes are fixed, not on the great and wonderful building we are helping to rear—the structure of human evolution, the complete record of man's struggles and defeats and successes, of his dreams, his plans, his battle cries, his songs to celebrate his triumphs or banish his faintness or drown his despair—but upon the single stone each of us is shaping, the brick he is molding for the building. Doubtless the stonemason must keep his eyes on the stone, and the brick-maker his on the brick; but the public will not give money for stones and bricks unless it too is allowed to see the plans for the building. Each of us who are at work on the details has his own picture—if not of the completed building, at least of the part on which he is at work. We could hardly labor as we do if we labored in complete blindness; and yet too often we are disappointed, resentful, scornful, if the public, which has never seen the drawings for our building, is not greatly interested in the size and shape and number of the bricks we have made. The building is the thing, the palace of art, the structure of the intellectual evolution of mankind; let us show them the palace, or at least find the showman.

No doubt this is all a dream, but it is a dream that we can make come true, if with belief in and enthusiasm for it we will labor to realize it—not today, nor perhaps tomorrow, but on the morrow's morrow.

To recapitulate briefly, I propose that we consider carefully the desirability of three changes in the policy and practice of the Association:

(1) A reorganization of the meetings with a view to greater specialization, and greater stimulation of research;

(2) The working out through carefully chosen committees of plans for important investigations and for methods of aiding individual investigators;

(3) The establishment of the Association in the knowledge and confidence of the public with a view of making it a still more important source of influence and knowledge.

## THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1920, AT  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AT THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL  
MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE  
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BY BERT J. VOS

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## BEATING THE BOUNDS

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As indicated on the title-page of our program, the Central Division is today celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. Such an occasion, it was thought, should not be allowed to pass without notice. In default of personal recollections on the part of the speaker, who was not at that time domiciled in the West, some historical data set down, upon request, by the first secretary of the Division, Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, may serve the double purpose of making the remembrance of the occasion a matter of record and of bringing before us, for a parting tribute, the names of one or two former colleagues who have "by fate been cheated out of these fair hours" of friendship and companionship.

Professor Wilson's Note reads as follows:

The initiative in a movement to establish a branch modern language association was taken in February, 1895, by W. H. Carruth of the University of Kansas, Laurence Fossler of the University of Nebraska, and Charles Bundy Wilson of the State University of Iowa (see *Publications* for 1896, Vol. iv, new series, p. lviii.) A committee on organization was selected as follows: G. Hempl, C. B.

Wilson, W. M. Baskervill, L. Fossler, G. E. Karsten, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg. A preliminary meeting was held in Chicago in June, 1895, which was attended by C. B. Wilson, W. H. Carruth, G. E. Karsten, L. Fossler, F. A. Blackburn, J. T. Hatfield, C. W. Pearson, and H. Schmidt-Wartenberg. W. H. Carruth was chosen chairman and H. Schmidt-Wartenberg was chosen secretary (see *Publications*, Vol. iv, new series, pp. lix-lxii). Central Modern Language Conference was selected as a name. C. B. Wilson was made chairman of a committee on constitution; G. E. Karsten chairman on program; and H. Schmidt-Wartenberg chairman on arrangements.

The first annual meeting was held in Chicago, December 30 and 31, 1895, and January 1, 1896.

In accordance with action taken by a joint committee of the Modern Language Association of America and of the Central Modern Language Conference, consisting of G. L. Kittredge, J. M. Hart, J. W. Bright, and A. H. Tolman, the latter society became in 1896 the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America (see *Publications*, Vol. iv, pp. v and vi, xx, xxi, lx-lxiii, lxxiii-lxxiv; also Vol. v, pp. v-vii).

In an anniversary year congratulations are perhaps in order, and who that can look back twenty-five years will deny that in comparison with those early days the profession has ample grounds for self-congratulation? Our numbers have grown apace, standards of training and of scholarship have steadily advanced, the profession has risen to a dignity not dreamed of in the past. The mantle of the Classics has fallen, or is about to fall, on our shoulders.

But let us take a look also at the reverse side. Is it not true that, in spite of this raising of professional standards and a consequent increase in efficiency, language study has fallen upon signally evil days; that in numerous quarters a distinctly hostile attitude is manifesting itself; and that

it is owing only to certain ancient bulwarks of tradition, some of them even now crumbling, if it has in a measure held its own? I have no intention of discussing this latter phase of the problem in any general way, convinced as I am that the tendency this hostility evinces is in most respects beyond our control. If it shall not prevail in the end, it will be owing not to the protests of modern language teachers, who would be under suspicion of seeking to defend vested rights, but to the voices of disinterested, intelligent outsiders, not schoolmen at all.

With the question of this attitude of antagonism in the domain of education we must not confuse the question of the position of literature and literary interests in our daily lives. There too it is doubtless true that poetry in the narrower sense of the word has had to yield ground somewhat, and that the sciences and vocational interests absorb some of the energy that was formerly expended in the pursuit of letters. We are in this connection wont to look back upon a golden age when the imaginative side of life played a far larger rôle: to the Elisabethan age in English, and in German to the era of the great duumvirs, Goethe and Schiller. But with doubtful justice. The complaint is a standing one. Thus we find Schiller starting a long and important review (that of Bürger's Collected Poems) with this sentence: "The indifference with which our metaphysical age is beginning to look down upon the fancies of the Muses seems to affect no domain of poetry more seriously than the lyrical." In other words, he contends that the age was that of Kant, that it was primarily an age of metaphysics. And yet, who would deny that, if not in an international, at least in a national sense, the last decades of the eighteenth century, viewed retrospectively, were as much the age of Goethe and

Schiller as the age of Kant? It is in fact a universal truth that there is nothing more abiding, more immutable, than the great in literature. And so our interest in speculative philosophy has notably waned, while that in poetry has, on the whole, probably not greatly diminished.

But let us look at the matter from a third angle. Is it not true that those of us who have come into contact with the young people in European countries have at some time or other been struck with the fact that the study of the foreign tongue, be it English, or French, or German, had so much more commonly and so much more intensively entered into their lives than is the case with our young men and women? The foreign literature was prized, the foreign author read, the foreign poet loved and quoted. In part, this is doubtless a fundamental difference between an older and a newer civilization and would apply with quite as much force to some of the other arts, such as music and painting. But whatever the cause, the difference is there and signifies an impoverishment of our national life. For what, if one may be permitted to draw a contrast, are the facts with us, in the presumably scholarly circles, among the frequenters of college and university halls? Would it be going too far to say that in such circles it is quite generally regarded as bad taste, as the distinguishing mark of the high-brow, to show in conversation any interest whatsoever in matters literary? If then the salt have lost its saltiness, wherewith will you season it?

If this indifference to questions concerning language and literary expression among college-trained men and women have become such a commonplace, are we teachers of language and literature in school or college in any way at fault, guilty, let us say, of contributory negligence? It

seems to me that we have at times been remiss in two particulars—in not properly upholding the dignity of our subject from its technical and scientific side; and in not adequately emphasizing its literary aspect. It is these two thoughts that I should like to amplify in the remainder of the time at my disposal, and they furnish the clew to the somewhat fanciful title I have chosen. The Scots, so we are told, formerly had the custom of annually marching around the purlieus of their towns, of “beating the bounds,” so that all might see what there was to defend. If such a survey disclose weaknesses of position, criticism of them must in the main apply to conditions as a whole. If it have any personal application, the person is as likely to be the speaker as the hearer. I am in this connection reminded of a poem of Freiligrath, the friend of Longfellow and the champion of German liberalism during the forties and fifties. In this poem Freiligrath compares Germany with Hamlet, neither the one nor the other can be goaded into action. He charges the Germany of his day with the national vices of irresoluteness, procrastination, and sloth, a sloth that has brought on a fatty degeneration. The parallel seems complete and the bill of particulars is certainly long and serious enough to damn any nation, but the poet ends up, and this has always seemed to me the most personal note of the remarkable poem, the poet ends up with a recognition and acknowledgment that in all these shortcomings he is at one with his nation, sharing to the full the responsibility involved. The application to the present instance needs, I trust, no pointing out.

Let us turn then to the first count in the indictment, that the profession has not always properly upheld the dignity of its subject from the technical and scientific side. To consider that modern Cinderella, Grammar, do

we teachers at all grow indignant, or are we even startled, when we encounter students to whom the categories of speech are apparently an unknown quantity? Students who in their earlier training have never been taught the distinction between participle and infinitive, between finite and non-finite verb, between adverb and conjunction? Do we not merely smile at the incident and set ourselves to the hopeless task of remedying the defects of such earlier training? Would a teacher of, say, the natural sciences treat a parallel situation with the same equanimity? If not, does it not tend to show that we are ourselves weakening in the faith?

To take another illustration, passing from things neglected by predecessors to such as we ourselves neglect. In our teaching of syntax do we ever, not to say expound, but even so much as refer to the most basic of all syntactical phenomena, the development of hypotaxis from parataxis, of subordination from coördination? Is it because we regard our students as incapable of grasping such a principle, or because we believe they would not be interested? Both would, I feel sure, be mistaken assumptions, and neither would in any case be a decisive consideration in a question of science. To cite from my personal experience, an explanation of the so-called condition by inversion as derived from an independent interrogative sentence met with instant response on the part of pupils. Allow me however to put in a caveat here. I am not by any manner of means arguing in favor of the acquisition of a foreign language by the pathway of historical grammar—that is quite another matter. What I am urging is that if grammatical study as such is to have educative value, it must be on a scientific basis, and that, moreover, a really great end has been gained when a student has once been made to

observe, and reason about, phenomena of speech. For that matter, why could not the same result be obtained almost as well in the student's vernacular?

My third illustration will be taken from the field of literature. One of the most basic distinctions in metrics is that made between monopodic and dipodic verse, a distinction that Professor Sievers, one of the honorary members of our Association, was the first to expound. The discovery, for such it may rightfully be called, has thrown a flood of light upon differences of rhythmical effects, and yet does one ever find it put to use in the treatment of lyrical or dramatic verse; in, let us say, the study of the opening monologue of Faust? And why not? Is it not because we are afraid of the technical even where it illumines, and in being thus afraid are we not by the same token disowning the scientific side of our subject and in a measure stultifying ourselves? Are you not even now accusing me of being altogether too technical in an address that is after all primarily meant for colleagues?

In treating my second main rubric, viz., that modern language teachers may justly be charged with not adequately emphasizing the literary side of their subject, I shall confine myself to a single illustration of sins of commission and omission, and in conclusion state a literary problem that I have found fruitful in my own teaching, fruitful because it begot observation and independent thinking on the part of the student, and formed at the same time a connecting link between the foreign language and his mother tongue.

The standards of literary judgment are, as we all know, of a very shifting character. No agreement has ever been reached on the fundamental problem whether the essence of poetry lie in the form or the thought. Assuming, for

the sake of argument, that the two are not really one and indivisible, I should range myself on the form-side. But that is neither here nor there, the point I wish to make is that the very fact that there can and does exist a diversity of opinion on so fundamental a problem, may in some measure account, on the one hand, for the intrusion into literary treatment of matter that is really foreign to it, and on the other, for the elimination of matter that must upon even a casual examination be considered an integral part of literary study. Thus the opinion has fast been gaining ground that any particular piece of foreign literature must be left to produce its own effect upon reader and student; that teacher and commentator can do little more than clear up the difficulties found in the text—a process that clearly falls within the philological and not the literary domain. A widely known and in many respects admirable editor of German classics has sought to justify this negative attitude by remarking that a “*quam pulchre*” of an editor or a guide cannot give sight to the blind while it may easily bore those that have eyes to see. The obvious answer is that there are many other imperfections of vision besides that of total blindness.

Now I regard it as a truism that the only real justification of the important part foreign language instruction plays in our education scheme lies in the value of the literature enshrined in these languages, which, to the few at least, may become a source of inspiration and a treasured personal possession for life. If then there be observable a marked tendency to allow surrogates to take the place of these essential values, a word of warning may be in order.

To make this latter point a little clearer, let us take an illustration from a work in German literature with which

perhaps many of you are more familiar than any one other. I refer to Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell*.

Schiller's chief source for this play was a sixteenth century Swiss chronicle bearing the Latin title *Chronicon Helveticum*. The body of the work is, however, in German and its author is a well-known Swiss patrician named Tschudi. It is a most fascinating account, resembling in many ways the story of early Greek history in the pages of Herodotus, and harmonizing perfectly in its simplicity and apparent artlessness with the subject matter and the locale. Now this account was by Schiller and his contemporaries regarded as corresponding, in its main outlines at least, with established historical fact. While one or two isolated voices had previous to Schiller been raised in attack upon the authenticity of the tradition, it is only of late years that historical investigation has clearly established that the account of Tell the archer as it has been handed down to us is purely legendary, possessing no greater historical value than, for example, the legends that cluster around the earliest days of Rome. It is evident that all these facts, interesting as they are in themselves, are absolutely without bearing upon Schiller's drama. And yet all editors consider it incumbent upon them to start *ab ovo*, laboriously leading the student through the tangled maze of the earliest authentic history of the three Forest Cantons and conscientiously tracing the tradition of Tell, the skilled archer, back to its legendary or mythical source. In its ultimate analysis the sharply outlined figure of Schiller's drama is thus reduced to the vague abstraction of a nature myth, a nature myth "common to all Aryan races, an allegorical struggle in which the grim tyrant Winter is driven from his stronghold and slain by the unerring arrows of the Summer Sun," whose beams are Tell's arrows.

You will readily grant me that all this belongs, not to the sphere of literary study, but to that of historical investigation. The question remains whether it is merely a harmless excrescence or whether it is symptomatic as well of a failure to seize upon really literary values.

Alongside of Shakespeare one of the great literary influences on the Germany of the second half of the eighteenth century is Homer. This is particularly true of the last decades of the century. Special interest attaches to *Tell* in connection with Homer since the story as told by Tschudi and accepted by Schiller is epic rather than dramatic in character. Goethe, who surrendered the subject to Schiller, had in fact planned to write, not a dramatic, but an epic poem. That Schiller, who is above all a dramatist, should have cast this epic material into dramatic form causes no surprise. As a result, however, we find a very considerable epic element in *Tell*, an epic element that contains many Homeric echoes. Both of these subjects, the distribution of the essentially dramatic and the essentially epic, and the direct Homeric influence, literary problems that will repay study, are very generally given but scant attention by editors of the play. Of course, æsthetic values have shifted, and Homer is no longer the possession of the many, but that fact does not absolve a commentator of a German classic from the obligation of re-creating for himself and his readers the literary atmosphere in which the work was conceived and composed.

Let us look at the matter from a broader standpoint. The Bible, Homer, Shakespeare, these represent three great literary influences, in English as well. Are these all three to go by the board so far as our American youth are concerned? Are they to pick up a smattering of biblical information in a Sunday-school class, and is their knowledge of Shakespeare to be limited to such plays as

are read in curriculum in high school or college? Is Homer to remain a sealed book? As to the Bible, let me give you just one sign of the times. The editor of a German text published not so very long ago thought it necessary to comment on a reference to the story of Joseph and Potiphar, citing not only the chapter of Genesis in question, but giving an outline of the entire incident. There is rime and reason in this only on the presupposition that the one approach to the Bible is through the Sunday-school.

As to Shakespeare, it is my observation that German boys know him much better than do our boys. In translation, to be sure, but Germany is fortunate in having excellent translations of both Homer and Shakespeare. It would be hardly going too far to say that they have practically annexed the latter: that he is played upon the German stage to a far greater extent than either here or in England is an acknowledged fact. During the winter of 1913-14 the Deutsches Theater of Berlin almost limited itself to Shakespearian performances, giving perhaps twelve different plays. I am not aware that we have annexed Goethe or for that matter any foreign author in any such way. Quite the contrary, like Joey in the novel, *Fräulein Schmidt and Mr. Anstruther*, we still quite generally rime him with *dirty*.

It may be of interest in this connection to refer to a paragraph in the recently published annual report of President Butler of Columbia University. After describing a course entitled Introduction to Contemporary Civilization prescribed for all members of the Freshman Class, he proceeds to say (pp. 22-23):

"The College Faculty has gone farther and in establishing a special course of reading, to be followed through two

years by candidates for general honors, has recorded its conviction that the college graduate may properly be held to some knowledge of the masterpieces in literature, in poetry, in history, in philosophy and in science. The reading list at present given to candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts with general honors, includes: Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Horace, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius, St. Augustine, The Nibelungenlied, The Song of Roland, St. Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Petrarch, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Francis Bacon, Milton, Molière, David Hume, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Adam Smith, Lessing, Kant, Schiller, Goethe, Macaulay, Victor Hugo, Hegel, Darwin, Lyell, Tolstoi, Nietzsche."—Certainly a list most liberally conceived.

If the demand that the literary aspect be emphasized in all literary study would on the face of it seem to demand no other justification than that of the preëminence of the vital and essential over the adventitious and inorganic, it may be urged that such emphasis can best be applied and will receive its greatest reward in the case of the native tongue. And in a sense this is doubtless the case. The teacher of English literature is on just this ground to be highly envied in that in his case there intervene no bars that must first be lifted before admittance is gained to the inner shrine. And still the case is not altogether so simple as that.

Not so long ago an observant pupil asked why it was that German verse, i. e., the German lyric in particular, meant so much more to the average German than corresponding English verse to the average American. I do not doubt the correctness of the observation. It might even be extended to the effect that boys and girls, not at all native to the language, at times take to German poetry

when they have never really learned to enjoy English verse. Why should this be and what is the characteristic difference between these two modes of poetic utterance?

The first great difference between the English and the German lyric is doubtless a difference in their relations to music. The German lyric is closely related to a musical setting, suggests in the reading a musical complement. Practically all the famous German songs—and how involuntarily one uses the word *song* in this connection—practically all the famous German songs have hence been set to music, some of them a score of times. The melody finally becomes an integral part of the poem. Quite otherwise in English. Here there is no such inter-relation between the two arts. And this difference is symptomatic: it points to the fact that we have in German poetry the real lyric cry, the expression of a simple, elemental feeling, whereas English verse is far more complex in character, is, to a great extent, feeling that has passed through the alembic of the intellect and has thus assumed a reflective character. There are, of course, exceptions to the general rule. Thus, on the English side, Burns is such an exception, if we regard him as English, while, on the German side, Annette von Droste Hülshoff is a notable exception. But in the main the generalization holds good, that German lyric verse has, while English verse does not have, that lilt which suggests and demands for its highest consummation a musical rendering.

The second striking difference is the more abundant use of metaphoric and figurative language in English, a quality that has perhaps been characteristic of English poetry since the earliest Anglo-Saxon period. While to a certain extent this distinction holds good also for some other genres, such as the drama, it is most noticeable in the case of the

lyric. Where German works are under direct English influence, as in the 'Sturm und Drang' drama, the distinction would perhaps hardly hold. Thus Schiller's early plays show a free and bold use of figurative speech, and the same is true of the poems of this period. But the typical German lyric, the lyric that has close affinity to music, does not show anything of this kind.

The third, and as it seems to me, the most important factor of all is the dual nature of the English vocabulary—the Anglo-Saxon that we are born to and the Norman-French that we are educated up to. Much of our English poetic vocabulary is made up of this latter element. The difference here from German with its practically homogeneous tongue makes itself felt on every side. Take our schools for example. The child begins thumbing its dictionary in the grades, advances to a thicker volume in the high school, to end up with a college Oxford. For what purpose? Almost solely to determine the meaning and spelling of Norman-French, Latin, or Greek words. A process of this sort is unknown to the German child. Its vocabulary is its birthright. And that, to come back to our starting point, is the main reason why the appeal of German poetry is so much more universal—because the symbols stand for universal values. Take a great lyric of Goethe, such as Gretchen's "Meine Ruh' ist hin," and there is not a word that does not convey its meaning to even the humblest. Could one assert the same of a typical English lyric, say, of Tennyson, feel sure e. g. that one's washerwoman would be familiar with the vocabulary? I believe not. Hence also the persistent discussion in English, from Wordsworth down to the latest number of the *Atlantic*, of the question of the proper poetic style.

Let us not, however, forget the principle of compensation. The fact that the English language is composite has also

its immense advantage. It allows in many instances of double sets of values, of Anglo-Saxon words that strike home on account of their homeliness, and of Norman-French words that lack this connection with the earth-earthly, that have an ethereal quality, a spiritual connotation which is perhaps necessarily denied a language that is throughout homogeneous. For illustration, take the two phrases, not, to be sure, equivalents, that were lately much heard among us: "going over the top" and "the supreme sacrifice" and you get the directness and bluntness of the Anglo-Saxon and the spiritual connotation of the Norman-French.

It is this thought that is suggested in that clever book *Fräulein Schmidt and Mr. Anstruther* by the Countess von Arnim, the author also of *Elizabeth and her German Garden*. The writer is an English woman extensively read in her own native literature and well enough acquainted with German to have a correct feeling in comparing the two languages as literary media. She has the heroine, Fräulein Schmidt, that curious offspring of an English mother and a German father, as un-English as she is un-German, write as follows to her one-time lover:

Can you imagine what it is like, what an extremely blessed state it is, only to have read the works of a poet, the filtered-out best of him, and to have lived so far from his country and from biographies or collections of his letters that all gossip about his private life and criticisms of his morals are unknown to you? Milton, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Burns, have been to me great teachers, great examples, before whose shining image, built up out of the radiant materials their works provided, I have spent glorious hours in worship. Not a cloud, not a misgiving has dimmed my worship. We need altars—anyhow we women do—and they were mine. I have not been able to be religious in the ordinary sense, and they have taken

the place of religion. Our own best poets, Goethe, Schiller, Heine and the rest, do not appeal to me in the same way. Goethe is wonderful, but he leaves you sitting somehow in a cold place from which you call out at intervals with conviction that he is immense the while you wish he would keep the feet of your soul a little warmer. Schiller beats his patriotic drum, his fine eyes rolling continually toward the gallery, too unintermittently for perfect delight. Heine the exquisite, the cunning worker in gems, the stringer of pearls on frailest golden threads, is too mischievous, too malicious, to be set up in a temple; and then you can't help laughing at his extraordinary gift for maddening the respectable, at the extraordinary skill and neatness with which he deposits poison in their tenderest places, and how can he worship who is being made to laugh? If I knew little about our poets' lives—inevitably I know more than I want to—I still would feel the same. There is, I think, in their poetry nothing heavenly. It is true I bless God for them, thank Him for having let them live and sing, for having given us such a noble heritage. . . .

Now as literary criticism this can scarcely be taken seriously—at the most it hits the mark only in the case of Heine. We are here concerned only with the judgment expressed in the words "There is, I think, in their poetry nothing heavenly." One may quarrel with this on the score of its negative character and its sweeping nature, but it nevertheless represents a feeling that is in the main correct—stating negatively what was above asserted in the positive terms of the ethereal, spiritual connotation that is within the range of the higher English poetic diction, in a sense that is not to that degree true of German verse. One might say that it represents an aristocratic as over against a democratic form of letters, an aristocracy, if you like, of intellect over against the democracy of feeling.

These considerations explain also why in English, verse is difficult and prose easy, whereas in German the reverse is true, verse is easy but prose difficult. For, on the one

hand, the vocabulary of German poetry is essentially the same as that of prose, and on the other, the involved sentence structure that is such a stumbling-block to the foreigner, is, because solely of the intellect, inadmissible in verse.

In conclusion I would make an appeal for that communion with the truly great that is to be found only in the literature of the ages. We are so apt to be skeptical in our inmost souls about the reality, the actuality for ourselves of the greatness of the masters, of the few whose names stand forth not merely in the history of their nation but in the annals of the world. And yet in the realm of beauty, as in the moral world, the unanimous voice of tradition is worthy of some trust. If then we are exclusive in our daily lives in the number of those whom we admit to the intimacy of our hearts and homes, why should we not exercise a similar exclusiveness in the world of the spirit, when such an infinite choice is offered us? How great the privilege, how great the opportunity that is ours!

recalled the fact that a few years ago \$500. had been withdrawn from the Bright Fund to meet the special expenses of publishing the Index Volume, so that to increase this Fund by the addition of these bonds would be merely an act of restitution.

The Secretary also recommended that the von Jagemann Fund, on deposit in the Cambridge Savings Bank, be invested in U. S. 4¼% Liberty Bonds.

The Council by unanimous vote approved both recommendations.

V. Under date of September 30, 1921, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to the recommendation of the Germanic section at the Poughkeepsie meeting (see Proceedings for 1920, p. xvi), that a Monograph Series be established by the Association for the publication of "such fruits of research as were of a size or nature unsuitable for inclusion in the *Publications*."

As a means of establishing the Monograph Fund the Secretary offered the following proposals:

(1) That until further notice the annual income of the Bright and von Jagemann Funds (which by the end of the current year will amount to about \$190) be covered into the proposed Monograph Fund.

(2) That until further notice twenty-five cents of each membership fee for the current year (not counting life memberships or library subscriptions) be transferred to the Monograph Fund.

(3) That all expenses connected with the printing and distribution of monographs be paid out of the Monograph Fund.

(4) That, in order to make the acceptance of a piece of scholarship for publication in the Monograph Series a recognized distinction, a Monograph Committee be appointed by the Association to receive and consider MSS. offered, and to select those which in their judgment are most deserving of publication, having due regard to the available funds.

(5) That the Association decline to receive doctoral dissertations for publication in the Monograph Series.

The Council voted to recommend these proposals to the Association for adoption.

VI. Under date of September 30, 1921, the Secretary, at the request of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers, transmitted to the members of the Council the following resolution, adopted by the Federation, and asked whether the Council was disposed to add its endorsement:

To the General Education Board:

Inasmuch as the effects of the World War on secondary education in the United States have been felt most directly and most severely in the field of modern language instruction and the imperative need of an investigation of this whole field is too obvious to require discussion, the Executive Committee of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers hereby respectfully petitions The General Education Board to provide the funds for a survey of modern language instruction in the secondary schools of the United States, similar to the investigations in other departments of education which have been undertaken in the past few years.

Convinced, in view of the educational reconstruction now going on in the United States as a result of the war, that never in the history of American education has there been so great and timely an opportunity to perform a signal service to American education in general and to modern language instruction in particular, the Executive Committee of the National Federation pledges its hearty coöperation in the execution of such a plan by lending all the machinery of its organization—its national executive committee as well as its national organ, 'The Modern Language Journal'—to the successful achievement of this object, and by creating such national, regional and state committees as may prove most feasible to carry out the project of a comprehensive, and thorough survey of modern language instruction in the secondary schools of the United States.

The Council voted to endorse the action taken by the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers.

CARLETON BROWN, *Secretary*.



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ROLL OF MEMBERS DECEASED

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New York City. [1920]

BATTELLE (Mrs.) ESTELLE R., Denison University, Granville, O.  
[April 30, 1921]

BONNELL, JOHN KESTER, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. [Sep-  
tember 30, 1921]

BOWEN, BENJAMIN LESTER, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.  
[1920]

BRANDT, HERMANN CARL GEORG, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.  
[1921]

CAMPBELL, GERTRUDE HILDRETH, Macmillan Co., New York City.  
[April 4, 1921]

HEMPL, GEORGE, Stanford University. [August, 1921]

JOSLIN, RICHARD CARLETON, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worces-  
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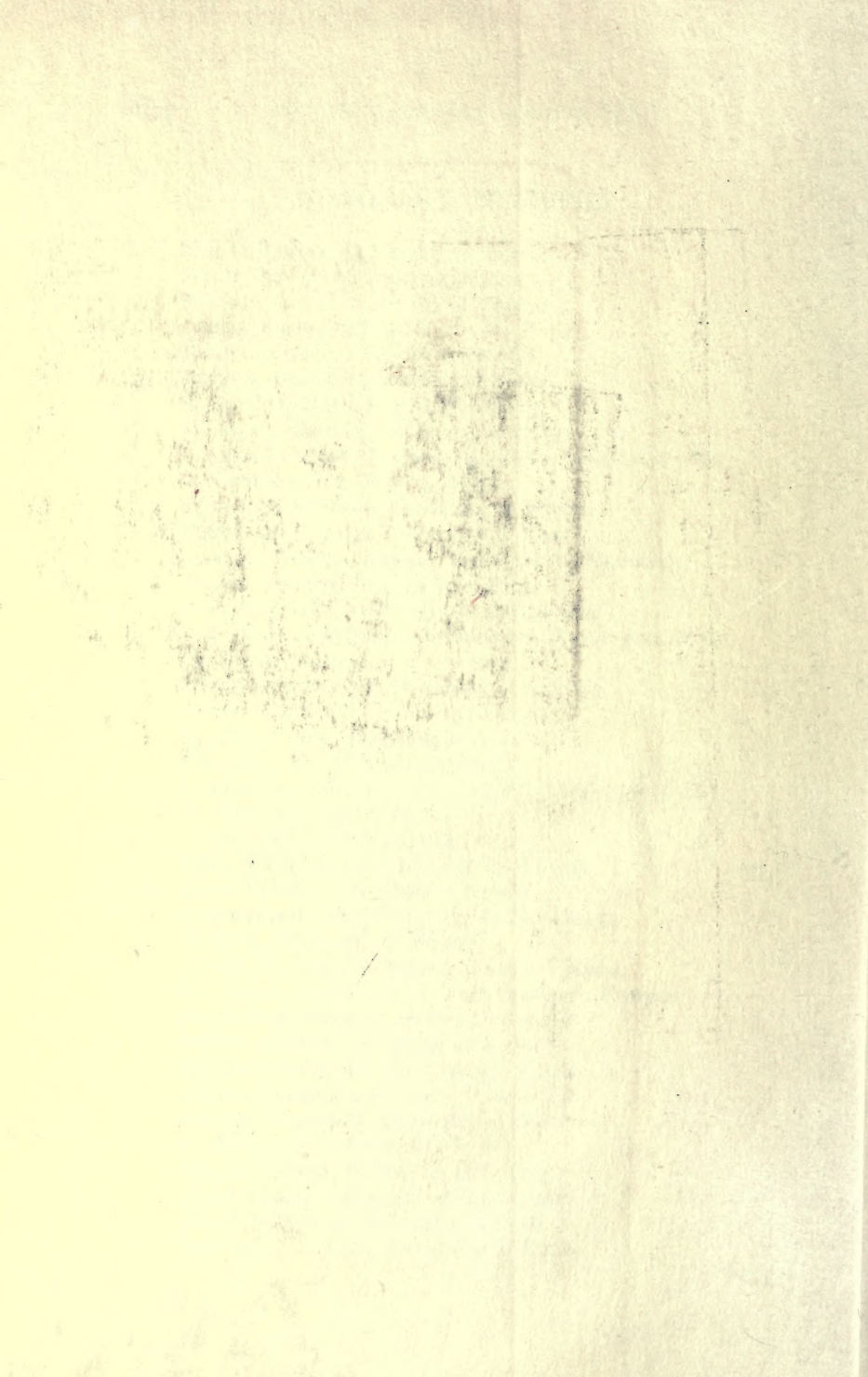
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